

THE MODERN REVIEW

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1967 PRINCIPAL CONTENTS



Poetry and Metre

—Rabindranath Tagore
(Translation—Dr. S. N. Roy)

Albert Schweitzer

—Swami Tathagatananda

Life in Universe

—Lal D. Aswani

Jogindranath Sircar

—Karuna K. Nandi

Debajyoti Burman

—Prof. Miss Bela Bose

A New Image for Buddhism?

—William Pulley

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The Modern Review

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Founded by the late Ramananda Chatterjee

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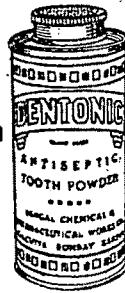
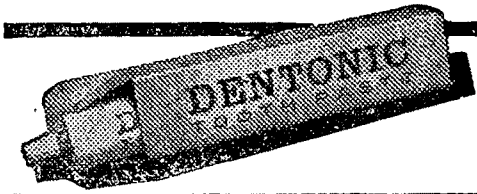
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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXXI, No. 1

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THE FLUTE

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Artist : Pranoyranjan Roy

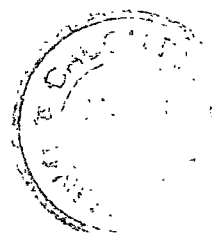
FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



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NOTES

Debajyoti Barman

The death of Debajyoti Burman, Editor of the Bengali Weekly *Yugabani*, has been a great loss to Indian journalism. He was not only a very capable journalist, but also a patriot of rare quality. His contributions to political and economic thought have been many and his academic attainments very high. Debajyoti Burman matriculated in 1923 and he passed his Intermediate examination in Science in 1927. This was due to frequent interruptions. He was put in detention while studying for his B.Sc. degree and he graduated, passed the Master's examination in Economics and qualified in Law, while still under detention. He came out in 1937 and worked for the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Bharat*, the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* at different periods. The late Ramananda Chatterjee thought very highly of Debajyoti and relied on him wholeheartedly to do journalistic work for his periodicals. Debajyoti passed his M.A. during this period and afterwards in *Economics Group A*, *Philosophy*, *Ancient Indian History and Culture*, *Commerce*, *Bengali* and *Sanskrit*. His scholarship was extensive and he obtained the *Kabyatirtha* diploma in Sanskrit. He was a Professor in the Bangabasi College for many years and became the Principal of the Ramananda Mohun College towards the end of his life.

Debajyoti visited the U.S.A. in 1962 and

toured the Libraries, Museums and Educational Centres of that country quite extensively. He was a critic of undoubted ability and his comments carried great weight everywhere. His weekly *Yugabani* was perhaps the most widely circulated journal of politics and economic in India and he had been thinking of publishing a daily paper when he died suddenly at the age of 61. As a man of great erudition and patriotic moral sense, he had few equals in India. A man who sincerely believed in and practised plain living and high thinking, Debajyoti Burman had set up his home in Madhyamgram near Calcutta from which townlet he came to Calcutta daily to attend to his College duties and journalistic work. He was greatly loved by the students and his cremation was carried out by them in their hundreds. He was the champion of many causes which did not flourish at "high level" and his criticism of the profiteers, black marketeers, tax evaders and other anti-social believers in the socialist pattern of India's economy made him unpopular with those who controlled the destinies of the people. A fighter for freedom in his youth, a fighter for human rights in his maturer years and a fighter for ever for the higher ideals of life, Debajyoti never spared himself but worked ceaselessly to achieve his objectives. He died due to over work at an early age, a martyr in the eternal fight for Liberty, Justice and Equality.

Congress Prospects

On December 21, 1966, Sm. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, gave expression to some of her ideas about the Government's policy as well as about the prospects of the Congress Party in the ensuing elections. About people trying to coerce the Government into banning beef or creating new Capitals by threats of self-immolation, she said, the Government would not be coerced by such methods. We agree that the Government *should not* be coerced into accepting any new policy by any methods other than those lawfully used in democracies. But, the Government of India have always been prone to coercion in their foreign as well as home policy. Have they not, in the past, surrendered to bullying by the U.N., by Pakistan, by China and by Russia too at Tashkent? At home too they have paid more attention to howling mobs than to peaceful arguments. Setting public vehicles on fire, *Ghera-Dalo* and similar unruly demonstrations always brought Government to discussions with law-breakers. Even rebellious Nagas attend Conferences at Delhi with the air of ambassadors of free nations. The country has been partitioned right in the beginning of Congress overlordship of India by the murderous civil disturbances staged by the Muslim League. More partitions have been approved by the Congress Government at later stages. So that the history of the Congress Government of India does not support the contention that the Government could not be coerced by illogical or unlawful methods adopted by people singly or in large

Regarding Congress prospects in the coming elections, Mrs. Gandhi thought the Government would remain in the hands of the Congress Party. For most opposition from parties other than the Congress would be coming from "dissidents from the Congress." But we think if there are too many dissidents, then the Congress will be cracking up; as, in our opinion, it has been during the last one year or so. The reason for this splitting up of forces is easy to discover. Many Congress leaders are not carrying the confidence of their followers any longer. Some leaders have proved to be unworthy of the trust and faith that they demand from the citizens of a free country. And the High Command too is no longer quite so high as it used to be in the days of Pandit Jawaharlal

Mrs. Gandhi should learn to face facts. If she has decided to devote herself to politics, she would do well to cultivate new acquaintances. The men and women who surround her now, cannot provide her Party with strength, capacity, integrity and popular esteem. The Party may win in this election, but with great difficulty. The Opposition will doubtless be very severe after the elections.

The Independents in the Elections

All political parties are mustering forces for the coming elections. The Congress have a wide-spread organisation all over India, which they have set up during their tenure as the Ruling Party, with funds obtained in various ways and by using the influence and importance they have acquired as king makers of the country. The Parties in Opposition are also organised in the same manner. That is, they have obtained funds from various sources and in various ways and they have acquired a kind of power too, being critics of the Rulers. They have criticised and questioned the actions of the Government and that has given them followers who have been traders, industrialists, workmen and official class people too. Even great administrators have at times tried to win over the Opposition for personal reasons. The parties, therefore, are entrenched in the rich soil of the Markets of India to a great extent and their success depends on the finances they can procure from grateful men whom they have helped in the past. In this, the new comers, who have not been in the Assemblies or Parliament before, are at a disadvantage. Their supporters are speculators who are trying to get a hold on things which may be of advantage to them.

Leaving on one side the sordid question of getting the sinews of war, the parties, groups and individuals contesting for the elections have to depend on their background, their declared intentions, their social, political and other connections and their mass appeal in order to induce the voters to vote for them. Let us first take the Congress. The Congress has a good background of national service. Their declared intentions are good, but the people doubt the authenticity of their avowals. They have failed time and again to deliver the goods. They have good connections but their closed-door-trade-union-like attitude

in the matter of accepting new members has alienated the general public. The Congress leadership also has not remained equal to the task undertaken by the party and change in leadership is greatly in demand within the party. This has caused a series of desertions from the parent body which may affect the election prospects of the Congress quite noticeably. Small minded and power hungry underlings of the party who have now risen to eminence will possibly cause the break up of this great political organisation.

The C.P.I., left and right, have their mass appeal in so far as they appear to back the poorer classes of India. But they have to depend on the bourgeoisie to carry on their work. Some of these Communists are essentially of the wrong type and their love of good living and ownership of property belie their declared intentions. The intellectuals of the country partly support the Communists; but the majority do not. The left C.P.I. have lost much popular support by reason of their secret or open friendship with Chinese Communists. They are nevertheless the stronger group among the Communists; but are not likely to improve their political position by the coming elections. The right C.P.I. also will not be able to achieve any new expansions in the political field.

The Swatantra Party has made some progress and are likely to make their weight felt in some States, if not at the Centre. The Jan Sangh Party have some strong pockets in certain States from which they are likely to win some Assembly seats. The other political parties and groups are similarly organised in scattered strongholds in which they will be able to hold their own. Some new groups have come into existence by breaking away from the Congress. The Jana Congress and the Bangla Congress are the most important among these.

The most significant development, however, has been the increase in Independent candidatures. There are many Independents who have left political parties out of dissatisfaction with the party management. Mr. Krishna Menon, Dr. Prafulla Ghosh and some others are outstanding examples. Other Independents have come into the field from groups who have never been in politics before but are now contesting in order to exercise their political rights for public safety and well being, and for the betterment of the general administration

of the country. All departments of Government require improvement; taxes must be made lower, education stimulated, defence arrangements enlarged and extended, foreign relations made more balanced and in keeping with national honour and deficit financing controlled and the general outlook on public service and the formation of a true Welfare State made fully realistic. These ideas to be properly carried out require new and capable men and women to come into politics who have the necessary knowledge and training.

Among the Independents, some have set up a joint organisation for fighting the elections. This organisation is called the Independent Front and it is mainly restricted to West Bengal. A large number of candidates for the Assembly and some for Parliament are standing for election from the Independent Front. This group has no Party policy nor any political creed excepting an unequivocal nationalism which tolerates no extra-territorial loyalties nor any kind of subservience to foreign countries or to their commercial, industrial or financial institutions. Indian civilisation and culture should also keep continuity with our glorious past as far as possible and foreign inroads into our life and thought limited to the needs of science and pure knowledge.

Other Independents who have declared their preference for a free outlook as against obedience to party dictates have expressed a lack of faith in the ability of their party chiefs. Whether in administration or in criticism of administrative policy, method and actual work, the party *wallahs* have brought India slowly to the verge of bankruptcy and loss of political freedom. The dissidents have felt that their ex-leaders must be replaced by better men. Otherwise there would be no health, wealth, freedom and liberty in India. Self-willed high-handedness for the advantage of the few cannot be allowed to masquerade as democracy. Socialism can be built only on social equality in the various fields of life. Full employment, full freedom to develop mentally, physically, economically and politically must be accepted as the basic conditions upon which the Indian polity should rest.

Democracy on Trial

Where we quote "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" to describe a genu-

ine democracy, we mean that in a healthy democratic state the people arrange for their own government by selecting and appointing the best among them to run that government. And that government is run for the benefit of the entire community and not for the enrichment and comfort of a few privileged persons, nor for the advantage of any person or persons who do not belong to that country or community. A democracy, therefore, must not allow itself to be lowered to the position of an autocracy; that is, a State dominated by a single person and his personal followers; or an oligarchy; that is, a State which is lorded over by a few privileged persons. The perfect democracy is a State which is ruled by the freely elected representatives of the people of the country. The word "freely" should be specially noted. For a system of election which is not free from interference by groups, coteries, and other organisations whose purpose is to make the elections subject to their wishes, directives and selections, can hardly be described as a free election. The political party system therefore is an obstruction to free elections and to the healthy functioning of democracies. And the more the powers that political parties can acquire for themselves, the more intensive become their efforts to control the elections of the representatives of the people to the legislatures. They also try to interfere with the work of Government and to act like a shadow Government which directs and dictates from behind a screen. So that when political party leaders extol the importance of the parties in the work of safeguarding democracy, they lavish praises where condemnation is deserved. For the political parties function like closed door monopolies into which no one can enter without the approval of the leaders who are quite often persons devoid of merit or quality. And the parties nominate their candidates and get them elected by fair means or foul, with the result that free elections do not remain free, but are carried out in accordance with the pre-determined directives of party leaders. That is why when democracies should function according to the wishes of the people, they really work under the dictation of political party leaders. Democracy then becomes by and large government of the people, by the parties, and mainly for the advantage of the party members. To what extent the people can expect the government to work for public benefit will

largely depend on the moral sense of the party leaders. Sometimes the parties act like benevolent despots and do good to the people. At other times they exploit the public in a shameless and blatant manner. Fundamentally, the party system is a curb upon the peoples' freedom and there should be laws for checking party inroads into the freedoms guaranteed to the people. How this can be done is a problem which experts can handle. But we know that there can be no peoples' *raj*, so long as the people remain subjects of party *raj*.

Our political parties have very little in their past history which can be called glorious. The major party began well but could not maintain the nation's unity and greatness when the time came for taking over power from the imperial British. They divided India into two States and by this act created problems for the people of both States which may continue to darken their lives for many decades. Thereafter, by their mismanagement of the affairs of the country and their eagerness to beg and borrow from foreign countries, they progressively reduced India to a very shameful position in the world of nations. India has been humiliated by China and by other foreign nations who support Pakistan in a manner which no self-respecting country should have tolerated.

Even during the British period our "progressive" parties have never suffered from any patriotic feelings. They have always used their motherland as a pawn in their game of carving out a place for themselves in the international arena of human group relations. When Indians were dying in their hundreds of thousands of starvation in 1943, our "progressives" did nothing to force the British rulers to bring food into the famine stricken land, for fear of upsetting the poor British allies of the Russians. Later on too they have seldom thought of India or the Indians in planning their campaigns under the dictation of this country or that. There can be no place for any groups or parties in India whose avowed objectives are openly or tacitly treasonable. There are other parties which are devoted to narrower interests than plain honest to goodness Indian nationalism. With all sympathies for the numerous communities, languages, diet habits and other idiosyncracies of the peoples of India, we cannot have much faith in anyone who is not an Indian first, Indian last and Indian all the way in between. The

forces of division, partition and coercive sectarianism of all types, cannot be tolerated by the nation as a whole. All persons who think that their parties, coteries, cliques and groups must have precedence over India must be suppressed. Of such forces, the various political parties have become the greatest obstruction to the development of a free and true democracy in India. Before the elections, therefore, the people must remember that India lacks food, education, housing, medical aid, a steady currency, full employment for all workers, prestige in foreign relations and many other things which make a nation great, strong and prosperous. Only good and capable persons can put India in her rightful place. The political parties lack good, capable and qualified men and women. The people must, nevertheless, try to put the right persons in the right places.

Rationing

Rationing in India is carried out in the urban areas. The supply of wheat is obtained mainly by imports. The Ports have road and rail connection with the urban areas, so have the big wheat markets inside the country. Wheat supply therefore, is easier and can keep pace with the growth of urban population, if imports are not cut down. The procurement of rice, however, depends much more on internal sources and can only keep pace with the growth of urban population if necessary road and rail connections are made available for exploiting all sources. This has not been done. Working village wise, the number of villages throughout India would require about 1,200,000 miles of roads for truck traffic to exploit their surplus of foodgrains in full. These essential roadways have not been constructed by our Government during their 19 years of existence. What roads they have added would be quite inadequate for the purpose. For, urban and industrial centres have drawn population to a degree which has certainly outpaced the road construction engaged in by the Government. So that a shortage of rice would be inevitable even if we had bumper crops all over the country. Wheat, corn, jowar, bajra etc., are also impossible to procure in full out of village surpluses for the same want of roads. But this is counter-balanced by imports of foodgrains out of borrowed and earned foreign exchange. Had the roads

been there, the foreign funds might have been used for Defence or other important purposes. But it is not possible just now to rectify overnight the grand mistakes made by our Government.

Two Major Political Groups

The two major political groups in India are the Congress supporters and the followers of the Communist giants, Russia and China. In both groups there are fanatical "faithfuls" of different ideologies; but the largest number of the supporters of these groups are ordinary greedy human beings. In the Congress camps are those who hunger for governmental contracts, permit hunters, black marketeers, profiteers and other anti-social elements who live by exploiting fellow humans. In the Communist groups are also found many law breakers, property owners, shopkeepers, contractors, factory wallahs and so forth. The two camps therefore, have hard cores of fanaticism; but their greatest number of followers are, by some strange chance, ordinary law breakers, illicit dealers and the products of influence and wangling. The Congress group has been in a politically dominant position for about nineteen years and their management of the affairs of the nation has proved that they are neither very democratic nor are they the true and sincere followers of any high socialistic or humanistic ideals. The inner circle of Congress men have "made good" generally speaking; but the people of India have not. In the Communist groups too are the secret collaborators with the Congress who look after themselves quite well. There are others who receive money from foreigners and, lastly, there are many who live quite well by fair means or foul.

Sri Aurobindo, as quoted by one of his greatest disciples, Anil Baran Roy, said in 1950, "It is the first move in the Communist plan of campaign to dominate and take possession first of these (Korean) Northern parts and then of South East Asia . . . (also) Tibet as a gate into India." A. B. Roy said, "There is no split between Russia and China in the Communist aim of world domination. . . . The Communist parties in India are openly taking orders either from Russia or from China, and we must not give any facility to them to engulf our fair motherland in

a Communist upheaval. . . . What China has done in Tibet is sufficient proof of what Communism means for the world. . . . We are already getting a bitter taste of it in India in the deliberate attempts of these parties to create a chaos in the country, taking advantage of the miserable condition of the masses brought about by Congress misrule."

The beginning of Congress mismanagement of India's National affairs was made by the late Jawaharlal Nehru, who agreed to a partition of India in spite of the opposition of the Congress Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi. Nehru was ambitious and wanted to become a world figure by playing a diplomatic game at the U.N. without thinking of the welfare of his own countrymen. His recognition of "China's sovereignty over Tibet" was a stupendous act of political folly and complete disregard for historical, cultural and anthropological truths.

Anil Baran Roy says, "The Congress Government has to be replaced, that is the clear verdict of the Indian people. We must have the courage and confidence to stand on that and bring together the other political parties to fight a triangular front against the Congress and the Communists in the next elections."

Congress Controls Cricket

The sports world has been invaded by politics for quite some time. But a mass invasion by the non-sporting type of politicians began in Bengal when Sri Atulya Ghosh entered the arena with his trained band of exploiters of resources and abusers of powers. Sri Atulya Ghosh has now got a strangle-hold on Cricket and Football in Bengal and his direct or indirect management of these very popular games, enables him to maintain sizeable armies of followers at the cost of the sport lovers of this State.

As we were completing our printing of this number of *The Modern Review*, we received news of what happened at the Eden Gardens during the Test Match. The Congress controlled CAB apparently over-did things and then called in the Congress controlled police to "restore order" in a crowd which the CAB had collected there by their sale of high priced tickets in excess of the number of seats they had arranged for. The police who know only ill mannered methods of

establishing law and for whom the public have no respect on account of their corrupt and discourteous behaviour at all times, tried to beat up people who had paid large sums of money to the CAB for admission. This did not work and led to a great commotion. Then the other members of the Congress-Communist organisation took over and started incendiarism and everything else. So began 1967.

Aid to Politicians

Particular industries have their own particular economic interests. Their own workers and their wages, terms and conditions of service and other needs and demands occupy an important position in the foreground of the economy of the particular industry. Costs of raw materials, their procurement and transport, come up equally in importance. And lastly come the sale of the goods produced. All these factors are not so very important from the point of view of some other industry. For example the circumstances and the set up of the rice milling or the ship building industry will not be similar to what we shall find in the textiles mills or in the plastic industry. In an overall fashion too the interests of the consuming public or the workers will be different from the interests of the industrialists. So that, when a political party wedded to socialism or to the dictatorship of the proletariat seeks donations from large scale industrial-commercial establishments and also receives large sums of money from them for meeting election expenses, the conclusion would naturally be that the political parties were receiving money aid only after they had promised to help the capitalists at a later date. And all such help given to these money kings by the politicians would inevitably be at the cost of the common man, be he a worker or a consumer. That being so political parties should not be allowed to seek donations and accept such gifts from business organisations. The public should also let the politicians know that they may take money from the big business houses; but they will get no votes from the common run of voters.

There appears to be a sort of underhand arrangement between the political party leaders and the leaders of the financial world, that they would collaborate in the exploitation of the mass-

es. That is why the people who vote the politicians into power should begin to cast their votes in favour of candidates who have no ties with political parties which accept payment from the industrialists. India's completely unbalanced economy, her starving millions, her ill paid workers, her lack of the means of civilised existence, are all due to the conspiratorial collaboration that has existed between the political parties and the industrial magnates. With people starving in mud huts in their millions and dying for want of medicine, India had been "investing" thousands of rupees in redundant industries and useless economic experiments. This has gone on long enough. It is now necessary to abolish all political parties that have taken any part in this nefarious scheme of exploitation. Let the "freely elected" representatives of the people rule the country for a change. The nominees of parties in league with big business or foreign countries must not be allowed to win the elections. If eventually India must have political parties, let them be 'clean and wholesome ones'. The parties that now dominate our democracy are steeped in anti-social crime. They must no longer disgrace our motherland.

Good Policemen

The police of any civilised country should be able to maintain law and order in spite of the presence of law breakers and criminals. They would do this work by exercising a good influence on the public and by persuasion of a strong and friendly nature. That means the police must be civilised, incorruptible, fearless, friendly and strong. Ill mannered men provoke antagonism by their very presence. If, on top of being ill-mannered they are corrupt, nobody would have the least respect for them. Such men can never expect to control unruly crowds. For the morale of bad men is always low. Weakness added to a timid heart makes a man doubly weak. So that, persons with little education, little good manners, bad character and the natural timidity of the ill bred rustic, can hardly ever make efficient policemen. Bad policemen who are low paid and cannot live on their meagre incomes develop a comprehensive type of incapacity which is rarely found in the police of civilised countries.

To improve the police force and to make it capable of controlling crime in general or crowds

in an enraged mood, one must pick and choose and select better type of men who will respond to education and training. Their wages must be adequate and they must be supported by leadership of a kind which will give them self-confidence, courage and strength of character. Bribe taking bullies cannot make good policemen. Policemen must learn to behave before they can make other people follow the path of good behaviour.

The Draught Situation

A great effort is being made in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to relieve the food shortage by well irrigation and intensive cultivation. Hundreds of thousands of wells have been dug and arid patches have been watered for growing food. This has already produced results and the general atmosphere of hopeless surrender to an inevitable fate has changed to one of eagerness to fight the inclement forces of nature. The governments have come forward with aid and assistance in a big way and the landless workers of the States referred to are now being given employment as part of the relief measures. We do not know what these relief measures are like but we hope that money will not be wasted on work of no permanent value. India has a chronic shortage of roads and many Indian villages are cut off from the rest of the country for want of connecting roads. As a result the urban areas cannot develop their contacts in village markets and the isolated villages do not undertake to grow food for the towns. If the whole country was to grow in a balanced fashion and the villages and the towns were to develop by mutual assistance, roads should play an important part in it. The roads would be a permanent asset to the country and would be worth building as a part of our economic development plans. Later the villages would grow food for the urban and industrial areas and the need for food imports would not exist.

Management of Public Sector Industries

We hear stories, from time to time, of all sorts purporting to the management (or really mismanagement) of public sector industries. Occasional tid-bits about colossal wastes due to management's incompetence or worse—both at

policy making as well as executive levels—also come to light from time to time, sometimes also in certain official or parliamentary documents. A permanent Commission has, we understand, also been appointed by the Government of India to keep some of our public enterprises on the straight and narrow path. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be any evidence of a wholesome awareness, in the appropriate quarters, of their responsibilities in this connection. There is a general air of lack of purposefulness and most of such enterprises seem to be run with a measure of incompetence and unconcern which would seem to be extraordinary.

A measure of the level of efficiency of management of public sector enterprises should be their profitability. There is no doubt that some of these industries have been earning a profit and, in a few cases, the incidence of profitability has even registered a slight rise over the last few years. But do these profits, whatever their incidence, conform to any reasonable standard of profitability? The question may be asked as to what this standard should be? A reasonable assumption would be to assess it at the level where, after covering all permanent overheads, depreciation, taxation etc., it will be adequate to at least cover the interest charges on the capital borrowings for the industries concerned. From what little is allowed to pass into public knowledge, it would seem quite clear that only a fraction of this can, so far, be covered by earned profits.

There are other yard-sticks for measuring management's efficiency and competence; for instance, in the manner that plant and equipment are operated and maintained. There are allegations, occasionally, of gross and culpable negligence in this department of management responsibility also. We have a report from a source usually considered reliable that the coke ovens batteries in a major public sector steel plant are now in danger of imminent and, it is feared, permanent breakdown on account of incompetent operation and negligent maintenance. These newly erected coke oven batteries put up by a construction firm of world-wide reputation who specialize in this particular area, were first commissioned only as recently as six or seven years ago and should have been at the very apex of their operational efficiency. The position, it is apprehended, is so bad that it may be unavoidable to douse these batteries for a complete and wholesale renovation costing lakhs and lakhs of rupees, a great deal of it in precious foreign exchange. If that is so, production all along the line will have to suffer severe dislocation and attenuation and may even have to lead to a serious measure of lay-off of personnel.

This would seem to call for instant attention, investigation, allocation of responsibility and appropriate punitive action. Incompetent management cannot excuse this kind of playing ducks and drakes with valuable national property which have yet to be paid for.

N. S.

POETRY AND METRE

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Translation of *kavya O Chhanda* in *Sahityer Swarup* by Dr. Sarojendra Nath Roy, Ph. D.)

A dispute is going on about Prose-poems in the minds of those readers who have misgivings about them. This is no wonder.

It must be admitted that metre has a momentum at whose impact words winged with passion find an easy and powerful access to the heart. It is not only that. The world where prose has slaved itself in the various spheres and chores of life is different from that of poetry. This is made explicit by the special diction of poetry. When the quality of a thing is made manifest in its own place, we welcome it promptly. The moment the *sanyasi* in his ochre-coloured clothes proclaims that he is different from the house-holder, the mind of the devotee makes its way towards his feet in humility. If this were not so, the *sanyasi* would suffer some loss in the trade of *bhakti*.

It is however superfluous to say that the chief thing in the *sanyasi's* asceticism does not lie in his ochre-coloured clothes, but in the sincerity of his religious endeavours. One who knows this is more powerfully impressed by the absence of such clothes. He says, "I will realize truth by my own understanding and not by that ochre-coloured cloth under which lie many untruths".

Metre alone does not make poetry. The essence of poetry lies in the delight it gives. Metre is an aid to it and introduces us to the knowledge of it. It is of help in two ways: One is its natural power of exciting the mind; the other is that it pleases the reader by satisfying an age-long habit. This question of habit needs a little scrutiny. At one time, metre based upon a regular division of verse was alone considered legitimate for good poetry. Our ear was then attuned to it. Then rhyming

was thought to be indispensable. At such a time, Madhusudan in Bengali poetry introduced the blank verse, something against our usual practice in poetry. There was no rhyme in it. The verses were arranged in equal length, as if fenced at equal distances. But the footsteps of rhythm overleaped them increasingly. In other words, its style was that of poetry but its behaviour that of prose.

Let me give you another instance of the transitoriness of a traditional practice. At one time, the word *kulavadhu* (a married lady belonging to a respectable family observing purdah), meant that she dwelt in the zenana. To suspect, therefore, the ladies who first came out of it boldly, to insult them openly and privately, and to hold them up to vulgar ridicule as heroines in farces was once the practice, because the ladies dealt a blow at the custom of the day. During those days, the cowardly treatment accorded to the ladies who had the courage to study with men students at the university is known to all.

The definition of a respectable woman is undergoing a gradual change. The ladies have undoubtedly remained ladies although they are now freed from the restrictions of the inner apartment. Similarly the unrhymed unevenness of blank verse is no longer considered to be opposed to the style of poetry today, though this new metre has discarded the old canon in great measure.

This became easy because the English educated readers of those days had learnt to respect the poetry of Shakespeare and Milton. When blank verse acquired a high status in the hierarchy of literature, the traditionalists extended their support to it saying that though blank verse had gone beyond the limit of fourteen letters as

required by **Payar** (the traditional Bengali metre), it did not disregard its distinguishing trait of **Laya** (Rhythmic continuation). They cling to the notion that by observing **Laya**, this metre has conformed to the laws of poetry. They want to say that poetry could not have become poetry without this blood relationship with **Payar**. What is poetry and what it is not depends not on the gratification of some habit but on its becoming poetry. This has been proved by Blank verse already. Prose-poem has to prove today the fact that the presentation of poetry in prose is not impossible.

Cavalry is army, infantry also is army—in what fundamentals do they agree? It is there where they both aim at victory in the battle. The aim of literature is the winning of heart—whether it is on the horse of poetry or on the foot marches of prose. It must be judged by its ability to fulfil that purpose. Defeat is defeat whether it is on horse or on foot. There are hundreds of instances of the fact that a piece of writing though in metre has not become poetry. Prose by assuming the name of poetry does not become poetry.

Metre has this advantage that it has a natural sweetness. In spite of every thing to the contrary this is a gain. In cheap sweetmeats, the portion of casein may be negligible but some sugar can be had in them.

But there are some squeamish persons whom it is hard to please. They refuse to make fools of themselves with sugar in the name of sweetmeat. Such people insist that whatever the cost, they must have pure materials rather than fake commodities

with enticing appearance. They want to say that real poetry is not entirely a matter of metre or its absence. Its greatness lies in the inner fulfilment of its purpose.

Whether it is prose or poetry, a writing that seeks to please has its own natural music. In poetry it is manifest, in prose it runs deep. Poetry will suffer if that innermost rhythm is disturbed. The art of versification can be cultivated according to set rules, but that sense of just proportion which is needed in prose rhythm, unless it comes naturally, cannot be acquired through the study of rhetoric. Many people do not realize that just because prose-writing is simple, prose rhythm is not so easy of attainment. The temptation of easy success lands one in serious difficulties. This leads to carelessness and carelessness is an insult to the goddess of art; she in her turn revenges herself by sending failure to the artist. One has reason to fear that prose-poem in the hands of slipshod writers will heap up materials for ridicule and contempt. But the simple fact must be emphasised that what is really poetical is poetry whether it is in metre or without it.

Ultimately one thing must be said: Poetry is no longer remote from the stern reality of daily life that it was at one time. Now it seeks to raise everything to its world of beauty. (Like Yudhishthir) it would not leave its dog behind even when climbing up to heaven.

Prose will be of use in bringing about a synthesis between the actual world and the world of beauty, because prose does not suffer from the complex of untouchability.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER—A PROFILE

SWAMI TATHAGATANANDA

"The world is a ghastly drama of will-to-live divided against itself. One existence makes its way at the cost of another ; one destroys the other. One will-to-live merely exerts its will against the other, and has no knowledge of it. But in me the will-to-live has come to know about other wills-to-live. There is in it a yearning to arrive at Unity with itself, to become universal." (A. Schweitzer). Most of us discover the world through the mist of scientific shibboleths—'struggle for existence'. Well, we cannot forget the nightmare of life in the speculation of philosophy. We cannot be indifferent to the buffetings of fate and vicissitudes of life. Naturally we are always in quest of boisteorus pleasure of body— not the quiet happiness of mind. The entire atmosphere is saturated with barbaric splendour, ugly vulgarity and inordinate ambition. The world has been turned into a jungle of snarling beasts. A slight provocation may bring flashing knives into open. We are thrown, as if into the melting pot of humanity and there to remain seething, bubbling, boiling and never uniting. The human heart seems to be full of selfishness and lust, choked with fumes of sin. The wails of the groaning people reach down the corridors of Time. But the cloud is not without a silver lining. The storm-tossed mariner is not without his compass. There are many great souls as well. They try their utmost to transform a seething maelstrom into a placid lake. Their vast heart registers every muffled cry of agony that arises in the world out of the hearts of the tormented humanity. The voice of God that rumbles in all of us roars out like a thunder-clap through them. They do not want to avoid the storms that may wreck the barque of their happiness. They never remain on the sea-shore as a spectator while the ships of their fellows are breaking up amidst the pounding of the waves. They cultivate the genius of friendship. They make religion of it. If the sufferings of life reconcile us to death, then the holiness of friendship can restore us to life.

Albert Schweitzer is such a rare personality born with a divine aroma. Through the dark night of ruin, as if, a star blazed forth to comfort and encourage the bewildered humanity. The outstanding trait of his character is his intrepid manhood. His momentous decision to serve the down-trodden people of Africa is really astonishing. At the age of thirty his eyes fell on an article in *Journal des Missions Evangeliques*. The article echoed the longstanding grievances of lamentable lack of trained personnel. But the ordinary men were not wanted. The Mission's authorities appealed to some one 'on whom the Master's eyes already rested'. He responded to this call. This urge to dedicate his life at the altar of suffering people led him to undergo immense suffering at the initial stage. He was a triple doctrin music, philosophy and theology. Now he had to study medicine. He was out and out a man of religious temperament. It is precisely in the sphere of the tackling of this inner world of man, the purifying of his urges, the ennobling of his motives and the socialising of his energies that religion becomes a unique factor holding a significant message for the deveopment and fulfilment of human skill. ,

He had to leave his most successful scholarly, artistic, and other creative activities, with their popularity and handsome income. He buried himself for the rest of his life in the equatorial jungle of Africa without any "sense of tragedy of ruined life."

Albert Schweitzer as he himself tells us, had always been sensitive to pain and suffering. It had affected him so vigorously that in his boyhood he questioned himself about his right to personal happiness. "It struck me as incompr-hensible that I should not be allowed to lead such a happy life, while I saw so many people around me wrestling with care and suffering." This idea had a strong grip upon his mind and haunted

him all the happy years of his studentship and distinguished scholarly and artistic activities. "Then one brilliant summer morning (1896) there came to me as I awoke, the thought that I must not accept this happiness as a matter of course, but must give something in return for it. Proceeding to think the matter out at once with calm deliberation, while the birds were singing outside, I settled with myself before I got up, that I would consider myself justified in living till I was thirty for science and art, in order to devote myself from that time forward to the direct service of humanity. Many a time already had I tried to settle what meaning lay hidden for me in the saying of Jesus: 'Whosoever would save his life shall lose it, and whoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel shall save it'. Now the answer was found. In addition to the outward, I now had inward happiness". The statement comes direct from Albert Schweitzer.

Man does not live by bread alone. He requires a personal faith by which he can live a blissful life; not a mere existence of pain-pleasure dimension. Here we are to recognise, perforce, the value of faith in life, the need for something to ground our life upon. Visions of higher life alone can lend significance to our dwarfed statuses. While passing through a streambed amidst the herd of hippopotamuses in Africa in the year 1915, he suddenly experienced an unpredictable flash of insight. From his own word we get the picture. He says, "There flashed upon my mind, unforeseen and unsought, the phrase 'Reverence for Life . . .'. I had found my way to the idea in which affirmation of the world and ethics were contained side by side." This is his solemn *mantra* of life. Life as such is sacred to him.

"The ethic of Reverence for Life is the ethic of Love-widened universality. It is the ethic of Jesus, now recognised as a necessity of thought." The world view of Reverence for Life has, therefore, a religious character. The man who avows his belief in it and acts upon this principle shows respectful sympathy with other life.

He is in complete disagreement with the spirit of the age which has developed a disdain for thinking. We have mortgaged our personal capacity for thinking to others. Renunciation of thinking, he

says, "is a declaration of spiritual bankruptcy". Where there is no longer conviction that men can get to know the truth by their own thinking, scepticism begins. That is the reason of our falling so low spiritually in spite of our tremendous material achievement. We remain altogether a stunted being. This respect for human life will demand of us sacrifice physical as well as mental. Man may win his way to inward freedom by turning into an introvert. The inward freedom will make him pure, calm and peaceful. This will give him incentive to enhance his spiritual stature. Reverence for life will pulse unceasingly in all directions through all his observations, reflections and resolutions. It will keep him in a temper of devotion to existences other than his own, interpenetrating each other.

This truth of unity of existence inspires him to show respect for all life, sentient and insentient. This is a spring-board of his altruism. This love we firmly believe to be the medicine of life, the never-failing remedy for all the evils of this disordered world. This attitude seems to be foreign to our nature. It is really difficult for us to reach that godly height of super-human wisdom.

It was by virtue of his dauntless spirit that he could break through the meanness of the Christian people and direct the current of love and steadfast activities of his fellow brethren not towards the limited sphere of Christianity but towards kindness, compassion and ever-widening humanity. This rare humanity is what constitutes the true glory of his life; his stupendous elevation of character dwarfs even the greatness of his work. No doubt his is a work of solitary greatness. But the normal worth of an action cannot be found anywhere else but in a principle of will, without regard to the ends which can be attained by action. His service in the Lambarene Hospital in Congo ushers in a new faith to tormented humanity. It serves as a consolation in sorrow and suffering, as a perfect sanctuary in this world of pettiness and selfishness, and as a sequestered bower of beauty amidst the weariness and fever of our day-to-day life. He is neither irritated by the failure nor cowed down by frustration which is the common lot of the social workers.

"Heavy is the burden of fatigue and responsibility, which have lain upon me without

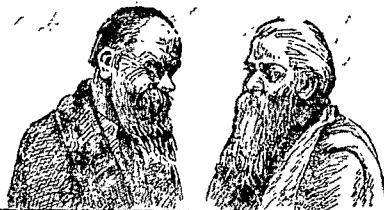
a break of years. I have not much of my life for myself, not even the hours I should like to devote to my wife and child".

He is safe within the rampart of faith. Being an ardent disciple of lady poverty, he never insults her with the luxury of city life. He remains even today as a jungle Doctor. He has got peace of mind. Even a casual witness can read an expression of triumphant serenity on his large face befitting the ascetic whose steadfastness is rooted in God. His wide sweep of outlook is reminiscent of the glories of the old Rishis.

The world is sick. "Bleeding from war wounds", says Sorokin in his preface to *'Reconstruction of humanity'*, and frightened by the atomic Frankensteins of destruction, humanity is desperately looking for a way out of the death trap" This same horror of total insecurity is voiced by many prominent men of our time.

The dissemination of science and education has been of little value to lift the blanket of fear. Schweitzers and their compatriots are wanted to

show the path of happiness. His stupendous respect for life has removed the mirror of self-flattery from our eyes and has held up before us the glass of truth. His life is an oasis of peace amidst the ever-shifting sands of existence. We are interested to reclaim a barren land. But the barren land that has to be reclaimed to fertility is the crude human heart. It is a matter of turning round, out of the darkness of self-pity, into the sun light of self-fulfilment. We must have a second birth, from dry intellectuality to spirituality, from justice to charity, from law to love. This is the most significant discovery—the way to new dimensions of existence. Men subscribing to his philosophy should travel over the earth to smooth out the furrows of suffering on the face of humanity. They should look upon themselves, together with every other living creature, as forming a single sympathetic cadence in the poetry of creation. In them the weary and panicky world will find sincere champions of love, and the grace of God will spontaneously descend upon them and serve as a perennial spring of inspiration to forge ahead with unabated zeal and enthusiasm to reach the destined goal of human existence.



THE BUDDHA AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The basic principle of a democratic form of government is the freedom and dignity of the individual with equality before the Law. No man can be called free unless he is able to pursue his calling unhampered by barriers of caste, class, or special privilege. In a deeper sense no man is truly free until he can without fear or pressure from authoritarian coercion, unfold his innate potentialities and perfect himself by shaping his own Kamma or destiny. It was the Buddha who for the first time taught and realized these values through His Dhamma. It has led to an out-flowering of a civilisation that, to this day, stands as a marvel in the history of mankind.

Three centuries later it led for the first time in the annals of mankind, to establish hospitals for both men and animals and organize universal education, which culminated in establishing international centers of learning, known today as universities. With the spread of Buddhism in greater Asia from the 3rd Century B.C. it stimulated the formation of new civilizations depending on the national genius of the inhabitants in each State. These civilizations produced a fascinating array of art and dance forms, literature, and social and economic institutions on the Dhamma.

Democratic Values

The recognized prerequisites of democratic culture are :

1. A productive economy to raise man above the level of poverty and misery,
2. A progressive society with security and opportunity for all,
3. A literate society with universal education,
4. Personal liberty and self-reliance.

5. A system of ethics based on moral law,
6. Deep-rooted respect for the system of values and institutions that helped each culture evolve into great civilizations.

These values were respected in the ancient Buddhist civilization of Asia, particularly in the Asokan period from the 3rd century B.C.—the golden period of Indian history. These conditions exist today in highly industrialized Japan where there is a predominantly Buddhist civilization, and in the newly emerged Buddhist States of Asia. These technically backward nations are rebuilding their economies to raise the standard of living of their people. Among these, Ceylon has an almost fully literate society with free education from kindergarten up to university.

Buddhism has given each man or woman sturdy independence, rather than dependence on the mercy of a Creator God to better themselves. The Buddha taught man the gospel of self-help in his efforts to lead a noble life. To achieve the highest conditions of mind and heart, the Buddha said man must work out his own way. He asserted that man's own deed would make him noble and advised him to guard against deeds that would make him low.

Further, the Buddha stated that all beings, including men, are suffering, and through His Noble, Eight-fold Path he gave an efficacious prescription how to make an end of that suffering. Since that Path is a road to gradual progress it is intelligible and practicable to all, even on the lowest rungs of human development. None is excluded from reaching final deliverance if only he takes resolutely one step after the other on that road. Thus we see that the Buddha conceded equality to all human beings—a cardinal principle in a democratic society.

Thus, the Buddha sounded the clarion-call of human liberty, He said, "Take ye refuge unto yourself; be ye your own salvation!"

The Buddha pointed out the absolute folly of artificial distinctions between man and man. At the time of the Buddha there was a rigid caste system in India. It determined and fixed man's place in the social order by the mere fact that one's father was of such and such a descent and had such and such an occupation. The low castes were denied an education and were placed low on the social ladder, and this with such a rigidity that a low caste man could hardly break out of his situation. The Buddha revolted against this injustice and asserted the equality of all men so far as their basic rights were concerned.

The Buddha unhesitatingly admitted to His Order of Monks also people of the so-called low castes—barbers, butchers, sweepers, and the untouchable—along with the members of the noble and priestly castes. He made absolutely no distinctions between them in the ranks of the monks. All received equal homage, reverence and respect. Some members of the nobility were upset by these actions of the Buddha and none of them dared challenge the Buddha to define a noble man. It was them that he declared:

"No man is noble by birth
No man is ignoble by birth.
Man is noble by his own deeds,
Man is ignoble by his own deeds"

Commenting on the Buddha's discourse, the Sigalovada Sutta, which is based on social ethics, the world-famous British scholar, Professor Rhys Davids, Chairman of the Department of Comparative Religion, Manchester University, England, says: "Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges, when the people were full of kindly spirit of fellow feelings, the noble spirit of justice, which breathes through these naive and simple sayings," He adds: "Not less happy would be the village on the banks of the Thames today, of which this could be said."

He continues: "The Buddha's doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is here set forth in domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive details than elsewhere. . . . And truly we may say even now of this Vinaya or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, so sane and wide is the wisdom that envisages them that the utterances are as fresh and practically as binding today as they were then, at Rajagaha (India)."

The Buddha strongly condemned all sacrifices performed in the name of religion, particularly those involving animal sacrifices. It was believed at that time, that sacrifices atoned for sin and protected against evil spirits. The Buddha said that these sacrifices were cruel and useless, as it is only through a noble life that man can elevate himself and be secure against evil.

The Buddha's compassion extended also to those who were ailing. Once he said to his disciples: "Whoever, monks, nurses the sick, will nurse me." And in that spirit hospitals for both animals and men were later established during the reign of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C.

The Buddha condemned slavery in any shape and form. He laid down golden rules for the right manner of earning one's living in a way not harmful to others, and this included also that any trafficking in human beings was out of bounds for a Buddhist.

The temperance movement owes its beginnings to the Buddha who asked his followers to abstain from using or selling liquor and other intoxicants.

Gospel of Tolerance

The Buddha also preached the gospel of tolerance, of compassion, loving-kindness and non-violence. He taught men not to despise other religions and not to belittle them. He further declared that one should not even accept His own teachings unless one found them to be in accord with one's personal reasoning, according to the Kalama Sutta.

During the Buddha's time there were a number of great kingdoms in India such as Magadha and Kosala, and some of them were established on the democratic form over the oligarchical form of government, as it was the best form of government which was conducive to the stability of society.

The Buddha showed great admiration for the Vajjis or Licchavis. In the Maha Parinibbana Sutta he likened the Licchavis to the thirtythree Gods (Tavatimsa-deva). He also warned Vassakara, Minister of parricidal king Ajatasattu, that the Vajjis would remain invincible as long as they adhered to the seven rules of a nation's welfare (aparihaniya dhamma) namely: (1) frequent meetings for consultations, (2) concord in action, (3) adherence to old injunctions and traditions, (4) respect to elders, (5) respect for women who should never be molested (6) reverence to places of worship within and outside the territory, (7) protection of worthy saints in the territory.

The Buddha continued: "So long as the Vajjis meet frequently in council, assemble and disperse in harmony (and observe the other rules of welfare) their prosperity is to be expected, not their decline".

Asoka's Reign

The Emperor Asoka worked with ceaseless energy for the propagation of Buddhism and transformed it into a world religion. The Asokan period from 325 to 288 B.C. is of special significance to mankind as it is one of the most illustrious liberal democratic periods of history.

In his time Asoka established public gardens, medical herbs were cultivated, trees were planted along roads, hospitals

were established for both men and animals. He sank wells for public use, and educational and religious institutions grew up all over the country.

The late H.G. Wells writes in his **Outline of World History**: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses, and sovereignties and Royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines and shines almost alone a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though they have left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine and Charlemagne".

It is claimed that Asoka was one of the first to grant sex equality, by sending his own son and daughter to Ceylon for missionary work. In this vast empire, Asoka treated all his subjects with equal justice and admitted no privileges of caste or class.

Formation of democratic thought was originated in ancient India by the spread of Buddhism from the third century B.C. In introduction to the book **Legacy of India**, Lord Zetland, former Viceroy of India, states: "And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in assemblies of Buddhists in India, two thousand or more years ago, are to be found rudiments of our own parliamentary system as practised today."

Professor G.P. Malalasekera says: "The spread of Buddhism from country to country in greater Asia was without bloodshed and it is by itself a great democratic process never witnessed by any other world religion".

PROBLEMS OF FINANCING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

YOGESHWAR SHARMA

The problems of financing the economic development in a particular country is closely linked with the availability of surplus and its mobilisation for economic development. "The concept of economic surplus is undoubtedly somewhat tricky and clarifying and employing it for the understanding of the process of economic development, neither simple definition nor refined measurement can be substituted for analytical efforts and rational judgement"¹. In underdeveloped countries surplus is invisible and it is difficult to make out an estimate about the availability of surplus; and a still more difficult problem is its mobilisation for economic development without any socio-political change. Such countries usually depend to a great extent on foreign aid. Foreign aid may be essential in the early stages of development to import technical know-how and scientific advancement but too much dependence on foreign aid cannot be appreciated. Firstly because it is not available easily and secondly because of direct or indirect political strings attached to it. To quote Maurice Dobb² "It is quite widely recognised in these countries that there is a little chance of attracting foreign capital or aid from America or American controlled institutions or, for that matter, from Britain or West Germany without strings attached—and on any extensive scale without becoming closely harnessed to cold war strategies."

So our main problem is to finance the investment in such a way as to depend on internal resources. Optimum utilisation of internal resources depends on optimum mobilisation of the surplus available in a particular country in such a way so that inflationary pressure is not allowed to increase. Prof. I. Sachs while discussing the problems of a primitive society has defined surplus as "That part of potential

product which remains after deducting the direct consumption of producers, which is considered normal in the given society at a given moment is known as surplus"³. He further elaborates his statement: "We speak about potential surplus because we include in it the labour time which may be productively used."

To make it more clear here is an example—"Taking into account the habits of the population, if the six hour a day work is considered normal and is effectively delivered then there will be no surplus, but if the population works six hours a day effectively and finds it normal to work eight hours a day, we will have two hours of potential surplus per day per working person. An attempt to mobilise this type of surplus was made in India during recent emergency to raise the defence resources without affecting the pace of economic development. Working hours were increased during recent emergency. Prof. Sach has further opined that "The surplus as defined above may be used to increase the consumption of direct producers—redistribution by the chief—for consumption of the non-productive part of the population, for increasing stocks or investment."⁴ Out of these various alternatives government should make a choice and try to channelise the surplus in the desired way, i.e. investment.

Prof. Paul Baran in his famous book "**The Political Economy of Growth**" has analysed the idea of surplus by dividing it into two parts.

1. Actual economic surplus.
2. Potential economic surplus.

Actual economic surplus: It has been defined by Prof. Baran as "The difference between society's actual current output and its actual current consumption," Prof. Baran's idea of actual economic surplus is identical

with current savings or accumulation and it finds its embodiment in assets of various kinds added to society's wealth during the period in question, i.e. productive facilities and equipment, inventories, foreign balances and gold hoards.

Actual economic surplus has been generated in all the socio-economic formations. Baran says⁵ that its size and structure have markedly differed from one phase of development to another. Nowadays the magnitude of economic surplus is being regularly estimated by statistical agencies in most countries. But in underdeveloped countries, where the necessity to know the magnitude of surplus available is maximum, due to inadequacy of statistical information it is impossible to make a correct estimate."

Potential economic surplus: It has been defined by Prof. Baran as "The difference between output that could be produced in a given natural and technological environment with the help of employable productive resources and what might be regarded essential consumption".⁶ Hence the output lost due to underemployment or misemployment of productive resources comprises potential surplus. Its realisation is a hard task to achieve. It pre-supposes a drastic reorganisation of production and distribution of social output. Prof. Baran has given four factors by which output is lost to the society and which comprises potential surplus :

1. Society's excess consumption, particularly on the part of upper income and higher middle income group.
2. Output lost to the society through existence of unproductive workers.
3. Output lost because of irrational and wasteful organisation of existing productive apparatus.
4. Output foregone owing to the existence of unemployment, which is the further result of the anarchy of capitalist production and deficiency of effective demand.⁷

Prof. Baran utilised the concept of surplus to explain the process of capitalist exploitation. Our problem is to find out some measures for mobilisation of surplus, as resource for financing the economic development. According to Baran the existence of a large industrial reserve army would mean the existence of larger amounts of potential surplus. It is true that every human being is an asset to the nation if his energies are properly utilised. But in most of the underdeveloped countries the problem is to provide suitable employment to the existing manpower, and for this purpose we need physical capital resources. Thus an accelerated rate of accumulation which would lead to the higher rate of growth and which may further result in more real income with the public, is essential. To quote Prof. Kalecki.⁸ "What is more important is not an increase in population but an increase in purchasing power". An increase in the number of paupers does not broaden the market, and in a market economy where investment is guided by market conditions it does not result in increasing investment.

In a planned economy there is a necessity to make a deliberate investment with the objective of realising a higher rate of growth. Here I fully endorse the views of Prof. J. Pajestka⁹ that a supply-determined model is essential for economic development. To finance the investment directed towards economic development, we need the mobilisation of potential economic surplus. But in developing economies unfortunately the potential economic surplus is not being properly utilised. To quote Prof. Baran¹⁰ "The principal obstacle in rapid economic growth in the backward countries is the way in which potential economic surplus is utilised. It is absorbed by various forms of excess consumption of upper class, by increments of hoards at home and abroad, by maintenance of vast unproductive

bureaucracies and even more expensive and no less redundant military establishments".

So we can say that there is a need to plan the investment properly and mobilise resources for that. Prof. Kalecki has pointed out that "I" should be equal to "S", where "I" is investment finance and "S" is savings. But in practice, particularly in developing economies, investment is much lower than the savings in a strict sense. A part of the possible savings is directed towards conspicuous consumption and a part is wasted in non-essential investment which has very low growth potential. A part of saving particularly in India is directed towards hoarding and very little is left for investment. So in the early stages of development in an underdeveloped economy the problem of financing economic development is the problem of reducing the magnitude of hoarding and conspicuous consumption and mobilising the released resources towards investment with a high growth potential.

To analyse the consumption we can divide it into two parts—A, necessities, B, non-essential consumption.

By necessities are meant goods which constitute the major part of consumption by the broad masses of population¹¹. At Prof. Kalecki's advice a survey about expenditure on necessities was conducted by Perspective Planning Division of Planning Commission, Govt. of India. It includes a number of items as necessary consumption. A list of the same could be referred to in Prof. Kalecki's article on **'Financial Problems of Third Plan of India'**.¹²

The results of the inquiry were striking. Necessities in the above given sense constitute about 55 % of total consumption expenditure on goods and services. Hence about 45% of the consumption expenditure fall in the category of non-essential consumption, which could be mobilised for economic development. Prof. Kalecki¹³ is of the opinion that non-essentials are consumed

mainly by a richer strata of the population. But in underdeveloped economies and particularly in India, a huge amount of expenditure on non-essentials is incurred not only by rich strata of society but also by low income groups i.e. expenditure on marriage, funeral, religious ceremonies and pilgrimage. A substantial amount of resources is blocked in the shape of gold and silver ornaments particularly in rural areas. There is an immediate need to check this type of consumption. Government is not in a position to adopt any direct and drastic means as it involves some political risks. But through some programme of social reform and rural education non-essential consumption could be discouraged and released resources could be directed towards investment. Mr. Youjiro¹⁴ peeping deep into the problem has expressed a similar opinion: "underdeveloped countries are required to make efforts for changing the social and economic structure, e.g., transforming the society so as to be controlled by economic motives instead of social dignity and changing their institutions so that more of the public resources are directed towards productive investment".

There is an immediate need to check wasteful expenditure by the rich strata of the population. This strata of population could be allowed a little higher standard of living as an incentive to maintain efficiency and a definite intellectual standard. But the conspicuous consumption by the bourgeois class cannot be justified on any rational ground. Excess consumption could be checked through heavy taxation on higher income groups and non-essential consumption commodities. This does not mean that taxation would affect the consumption of necessities. The demand for consumption-goods would continue to grow but at a lower rate than the national income. Prof. Kalecki¹⁵ has argued that as the income elasticity of demand for necessities tends to decline, consumption of necessities will not grow faster. Consumption of non-essentials can also increase a little with the increase in real income but its growth

should be restricted so that it may not eat up the increased resources.

In the initial stages of development we should try to mobilise all the possible savings. Actual economic surplus available towards investment with high growth potential; and slowly efforts should be made to mobilise potential economic surplus for the development purpose.

Rationalisation of the government expenditure is badly needed to channelise available resources for investment purposes. In India, heavy expenditure is being incurred on Administration. Revenue expenditure has been estimated for the financial year 1966-67 to the tune of Rs. 2617.12 crores.¹⁶ There is an immediate necessity of rationalising this wasteful expenditure through reorganisation of the administrative set up. Another source from where resources could be diverted is the defence expenditure. A Huge amount of precious resources is being spent on maintenance of a large army. Defence expenditure has been estimated for the year 1966-67 to the tune of Rs. 798 crores.¹⁷ The need of this high defence expenditure can be justified looking to the present tension on Indian borders. Peace is essential for rapid economic development. No country is in a position to bear the heavy burden of modern war. War is suicidal for an underdeveloped economy. I hope that good and rational sense will prevail in these countries and instead of meeting in the battle fields, the representatives of these countries will be in a position to meet at the discussion table to solve their problems. Tashkent meet has been a remarkable success in this direction. It would release large resources to be utilised for economic development.

Another problem which needs to be discussed with the resource mobilisation for investment is that of maintaining market equilibrium or realisation of price stability. Due to increase in prices, cost of production increases, which further results in increased prices and this "cost-price-spiral" continues. Prof. Kalecki¹⁸ has also opined that "there must be no inflationary price increases of necessities, in particular

of staple food." To analyse this problem we can divide the inflation into two parts :

- A. Demand pull inflation.
- B. Cost push inflation.

Demand pull inflation : Orthodox view on inflation believes that inflation is caused by increase in the demand of consumer goods and its insufficient supply. Under planning heavy investment is incurred on basic and heavy industries. This investment releases the purchasing power in the hands of the population, and in underdeveloped countries as the prosperity to consume is very high, it constitutes the demand for consumer goods. As the supply of consumer goods does not keep pace with the increased demand, it results in price rises.

Cost push inflation : The other view presented in this connection is that inflation is caused by rising cost. Argues Prof. Duesenberg of Harvard University :¹⁹ "Due to powerful trade union organisations wages are to increase, which results in higher cost, which might lead to the increasing prices. Increase in wages and employment might have an increasing pressure on demand for consumer goods. Cost push in itself may have a demand side and a cost side, I mean wages which are considered mainly responsible for increasing prices may be the cause of inflation. A—increasing demand, B—increasing cost. Both factors are important causes of inflation and have interacted on one another."

When deliberate planning is resorted to for economic development, a certain amount of inflationary pressure cannot be avoided, due to increase in employment and higher money wages to the low-income group. But it does not mean that inflation can be allowed to show its ugly head which may defeat the aim of planning itself, i.e., realisation of higher rate of growth. There is an immediate need to check the inflationary pressure. Prof. Kalecki²⁰ has suggested to resort to price control and to increase the supply of necessities, particularly staple food, to fight out the inflation. In India

food prices have gone high during the recent years at an accelerated rate. Considering 1955-56 as base year, food article index reached in 1965 to 174.55%. Looking to the present food situation, where deficit has been estimated at about 12 million tons for the year 1965-66, (some of the American sources have estimated it to be of the tune of 18 million tons) and rising price trends there is an immediate necessity to reorganise the distribution system of foodgrain. State should take over the foodgrain trade immediately and resort to compulsory delivery system. It will not only ease the food situation but also stop the exploitation of agriculturists and consumers by the middle man, i.e., trader, and provide huge resources for investment to the state.

To conclude the discussion we can say that the problem of financing economic development is two fold, firstly, the mobilisation of surplus to the accumulation, and secondly maintenance of price-stability, so as to realise the desired rate of growth.

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LIFE IN UNIVERSE

LAL D. ASWANI

"Life" according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English is a "State of ceaseless change and functional activity peculiar to organized matter". Before we consider the implications of this definition, let us consider how the matter has organized itself into ceaseless change and functional activity in our immediate vicinity on the surface of Earth.

The earliest link, which you can get in the process of evolution, in the total two billion years of estimated life of the Earth, is the formulation of viruses, bacteria and planktoons, millions and trillions of them, swarming in the oceans in Cambrian Times, just a little more than 500 million years ago. In these early swarms there were some planktoons, with green colour but no cellulose, and able to move about. There was no marked distinction between plant life and animal life.

It can be safely conjectured that there must have been some other missing links, perhaps some form of liquid organic broth migrating from the very depths of space, between the inorganic matter and the viruses, which started off the "chain reaction" of the evolution; such broth being now extinct.

Some persons believe that life on Earth must have had a spontaneous birth. There are others who feel that special creation must have taken place to account for the first life. Others, seeing the analogy of palm and other tropical trees, the seeds of which travel the vast expanses of oceans and fix their stronghold on out-of-the-way newly-formed islands and flourish there, feel that life on Earth was also similarly generated through the invasion by some type of dormant seeds of life from some other planet or from space.

There are some kinds of disease germs, known as filterable viruses, which also possess the characteristics of living matter, as they can grow and reproduce as parasites. Recent investigations seem to suggest that they can be segregated in crystals of non-living form.

As soon as different forms of viruses appeared on Earth, the process of evolution as explained by Darwin began and other more complex forms of organized matter began to show themselves.

As Carbon was plentiful on Earth, and as this was one of the elements, whose atoms were capable of stringing themselves in hundreds and thousands in an organized manner, it became apparent that any form of organized life should have carbon atoms as the foundation. Thus the whole complex of life forms, having Carbon as their vital ingredient, appeared in diverse sizes and shapes and flourished profusely on Earth some 300 million years ago.

Of course, Silicon atoms are also capable of forming complex patterns, but they do not seem to have obtained any stronghold on Earth.

Darwin's theory showing the "Survival of the fittest" seems to have functioned satisfactorily right from the beginning of evolution till about 50,000 B.C., when elementary forms of man's civilization appeared on Earth. From that day onwards, evolution, as far as Man is concerned, has been tending to take the form of an oscillator. In other words, the last 50,000 years have seen on the surface of Earth, distinctly separated in time and space, not less than seven civilizations, each one not in any way less powerful than the subsequent one. Each one progressed slowly at first and then accelerated its speed of progress, and went all of a sudden to its final doom, into the abyss of destruction; since then no more of that civilization being heard.

Our present civilization also seems to be on the ascending side of that oscillographic curve and, particularly during the last 300 years, we have been able to achieve colossal knowledge about the functioning of cosmos and thereby facilitating our adaptation to the rigours of the outside world. In addition to this we have learnt to collect our knowledge and pass it on to the younger generations, so that they may take advan-

tage of the same. This probably is the unique scientific discovery.

The progress has assumed such heavy proportions that it seems almost certain that we have nearly ascended the top of our ladder and the descent is almost in sight. You would call me a pessimist, but we have to rely on historical evidence to deduce our inferences.

It is worth while to note that science, which has bestowed on us mastery over disease and all forms of luxuries, has also given us deadly hydrogen bombs, bacteria whiffs and other weapons to inflict mass destruction.

"Science", as Will Durant says, "reduces the death rate in retail and then kills us wholesale in War". This is perhaps what has been happening during the last seven cycles of civilization and is bound to happen again and again, because man, with his crooked ambitions, greed and fallacies, assumes an air of superiority over his fellow men, resulting into conflict of thought and the consequential drift towards the horrors of War. It is high time that men cease to hate each other for the bright future of mankind by learning a lesson from history.

If the present pace of progress is maintained by Science for only another 500 years, without any major catastrophe, inflicted by man himself through his folly, human beings would be able to achieve fantastic progress in every branch of knowledge. They may even learn the secrets of immortality, and may also be capable of transferring matter from one place to another, by wireless means and exploring the vast expanses of our galaxy, having colonized the whole solar system, and the adjoining areas.

There is ample evidence in the history of man to show that such achievements had already been made by men of earlier civilizations, but with their downfall their sciences have also been lost.

From the point of view of astronomical standards, the Earth is still in its infancy and trillions of years lie ahead during which man or his descendants can study Nature and all its aspects, including immortality.

That state of organized matter which functions quite independently of "Time", and has control over decay, disease and death, can be termed "Immortality". If the body is functioning eternally in this fashion, it can be said to have attain-

ed immortality. We have seen in the case of amoeba, the simplest form of Life, that it has never lost an ancestor by death or decay. If such simple forms of life are capable of achieving immortality in this restricted sense, there is no reason why other higher forms of life should not be able to do so.

Einstein, the scientific wizard of modern times, has already shown us that time, being the fourth dimension of space, is relatively capable of change in the same manner as the other dimensions, because the flow of time alters with the motion of the observer. Such changes are evident when we approach the speed of light, when the time assumes distorted function for the observer travelling at that speed, and when the speed of light is reached, we can calculate that "time" ceases to exist, and assumes the function of immortality, as the time has been frustrated. Theoretically therefore if we travel at a speed exceeding that of light, the "Time" would be moving in the reverse direction, or we would go backwards into "Time".

From the foregoing discussion, you would see that immortality is not in the realm of imagination, but some faint ideas are shaping themselves around it to make it scientifically feasible, though the present knowledge is not adequate to make it practicable.

As regards the transfer of matter from one place to another by telepathic, levitational or dematerializational processes, we have many records to show that this is not only feasible, but has been achieved in the past on a mass scale. Atom bombs and hydrogen bombs have recently shown that we are capable of changing matter into energy. Energy can be transferred from one place to another, just as we are transferring electric current, radio waves, or television pictures, by breaking them into small fragments and then broadcasting the same. There must be some way of changing energy again into matter and if that is discovered, men would achieve the knowledge of travelling from place to place by such means.

Television, aeroplanes and other common gadgets bestowed by science, if abruptly encountered by our great grandfathers, would have been scoffed off as the products of magic and occult sciences. But these luxuries have proved that superstitions of yesterday have become the sciences of today.

As regards interplanetary travel, we are already probing the solar system and have sent 3 rangers, to study the surface of the moon, Mariner II, to "scan the atmosphere of Venus", and recently Mariner IV to study Mars, in addition to several other satellites to move around Earth. All the above probes have been launched from the pads at Cape Kennedy and more similar probes are also on schedule by various other nations.

The main purpose of such probes has been not only to obtain the television pictures of those bodies from close quarters and other scientific data, but also to solve the riddle as to whether life, as we know it on Earth, is existing on other heavenly bodies. Of course, such probes are necessary in view of the fact that instruments and observations which we possess on Earth are not capable of detecting finer details.

With the best equipment which we possess, it is not possible to state conclusively the explanation for the so-called canals on Mars, or the semi-permanent red spots on Jupiter or the thunderstorms on Venus. The fragmentary information which we gather through these sources does not take into account various hindrances which try to disturb the collected data. Even the best photographs available are surprisingly indistinct. That is the reason why some of the scientists claim that Mars has atmospheric pressure on its surface equivalent to that on the top of Mount Everest. Some even believe that it is as thin as that at an altitude of 30 kilometers, or nearly 3 per cent of that at the sea level on Earth. These inferences are based on the data collected through spectrographs, telescopes and other equipment from the surface of Earth, which have to pierce through the Earth's atmosphere.

Let us consider what will happen when we have to take our soundings from the bottom of the atmosphere. A slight disturbance of atmosphere or a flimsy movement of air will distort our information to such proportions that it would make it unreliable for all practical purposes.

Mars has only 38 per cent of Earth's surface gravity and proportionately lower thrust is necessary to get clear from the gravitational pull of the Planet. Furthermore, it has a temperature range of 20° C to 70° C, which is not so severe compared with even earthly standards. If we assume that Mars has been formed during initial stages from the same matter from which Earth has been formed,

—there is sufficient evidence to show this,—it follows that matter which achieves critical acceleration only will be able to leave the gravitational pull of the planet, and all the remaining atoms will remain bound. It is, therefore, apparent that only small quantities of matter can escape the gravitational pull of the planet. Huge layers of ice cap near the poles suggest the presence of large quantities of water or so to say hydrogen and oxygen. There is no evidence available that the ice cap is only a few inches deep, and undergoes the process of sublimation. Because ice cap melts—or rather is made to melt—more quickly by our Earthly standards, it does not necessarily follow that it is only a thin layer. On the other hand this hints at the possibility of large movements of water from poles to equatorial regions almost on a colossal scale.

As a matter of fact canals and other green territories scattered all around the surface of the planet clearly reveal that there is not only efficient form of movement of huge quantities of water, but also vast expanses of irrigation fields and thick forests. Even recent spectrographic studies of surface have revealed that the lights reflected from the darker areas are in no way dissimilar to the light reflected by earthly lichens and mosses. If we accept this hypothesis, we come to the conclusion that carbon dioxide is being broken into components by the higher forms of this type of vegetation for the benefit of the animal life which is flourishing there.

One fact which has been disturbing our thoughts is that the inner moon Phobos of this planet behaves in such a manner that it gives a substantial hint of its artificial origin. It is only 5 miles in diameter and rising in the West sets in the East within four hours. Even with our present resources and knowledge of astronautics, we are capable of fabricating such a permanent observation post in space, orbiting our Earth as a satellite. It is just possible that Phobos has also been fabricated in space by the inhabitants of Mars and a flourishing colony has been installed on its inner walls in the enclosures. This can also be said about Diemos, another satellite, which is hardly 10 miles in diameter. This is on similar analogy to the way in which we are planning an outpost in space like a giant wheel of a cycle with spokes and the like. It is possible that the inhabitants of Mars might have consider-

ed spherical objects to be more useful, and their colonies might have settled on these artificial satellites generations ago.

Let us for a moment assume that there are intelligent human beings, as intelligent as their counterparts on Earth, and they have all the characteristics of atmosphere, climate, topography, etc., exactly similar to those of our Earth, and have the same hopelessly disadvantageous layers of atmosphere, which we are having on Earth. If such people on Mars were able to turn their telescopes towards our Earth, what would they find? As their telescopes will have to penetrate their own atmosphere, the vision will be blurred. They will detect only some blurred images of certain congregations and streaks of coloured markings. No definite proof of oxygen, but traces of hydrogen, nitrogen and carbon dioxide. Even spectrographic experiments would bring the same results. In other words it would appear a barren waste land or having the characteristics of a dying planet, with almost no atmosphere. We would discuss each point separately and see how this completely wrong image of the Earth can be formed by the Martians.

From the pictures of Earth, which were taken by Tiros IX during a 24 hour period, it has been observed that no distinction can be made between clouds and ice. Oceans instead of appearing brighter than lands are actually seen to be darker than land masses. It is worth while to note that these photographs were taken just from a height of about 735 kilometers, above Earth, while Mars with a most favourable opposition would be 56,128,000 kilometers away.

On the other hand, photographs taken by Gemini IV space craft and the astronaut James Alton McDivitt, during the astronaut Edward Higgins White's hovering in space just 225 kilometers above Earth do not show even traces of atmospheric corona, or blurred image, in spite of the fact that the camera seems to have been kept in focus on the astronaut only a few feet away whereas the background viz. Earth is 225 kilometers away. There is a sharp contrast between dark background of vacuum and blue horizon of Earth. When no atmosphere is visible with the best cameras, from a distance of only 225 kilometers, how can we expect to detect any atmosphere from 60 million kilometers, with the

viewing conditions and the types of instruments which we possess

This is exactly what could be expected, since large quantities of the Earth's atmosphere are only up to 1 kilometer above the sea level, and most of the land masses are above this height, they would be distinctly visible as permanent features and naturally no signs of atmosphere would be visible on those features. Because when we draw a circle with a diameter of 10 metres, with the sharpest pencil, the circle represents our Earth and the thickness of that line represents the thick layers of atmosphere. Taking into consideration this line of argument, we can safely conjecture that the information, so far collected in respect of Venus, Mars, Jupiter and other planets, can be said to be grossly unreliable, because the inferences derived from wrong surmises lead to defective results.

When Columbus set sails towards the western seas, believing that he would reach India through that direction, he had a firm conviction that he would do it. He also believed along with others that he was the first persons to travel such huge expanses of sea. We now know that he reached America instead of India and there were aboriginal people, already living there. As the human race was first "born" in Asia Minor, it is certain that the people must have migrated from that place and traversed huge distances of sea to reach America. That there was Atlantis, a sixth continent, which bridged the gulf for these migrants, has not yet been conclusively proved.

On similar analogy, we also at present believe that we are the first persons on Earth to explore the interplanetary space and would soon colonize Moon and the planets. But this is not so. Famous and reliable historians of the past have reported famous personnel migrating from Earth in their Flying Chariots or Machines for other worlds, in their quest to conquer them, and never to return. There are several instances on record and it is almost certain that they must have migrated to other planets and colonized them.

Some would argue that when so many persons have migrated, at least a few of them or their descendants ought to return to give accounts of their expeditions. It seems that the descendants of these migrants must have lost

contact with the astronautical techniques, or they might have been reduced to a barbaric state, having lost all scientific knowledge some how in the same way in which their kith and kin, the older civilizations of Earth, lost it.

It can be surmised from the above that man must have long before mastered the art of inter-planetary travel and colonized not only Moon, Venus and Mars, but also other planets and their satellites, which might have been more favourable at least within the solar system. There might have been even some enterprising youths amongst such explorers, who might have started their voyages from Earth during Copper Age or even earlier, towards some other stars in the galaxy, and even now their descendents might be heading for those stars, at the speeds of their vehicles.

There is very strong justification to believe that such travels had already taken place and when our present day astronauts land on the planets, for the first time, they would be surprised to be greeted there by men and women, not in any way different from us, excepting perhaps with a slightly darker or lighter colour of their skin or hair, or a bit thicker chest or a little more height but most probably living almost a savage life.

This is quite possible because the enterprising men and women, who possessed knowledge of the sciences and arts of those periods, might not have been able to bestow the same in the same quantity to their descendents, considering the same superficial or unnecessary or due to certain other difficulties, as can be expected in such circumstances, excepting perhaps the basic knowledge of surviving the atmospheric and climatic hazards, encountered on those planets. With each succession of generation, the knowledge must have gone on diminishing. Hence, we can predict with almost certainty that the astronauts on reaching the planets and the satellites would find aborigines not in any way dissimilar to the jungle or desert tribes of far off islands or lands on Earth, which have not remained in contact with civilization.

This pertains to our solar system but the Universe with its probable radius of 35 billion light years, or a circumference of a little more than 200 billion terrestrial light years contains Nebulae spaced at an average distance of 2 million light

years from each other. Each Nebula contains millions of stars like our own galaxy, each star possessing its own battery of satellites. With such a copious paraphernalia, it is far-fetched to believe that life has existed only in the solar system, when there are billions of other satellites, having climatic conditions most favourable for life to show itself and thrive. We can, of course, only guess as to what form or shape the life on those satellites would be capable of taking. With our present knowledge and thoughts, it is beyond our comprehension even to find out the concrete ways of communicating with the forms of such life, unless they themselves come forward for our assistance, which is highly improbable because of the vast distances involved, and the limitations on speed put forward by the Theory of Relativity.

We cannot make the discussion of Life complete unless we also discuss some abstract forms of life. One such abstract form is of creatures travelling through different dimensions. They can be even more awe-inspiring than ever anticipated or dreamt by any one. For example those creatures from the two dimensional world would appear like characters similar to those projected on the cinema screen without any apparent screen on which such projections take place. On the other hand, those in the five or even higher dimensional world would appear to be capable of permeating all types of matter and becoming visible or invisible either in whole or in part, without any apparent effort, at their own sweet will. Can we not visualise life, not in the four dimensions, but in a two, three or even five dimensional world?

As has been mentioned earlier, Silicon is also capable of forming almost similar number of complex structures like Carbon. We can, therefore, conjecture that on some far off planet of a distant star of some remote nebulae, there might be some form of life quite radically different from that which we know on Earth and that might not be composed essentially of Carbon base. What forms that life would take or what would be its evolution are but the matters which, transport us into the realms of fantasy. There might be creatures even like rocks or stones, but having minds more deadly than we have ever encountered or even anticipated.

They might even have gained supreme con-

trol over their thoughts and may be having full control over their mass and energy in the space-time continuum, simply through their telepathic powers. Their minds might even have fused with matter and energy to form unknown waves of probabilities, where indeterminacy might be playing an important role. They might even have acquired supreme command through telepathic means over all forms of matter and energy. Such invisible creatures can invade our planet without detection. Because such forms of creatures could be capable of traversing vast gulfs of space as mind or consciousness is the only entity capable of doing so, whereas in our space-time world, matter cannot travel at a speed higher than that of light.

If they invade us, they can even control our minds, without apparent detection. If this happens, our condition will become a most pitiable one. There is no way to know whether they may not even now be amongst us, guiding our very actions according to their basic desires, and imposing upon us their own will and command to compel us to perform, without our even knowing it, their basic physical tasks to meet with their own requirements.

They might even have reached the stage where their minds might have acquired the supreme control over not only different forms of

matter but also over every conceivable phase of energy.

For them transmutation of matter into energy and *vice versa* would be achieved by simple will-power, or telepathy. If such higher forms of "Life" have had the opportunity of developing and thriving on any planet in the cosmos, it would be possible for them to multiply themselves in mathematical progressions, without ever considering checking points like disease, decay or death.

Such life forms would invade every nook and corner of the Universe and would obtain hold on every planet which they invade.

If a conflict ever arose between such super-being and humans, the latter would be exterminated in the twinkling of an eye from the surface of Earth.

We can even conceive of such life existing in the interior of Sun or stars where the temperature itself may be thousands of degrees, at which temperature life with Carbon base, as we know it, would surely melt, but it may just be the right temperature for the life composed of Silicon or some other element, as its base, the complex forms of which may find it the only ideal temperature on which to thrive, and which may be liable to extinction on such cold planets as Earth!



JOGINDRA NATH SIRCAR
Pioneer in Bengalee Juvenile Literature

KARUNA K. NANDI

To be able to assign the legitimate position that the late Jogindra Nah Sircar is entitled to in the history of the development of modern Bengalee juvenile literature, it is necessary to hark back several decades when evidence of the earliest glimmerings of a developing awareness of the need to evolve appropriate and suitable literature for the very young both for filling curricular needs in schools as well as to provide extra-curricular studies, is available. It must, in this context, be recognized that the first conscious effort to create appropriate reading materials for the very young came in the wake of the introduction of English education in this country during the early decades of the last century. During earlier periods all kinds of phantasies and similar other literary compositions, very little of them in print and handed down from generation to generation in the shape of memorized folk tales, verses and the like, can hardly claim to form part of any systematic juvenile literature with any educational content. Nor had they any intellectual or even emotional relation with the kind of juvenile literature which began to develop during the later and more modern periods.

Historically, of course, the appropriate environmental conditions for such development were then wholly absent. Society, generally, was steeped in mideavalism and was wholly priest-ridden. The conditions for the necessary freedom of thinking and expression which alone might have made the development of a body of wholesome juvenile literature possible, were also entirely absent. The Bengalee language also—especially Bengalee prose—was in its early infancy and its powers and area of expression were likewise wholly and severely circumscribed. The facilities of the printing press were also not then available and most of what we had which passed for a kind of juvenile literature had mainly to be handed down by word of mouth alone. There were

professional provenders who used to entertain audiences from time to time which were the only means of providing whatever imaginative satisfaction to the very young that were available in those times.

It was really during the second decade of the last century, almost immediately following the formal inauguration of English education in this country (the Hindu College was established in 1817 A.D.) that we find evidence of the earliest modern attempt to provide printed literature for the delectation and education of the juveniles. This was intended to be a juvenile textbook called *Neetikatha* stated to have been jointly authored by Radhakanta Deb, Ramkamal Sen and Tarini Charan Mitra. The book was published in 1818 A.D. by the School Book Society and was accepted as a text-book for the infant classes. Its language was necessarily very stiff, involved and without any entertaining or attractive qualities. Its subject matters were mostly culled from the popular and usually superstition-laden folk-talkes of Bengal, and it hardly contained any of the creative and imaginative qualities which are regarded, in accordance with modern standards, as essential ingredients of wholesome juvenile literature.

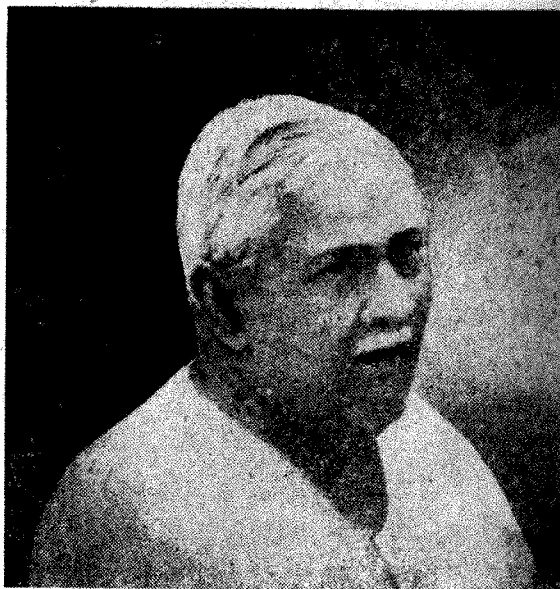
The same year saw the commencement of the publication, by the Baptist Mission in Serampore, of a monthly periodical under the editorship of John Clarke Marshman called *Dig-Darshan*. The title page of the publication used to contain the legend—"Collected parables for the benefit of the young." Those were the times when Bengalee prose was yet in its infancy and it was but natural that the language of the publication was comparatively poor, sketchy and without much entertaining quality. It could not, however, be classed among periodicals for the juveniles—its appeal was to a higher age-group; it lacked the qualities

of naturalness and ease which were an essential part of juvenile literature; nor were there any facilities for illustrations,—there were neither artists available for the purpose, nor were there any facilities for reproduction of illustrations. This condition prevailed for a considerable time and it was only gradually with progressive enrichment and powers of expression of Bengalee prose and improvements in the available facilities for printing and reproduction, that improvement in this field began correspondingly to be evinced.

The really earliest modern effort in this direction might be said to have been the publication of the famous verse '*pakhi saab kare raab*' by Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkalankar; this might claim to have been the earliest original composition in the field of Bengalee juvenile literature and which continued to influence compositions in the field for a considerable period following its first publication. In course of time quite a considerable volume of juvenile text-books—both in prose and verse—began to be progressively published by a variety of educational authorities, religious missions and, sometimes, even by the effort of school students themselves; there have also been a few monthly, fortnightly and, even, weekly periodicals in the field from time to time. For very nearly half a century and even longer, however, most of these were mainly fed by translations or adaptations from other literatures and languages like English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, French, etc., and included a variety of stories, narratives, and even poems. During this long period only one short story might claim to have been an original composition, a story under the legend *One Must Never Steal (Kadacha-Churi Kara Uchit Nahe)* by Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Most of the fairly considerable volume of other compositions by the Vidyasagar were either translations from or adaptations of stories and verses from other languages and literatures; but it is significant that even then under Vidyasagar's effort, Bengalee prose had already begun to acquire a boldness and ease of expression and a beauty of diction which might be claimed to have been the earlier precursor of the phenomenal progress that the language and its literature achieved during the following half a century. The story was included in the second part of the Vidyasagar's book of alphabets with

which all educated Bengalees, even to this day, must be intimately acquainted.

There is no room for controversy that the progress so far achieved in our evolution of Bengalee juvenile literature owes a great deal to English education and the ideals which informed



Jogindranath Sircar

and sustained British juvenile literatures. The principal impetus for this progress, however, derives mainly from our sense of patriotism and the conscious effort for cultural renaissance. The juvenile literature of this period, although circumscribed within severely defined limits, were nevertheless modern enough to be completely divorced from the earlier folk literature of our country. This was both inevitable and inescapable. Our acquaintance with the progressive intellectual movements of the West through the medium of English education, the fundamental changes that were wrought in man's social outlook by reason of the changes brought about in the social economy by the Industrial Revolution in Europe, the gradual introduction, in this country, of power-driven industries, the railroads, the telegraph and the telephones which minimized distances considerably and made increasingly closer acquaintance with other races and climes not merely easy but even inevitable and the gra-

dual extension of urban centres in the country, all combined to banish both the necessary environment and the outlook which alone were conducive to the growth of the folk literatures which did duty, in the earlier generations, for whatever juvenile literature society needed or could lay its hands upon.

The earlier period of English education, as already mentioned, encouraged and fostered the growth of a type of literature intended for the juveniles which were mainly circumscribed within the needs of the school curricula. Madan Mohan Tarkalankar and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, as already mentioned, were the pioneers in this rather comparatively narrow field of endeavour. But alongside of these what were mainly school text-books, also began to be published a number of periodicals devoted to the needs of the juveniles which held out the promise of a wider field of endeavour in compositions designed to meet the needs of our juvenile population. Notable among those periodicals were *Balak Bandhu* (The Child's Friend) edited by Acharya Keshub Chander Sen and first published in 1878 A.D., *Sakha* (The Friend) edited by Promada Charan Sen (1883), *Sakha O Sathi* edited by Bhuban Mohan Roy (1894), *Mukul* (The Bud) edited by Pundit Shivanath Shastri (1895)—there is evidence that it was mainly at the instance of the late Ramnanda Chatterjee that Pundit Shivanath Shastri agreed to accept the editorial responsibilities of the *Mukul* and the bulk of the editorial work used to be done by the former; and *Balak* (The Child) edited by Jnapadanandini Devi (1885). Those who are acquainted with those earlier days of our intellectual, moral and cultural renaissance would still recall the considerable influence that these periodicals used to exert on the minds of the educated sections of the community both young and old.

It was really left to Jogindra Nath Sircar and his pioneering imagination, courage, zeal and, above all, to his creative abilities, that the work of fruition of the latent promise of these periodicals into the growth of a robust, wholesome and fully fledged body of juvenile literature for the very young of the Bengalee community found practical expression. Needless to say that Bengal and the Bengalee language had

already passed through the hectic period of the age of Bankim Chandra and were well in the midst of the new age of Rabindranath and both the language and literature of the Bengalees had already acquired a resilience and richness which was quite unprecedented. This promise found its earliest expression, as far as it is possible to ascertain, in the publication in January 1891, of Jogindranath's famous book *Hasi O Khela* (Laughter and Play). In the preface to the first edition the Editor (it was really an anthology although there were some items included in the book which were the editor's own original contribution to the collection) states, "Although there may not be a great deal of lack in the supply of school text books in our country, there is hardly even one book available suitable for extra-curricular reading and for prize awards to infant school students. It is with a view to somewhat alleviating this serious lack that *Hasi O Khela* is being published. If there is adequate public encouragement, a further illustrated publication of this nature called *Chhabi O Galpa* (Pictures and Stories) would soon again be published."

His expectations in this behalf were amply fulfilled. Within a very short while the first edition consisting of 2,000 copies were soon all sold out. Jogindranath was then a young man of 25 and was teaching at the City School. Rabindranath remarked about the book in his *Sadhana* (issue dated Falgun, 1301 B.S.) "The book is intended for the young. There was absolute poverty of such publications in Bengalee. Books which are available and intended for the young are all in the nature of text books. They mostly lack freshness and beauty. They were hardly ever beneficial to the young in the measure that they are oppressive upon their young minds.

"At present it has become urgently necessary to bring out books intended for home reading by the young. Otherwise there does not seem to be any other easily available method by which necessary mental pleasure and health and the imaginative and creative faculties of the Bengalee child can be appropriately fed and fostered. By publishing the book *Hasi O Khela* Jogindra Babu deserves grateful appreciation of all Bengalee parents."

Jogindra Nath is, therefore, the real pioneer in the field of creative Bengalee juvenile literature and his first publication, *Hasi O Khela* can claim to be the earliest known adventure in this, hitherto, uncharted sea of enterprise. In this book Jogindra Babu included contributions from Rajkrishna Ray, Nabakrishna Bhattacharyya, Upendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury (later founder and editor of *Sandesh*), Promada Charan Sen and Michael Madhusudan's biographer Jogindra Nath Basu and other eminent writers of those days. In those days juvenile compositions, like those intended for consumption by the adult, were couched in stiff formal language. It was Jogindranath Sircar who, with what boldness and courage it would be difficult to adequately apprehend in these days, made a complete departure from this stiff formalism and used ordinary spoken language in his book. In the ease of expression, beauty and sweetness of cadence, this new and bold experiment at once captured the imagination of his young clientele and was established permanently in their hearts. As already mentioned, the book was mainly a collection of pieces by other writers, but there were a few the editor's own original contribution. Notable among them was the now famous story—*Sat Bhai Champa*. It has been earlier mentioned that during earlier periods what passed for juvenile literature was mainly allegorical in content, but they were seldom put down in permanent print and used, mostly, to travel from mouth to mouth. In *Hasi O Khela* two similar stories were included; one, *Sat Bhai Champa* by the editor himself, and the other by Upendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, "*Majantali*."

As promised, *Chhabi O Galpa* made its appearance in the following year (1892). This also was a book of collections, but included a larger number of the editor's own compositions in both prose and verse. The distinctive feature of Jogindranath's own writings were their freshness, their innate and indomitable sense of humour and their ease of expression. This was also more adequately and colourfully illustrated which was, certainly an important step forward in the progress of Bengalee juvenile literature. Copies of the first editions of neither of these books, unfortunately, are available these days.

A distinctive feature of modern Bengalee juvenile literature are its nonsense rhymes.

There is a notion that the first pioneer of this kind of compositions was the late Sukumar Roy Chowdhury. This, however, is wrong. There is no doubt that Sukumar Roy Chowdhury has been unique and quite unrivalled by any one before or since in this particular field of composition. But it must be acknowledged in the interest of historical accuracy that the real and original pioneer in this field also was Jogindranath Sircar. In the issue of *Mukul* for the month of Falgun, 1303 B.S., we find Jogindranath contributing a delectable non-sense rhyme under the legend *Kala Hare Ki Dhala Hare*. Many among us of the older generation would still recall the immense pleasure and entertainment we had derived from the perusal of this piece. Eventually Jogindranath published a whole book of non-sense rhymes, all his own compositions, in the book *Hasi-Rashi* (A Bouquet of Laughter), first published in 1899, and copies of which are still extensively in demand wherever there is a Bengalee reading juvenile population. This established his claim to pioneering enterprise in this particular field of endeavour also without any room for controversy.

In another very vital field also Jogindranath evinced considerable creative genius and initiative. Folk verses, a great deal of them epigrammatic in content and commonly known as *chaddas*, reflect truly and faithfully the whole life of mideaval and rural Bengal. They also reflect the primary emotions and ideals of the simple Bengalee of the common classes. Rabindranath, Abanindranath and others have found them important enough emotionally, even historically and otherwise, to devote a considerable part of their time and energy in collecting and commenting upon their significance in some part. Jogindranath, with characteristic sensibility and sensitiveness early realised their significance in our communal and ideal life and devoted a considerable part of his energies in collecting and collating them. His labours in this field were consummated by the publication of *Khukumanir Chadda* in 1899. In course of a long foreword to the publication, the Late Ramendrasundar Trivedi commented, "there was complete lack of such a book in Bengalee. For several years the compiler of the present volume has been devoting himself to this work, although it called for a great measure of boldness

and courage. He had already established himself as the author of several very popular and well presented illustrated books for the children. This shows him as the pioneer in a different field of adventure."

It is impossible to give a complete or even a moderately adequate account of all that the late Jogindranath Sircar had achieved in the field of Bengalee juvenile literature, within the comparatively small space available in a periodical publication like this. But it would be leaving out of our consideration one of his most significant achievements if especial mention were not made of his unique and, so far, wholly univalled publication, *Hasi-Khusi* (Laughter and Pleasure), an illustrated book of alphabets. This was first published in 1897 and still remains the most popular and the most useful book for the beginner to learn his Bengalee alphabets. Its popularity among parents and children remain still undimmed. The method used in this book was to present the alphabet to the child through humour laden verses related to animals, fruits, vegetables etc. with which he is intimately acquainted and which naturally yields instantaneous and wholesome results.

There have been innumerable publications since *Hasi-Khusi* first made its appearance, but almost all of them without exception have been either imitations and, or, variations of Jogindranath's style and manner of presentation, and lack the breadth of creative originality which made this book both so significant and so invariably useful.

Throughout his fairly long active life Jogindranath put out as many as twentyfive or twentysix original publications of his own, besides a number of anthologies and the like which he edited with characteristic ability and imagination. Some of these, we understand, are unfortunately no longer in print, although their usefulness, despite the distance of time since their first publication, could not yet have been outlived; their appeal was so universal and transcended the ordinary barriers of time and space. On this, the occasion of the centenary of his birth, we pay our respectful homage to his memory and acknowledge the debt that every Bengalee who claims to be educated owes to his pioneering and bold effort and endeavour. In his particular field of endeavour, we feel, he will deserve to be with the immortals,—deathless and effulgent.



VIEWS OF SOME AMERICAN ECONOMISTS ON INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

Dr. S. N. JHA

Pessimism

Dummier, Heflebower and Norman in their book "Economics with Applications to Agriculture" say: "It is estimated that an average daily per capita intake of 2,550 to 2,650 calories is the minimum level for maintaining health. Yet before the Second World War, in India...average daily caloric per capita consumption ran from 1,800 to 2,100....."

Changes in food consumption after the war were generally for the worse. In..... India it was below the very meagre prewar levels, and a great famine had occurred in part of India in 1944.....

Despite the favoured position of a few countries, the world as a whole, then, has an immense distance to go before enough food, let alone other goods, will be produced to provide anything like an adequate standard of living for all its inhabitants.

It is doubtful if it can. It is a real question if there is a self-sufficiency of resources, even if developed by the most advanced technological methods, to provide human beings with what Americans would consider a minimum, let alone a liberal, standard. We must remember that no other country is blessed with natural wealth to the extent ours is, and by the time the technology of other countries is brought up to the level of our own, generations, if not centuries, will have passed. There is a possibility, at least, that world population will have increased to the point where even improved technology might be incapable of providing a higher standard of living than is now enjoyed. India provides an excellent example of this point....

In that country for the past fifty or a hundred years, modern methods of manufacturing, transportation, and irrigation

have been introduced, yet population increases have kept pace with the increasing productive capacity.....Because of the extraordinary rate of increase, some authorities believe the Indian living standard is below what it was a century ago.¹

Proving contrary to the Malthusian assumption in America that population tends to increase rapidly, they say, "description of the relation of birth rate and the supply of agricultural products available for the people of the United States, Western Europe, Australia, and parts of Africa should not lead to the conclusion that the working of the Malthusian principle has been offset in most parts of the world. The restriction on the birth rate described above have been largely inoperative in Asia, South eastern and Eastern Europe, and much of Africa".

They quote India again as an excellent example, "We have already called attention to the fact that India's population seems to grow just as fast as the increase in the production of means of subsistence. The following passage puts in graphic terms the results of the working of the Malthusian principle there, and although it was written about twenty years ago, it still seems applicable":²

If one follows the occurrence of famines and plagues, one finds that they are so common in India that what seems to be the unusual and catastrophic to the Westerner is really quite customary in India, and scarcely a decade goes by without several outbreaks of disease and some local famines

1. Dummier, Heflebower and Norman: *Economics with Applications to Agriculture*—McGraw-Hill—pp. 96-97.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-102.

which carry off millions of people. In other words, famines and epidemic diseases are chronic causes of a high death rate in India. If for a few years the country is comparatively free from them, as in the decade 1881-90, the death rate (27.44) falls and there is a large increase of population. But, with this increase to be supported on lands already taxed almost to capacity, the following decade or two is likely to see a large increase in deaths.³

They are skeptical about technological improvement and progress in India to such an extent as to mitigate the evils. They say, "Education, both general and technical, is slowly permeating India, and now that India is independent it is possible that this process will be speeded up. Whether the advance in industrialization which had been accomplished in Japan before the Second World War, and which incidentally had not been matched by a similar advance in farm management, will be resumed, it is too early to tell".⁴ Thus on the one hand they express doubts if India may achieve self-sufficiency in foreseeable future, and on the other hand if and when she may, they find the road blocked for India's foreign export trade.

They say, "the advantages of certain degree of specialization and trade among the people within a local community, or nation, are usually taken for granted by most people. But, when it comes to trading with foreign nations, a different kind of thinking prevails. Leading newspapers and men in high positions in business and public life assert with great conviction that a high standard of living cannot be maintained by the people of this country if we import goods produced in countries where wages

are low or where a low standard of living prevails. They assert that this will result in our standard of living coming to the same low level that prevails in the countries where the goods which we import are produced. They assert that we must buy at home to develop home industries and give employment to our own people. Ordinarily such persons are not opposed to the selling of goods outside of the community or nation. It is only the practice of buying from foreign countries or from other communities which is opposed".⁵

Thus the future supplies of food grains to India are bleak and the latter will have to stand on her own legs, "It is questionable too, how much more can be drawn from the United States, Canada, Argentina and Australia than is now being exported, and most of this goes to Europe, in any case. Thus China, India, and the other Oriental Countries will have to depend on their own resources, which even with improved techniques may not prove to be sufficient to provide a much more ample diet than their present one. In these regions Malthus's principle still has a grim applicability".⁶

Optimism

Contrary to these predictions, Chester Bowles seems to be hopeful of India's self-sufficiency. In his address at the Laski Institute, Ahmedabad on November 17, 1965 as published in "Indian-American Relations—A current view," by U.S.I.S., New Delhi, he poses the key question, "Can India expand her economy fast enough and by democratic methods to permit the maximum freedom and dignity to each citizen?" In answer to this he says, "You know you can achieve this objective and so do we. More specifically, we believe, that you can grow enough food to free yourself of foreign imports within five or six years".

3. W. S. Thompson: *Danger Spots in World population* (Knopf, 1930), pp. 143-144 as quoted by Dummier and others.

4. Dummier, Heflebower and Norman: *Economics with Applications to Agriculture*. pp. 103.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

But he does not seem to be satisfied with the Indian efforts to achieve this objective when he remarks, "India's economic performance in the last ten years has been generally good and in some areas outstanding. But in all frankness, we agree with those Indian economists and political leaders who think it can and must be better".⁷

These diametrically opposing views need be carefully examined to make a proper appraisal of the situation.

Dependency in Food

Whatever may be the position, there are American economists, who on logical basis visualize that India will need American wheat in all foreseeable future.

Classifying population into three types according to the drain that food places upon their economies and placing India in Type I, i.e., High Food Drain, Theodore W. Schultz, in his book 'The Economic Organization of Agriculture', finds about American wheat market in India: "It may be agreed, for example, that because of recent advances in technology in growing wheat in the United States, this country has regained a substantial comparative advantage in this product in international trade, and meanwhile not only Japan but also Brazil and India as they enter upon industrialization may find it to their advantage to import food (some wheat) in exchange for certain manufactured products, thus creating a market and some additional demand for United States wheat".⁸

Genesis of American Assistance

In spite of the pessimism of American Economists described earlier about India's self-sufficiency in food, America is interested in giving economic assistance to develop-

ing nations including India for they hold "Growth in imports of U.S. Agricultural products has been greater by those countries that have achieved rapid income growth".

The American views on such matters have been very well described in the booklet "Growth And Market Potentials For U.S. Agricultural Products" by Arthur B. Macky, International Agricultural Economist, April, 1965 published by Development and Trade Analysis Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 24.

They believe, "These growing exports have become increasingly important in balancing our international accounts with other nations, maintaining farm income".⁹

Income-Trade Relationship

Arthur B. Macky has made studies on income-trade relationship which is measured in terms of import elasticities. He has defined the elasticity of imports, "as the percentage change in imports associated with a 1-per cent change in income per capita".¹⁰

On the basis of analysis he has found "Agricultural imports increased about 11-per cent for each 10-per cent increase in per capita income".¹¹

He measures the growth rate in imports by the formula $Im = P + EY$, where P and Y stand, respectively, for growth rate of population and real income per capita, and E denotes the import elasticity.

It is, therefore, necessary for them, he believes, to promote economic growth in developing countries, "And, since the greatest market potential for U.S. Agricultural products is in the developing countries, it would be in our own economic interest to help promote economic growth in these less-developed countries."

7. U.S.I.S., New Delhi: Indian American Relations—A Current View, p. 13.

8. Theodore W. Schultz: *The Economic Organisation of Agriculture*, p. 38.

9. United States Department of Agriculture: Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 24, p. iii.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.

It is essential from their future export point of view that "such knowledge is essential for making projections of trade potentials and improving programmes, as well as economic aid policies designed to promote foreign economic growth and trade"¹².

This fact is substantiated by the example of, for instance, Japan. "The emergence of Japan as a major market for U.S. agricultural products is the outstanding example of how post war economic aid by the United States has expanded commercial markets for U.S. Farm Products"¹³.

Hence the anxiety of America in helping the developing countries in increasing their economic growth and incomes. "The sooner these countries become developed, the greater the opportunity to sell them agricultural products on a commercial basis"¹⁴.

Mr. Macky's studies suggest, "that a high degree of correlation exists between the level of income and trade, and that imports are related to income".

To quantify this relationship between economic growth and demand for imports he has used the concept of elasticity of imports, which is sometimes referred to as the income elasticity of imports, or the income elasticity of demand for imports.

Effects of P.L. 480

Speaking on the effects of P.L. 480 programme on the import pattern of U.S. Agricultural products, Mr. Mackay observes that, "they have (1) been beneficial to the United States by increasing the level of agricultural imports in both the developed and less-developed countries at a faster rate than would otherwise have been expected on the basis of growth in per capita incomes—thereby giving some short-run relief to agricultural surplus problems; (2) been beneficial to the recipient

countries by promoting their economic growth and to the United States by increasing the long run abilities of these foreign countries to import from the United States and hence create larger market outlets for United States farm products; (3) caused relatively little substitution of special imports for commercial imports in the less-developed countries, and (4) not caused the developed countries to reduce their commercial imports below their long-term level as the special export programme is phased out in these countries"¹⁵.

American Interest in Foreign Economic Growth

And Mr. Mackay concludes, "Thus the United States has a definite and positive interest in continued foreign economic growth, and especially in the less-developed countries since they have the highest import elasticity"¹⁶.

The Line of Action

According to a British Economist, Mr. A.J. Brown, as described by him in his book 'Introduction to the World Economy', how good or poor a living a family or an economy gets depends on two things:

How much it produces, and

At what prices it can exchange it for the things it wants.

It is the variation in these respects that some countries are rich and some poor.

In the poorest countries (Agriculturally) a farmer produced about a fortieth, or at best a twentieth as much as one in some of the most favoured parts of the world. How much a country produces depends on three things:

Differences in the amount of mechanical equipment—farm buildings, tractors and other machinery; differences in the amount (and quality) of land which each farmer has, and differences in knowledge about farming methods.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

With a given agricultural labour force, farm production varies in proportion to the square root of the amount of land. The countries where there is most land per man tend on the whole to be those which have most equipment too. In the same way, plenty of equipment often (but not always) goes with a fairly high level of knowledge of farming methods and good facilities for applying it.

Knowledge and equipment can make up for shortage of land within limits.

Therefore one finds all three of these—land, equipment and knowledge—at high levels in certain countries (U.S.A., Canada, Australia and Newzealand), while, at the other end of the scale, in India and China, all three are scarce.

But to explain differences between standards of living, therefore, we need to explain not only differences in productivity, but also prices—both the prices of the goods and services, which people produce (so that we may know the money value of the income) and the prices of the goods and services they consume (so that we can see how far their income goes).

The price-determining mechanisms are easy to understand when we assume as if they operated independently for different kinds of goods and services but they present complexities when we find that in fact they are interdependent.

A change in any price is likely to change or at least to put pressure upon, hundreds of others, by three means—diverting demand, diverting productive resources, and altering the pattern of incomes.

Behind the easy generalizations and descriptions of institutional arrangements and the infinitely complex relationship which form the subject of the theory of value. In the opinion of Mr. Brown, "The more backward economy is not limited in its rate of progress by having to wait for research and development; plenty of technical information on how it can improve

its productive methods—and improve them drastically—exists ready made. Other factors, of course, limit the rate at which it can apply this knowledge....."¹⁷.

"What then, determines the rate of growth of technological knowledge?" questions Mr. Brown, and answers, "clearly it is the extent (and success) of a whole complex of research activity, beginning with pure science and ending often with development of commercial processes on quite a large scale in pilot plants".¹⁸

He goes on to say, "How much research is done depends on a large number of factors, of which the most important is probably the realization in governmental quarters, among the directors of industry, and in the quarters which control education, that this is a matter of great moment for the community as a whole".¹⁹

The Conditions Which Enable The Existing Technological Knowledge to Be Applied In An Economy

1. It should be available, in the sense that it is not kept secret from the people who might use it.
2. There must be people who have not only the will to know about them, but the scientific training to understand them also. Shortage of such people has certainly been a factor limiting the application of new techniques.
3. The need for training much of the supervisory and the skilled or semi-skilled parts of the labour force. (An advanced economy devotes 3 per cent or more of its resources to providing and staffing schools and Universities).

So much for the diffusion of knowledge and skills which is essential.

Another essential is capital.

17. A. J. Brown: *Introduction to the World Economist*.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

DEBAJYOTI BURMAN—JOURNALIST

Prof. Miss BELA BOSE

Bengal has lost another illustrious son, Sri Debajyoti Burman, on 8th December 1966. Death has at last silenced the voice which no earthly power dared even to interrupt. The torch-bearer of the idealism which the late Ramananda Chatterjee established in the sphere of journalism in Bengal, Sri Debajyoti Burman was basically a product of 19th Century Bengal—the replica of Young Bengal which Rammohan, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, so anxiously and eagerly cherished and established. He acculturised modernism with the idealism of the previous century with such skill and dexterity that he became a pride of present age, a man for whom modern Bengal will be ever remembered.

Born in May of the year of the great Bengal Revolution of 1905, Sri Burman spent his boyhood in Sylhet, a district now in East Pakistan, where his mother was a school teacher. His early education started in his mother's school. After passing the Matriculation examination from Sylhet he came to Calcutta and took his admission in Bangabasi College. While a student of B.Sc. Honours class in City College, he was arrested and taken to prison just a few months before the commencement of the final examination. Temporarily interrupted by this incident, he resumed his study in the jail and passed the B.A. examination in 1933 with Honours in Economics. He obtained his first M.A. degree in Economics while he was a detinue in Buxa Jail. In prosecuting his studies within the prison he was immensely helped by the superintendent of the jail, an Irish man by birth. His gratefulness to this gentleman knew no bounds. Since 1936 when he obtained his first M.A. degree he continued to sit for the M.A. degree examinations in numerous subjects during subsequent years. He had

the Master's degree in ten subjects; the last examination he passed was in 1964 when he appeared in Sanskrit at the age of 60. He was released from the prison in 1938 in 1939 he joined Ananda Bazar Patrika as one of the sub-editors. Thus began his career as a journalist. In 1940 he was appointed a lecturer in Bangabasi College and since then he continued to be a teacher and a journalist at the same time and did equal justice to both the services. His journalistic career of course had its beginning in 1931 when he published a weekly journal under the name Bijoli which was later on renamed as 'Yugabani'. Perhaps it was this tiny weekly Yugabani which caused his imprisonment. If knowledge he regarded as a standard for scholarship, then certainly he was a great scholar. It is not that he acquired degrees in a number of subjects but because his knowledge was versatile and at the same time deep and thorough. These degrees however were essential requisites for him to be an eminent journalist. He understood perfectly that it would not be possible for a journalist of modern India to build up his castle on emotion only. Journalism today must rely on reason. It is this rationality of his writings which attracted the late Ramananda Chatterjee and led to his appointment as one of the sub-editors in **Modern Review** and **Prabasi**. He became closely associated with Sri Satyendra Nath Mazumdar and Sri Mahanlal Sen, the two stalwarts of Bengal journalism, while he was in **Ananda Bazar** and **Bharat**. He also served **Basumati** and was a member of the Asiatic Society and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. For more than a year before his death he was the principal of Ananda Mohan College.

Sri Burman proved to be an efficient

teacher; he was a politician whose intelligence and diplomatic sense rarely had a competitor but on top of all he was a journalist in the true sense of the term. Debajyoti Burman as a man, as a teacher or as a politician was not immune from criticism but as a journalist he was superb. His 'Yugabani' is a unique creation of modern Bengal and perhaps it will be the

I will be heard." In his **Yugabani** Sri Burman proved to be true to his idealism.

Before India became independent the press in India functioned as a crusading agent for the freedom of the country and its contribution in assisting the nationalist movement is well recognised. The newspapers in India had to function as the spearhead of the nationalist movement; in



Debajyoti Burman

solitary contribution of present day Bengalee journalism to the future.

As a journalist his motto in fact may be expressed in those remarkable lines of Garrison—"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch and

that they served the purpose of ammunition for the freedom movement. But after independence the press in India was called upon to perform a duty which was quite new and foreign to them. They were entrusted with the responsibility of building the nation. The year 1947 can be said to mark the beginning of a new era

for the press in India. Parliamentary democracy has been established and the role of protecting and guarding this parliamentary democracy was assigned to the press. **Yugabani** took upon itself this sacred duty of safeguarding the morale of parliamentary democracy. An ardent lover of freedom and a life long revolutionary, his **Yugabani** was a revolt against tradition. In each and every respect **Yugabani** deviated from the customary modes and principles of journalism and stepped out on untrodden paths to bring modernism to the journalistic world.

The Indian press before independence had the special characteristic of being interested in political issues only and this trend continued to exist long after independence. Economic problems had little space in the press in those days. It was **Yugabani** in the annals of journalism in India which laid equal emphasis upon economic issues along with politics. In this respect it was a pioneer. At present most of the papers have some feature concerning the economic problems of the country but in those days of early independence Mr. Burman's **Yugabani** was the only paper which specially attached greater importance to economic issues which he considered to be the life giving force of political issues. In this respect Sri Burman had a special aptitude for which he was appreciated even by the financial stalwarts of the party which formed the Government. His interpretation and comparative analysis of the budget according to the basic principles of fiscal policy attracted the attention of all. Perhaps he was a master craftsman in this trait of budget reading. Before **Yugabani**, most of the papers in our country used to display only the figures of the budget which was almost Latin and Greek to even most intellectuals not to speak of the common man. Debajyoti Babu scanned every detail and aspect of the budget with the view that what touches all should be understood by all. As

the fiscal policy of the Govt. is of interest to all the people of the country irrespective of their trade and profession, it must be properly analysed and understood by all. When he was in **Bharat**, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, the then finance Minister of Bengal, asked Sri Makhanlal Sen, the editor, about its budget discussion and requested him to bring the man who analysed the budget into the ruling party as a member. This man was Debajyoti Burman. His analysis was not only concerning the effects and incidence of the tax and expenditure policy of the Government. Its other object and perhaps the main object was to find out how far the fiscal policy, will enrich the public exchequer for the economic development of the country. His source of information was the published Govt. reports and memoranda of which he was a voracious reader. He possessed a special critical brain to understand the myth of figures. It is this qualification which made him renowned in the history of India. It is this inquisitiveness and interest in the budget which attracted him to study the finances of the different companies and this search in company balance sheets opened to him a vast treasure which brought for him distinction, respect and publicity which even crossed the boundaries of the seas. His "**Mystery of Birla House**" is the result of such an enquiry and it is quite well known to the people of India what a turmoil the book created throughout the country. It was compared by some legislator with "**Uncle Tom's Cabin**" and it was said that like **Uncle Tom's Cabin** this **Mystery of Birla House** would contribute to the emancipation of the people of India from the shackles of finance capitalism.

Independence of the editor is the cherished goal of every journalist. **Yugabani** may be regarded as the only paper which struggled all throughout for the independence of the journalist. Independent thinking and expression is the birth right

of the editor. Sacrificing this independence for pecuniary interests is nothing but prostitution of journalism. No force either financial or political could deviate him from this ideal as editor of **Yugabani**. In the early days of his career as journalist he left Ananda Bazar Patrika for no personal reason or for any financial interest. It was for the protection of the freedom and liberty of the editor that he, along with Satyendra Nath Mazumder and Makhanlal Sen, came out. There was a clash between the editor, Sri Mazumdar, and the owner of the paper. In this clash he supported Sri Mazumdar not because he was personally devoted to him but because there authority was encroaching on the rights of the editor and jeopardising the liberty of the journalists. No provocation nor allurements could induce him to budge an inch from his sacred duty. A fighter for freedom, he concentrated his might to protect the liberty of the people and used his pen as the ammunition.

It is often criticised that **Yugabani** intrudes into the private life of many and lowers them in the esteem of the people. But one thing must be remembered; that it never interfered in the life of even public men if it were not connected with public interest and never published news which were half truths under the garb of sensationalised exposure. But whenever justice was injured Mr. Burman must interfere and scathed the person concerned mercilessly. Such an attack was not confined to public matters only. If any wrong is done even to an individual he must fight for the protection of his rights. To him what is wrong is wrong for all and it must be opposed at all risk. On many occasions he practised law only to fight for personal justice.

The press in India of the pre-Independence days had a tacit alliance with the greatest national party of India. They were, in fact, intimately associated with the activities of the majority party. As a

consequence, after Independence they felt that they had finished their duty. The war had been well fought and victory had been won for them; and they should now serve the Govt. which was their own Government. They forgot that they were the servants of the people, guardian of people's rights and liberties and protectors of their interest and not the mouth organs of any party. Most of the papers thus neglected their duty and violated the very spirit of journalism. They were practically purchased through all sorts of privileges and did not hesitate to compromise principles every now and then to appease the party in power. They sacrificed their independence and integrity on the altar of wealth, power and position. **Yugabani** was the only paper which adhered to its principles and never compromised with anything wrong whatever may be its form. Personally Sri Burman could not tolerate it and decried it as slavery of the intellectuals.

In the sphere of politics he may be regarded as one of the greatest diplomats of modern India. His interpretation of political events surpassed that of many top-ranking leaders of political parties. His vast knowledge and study about the economic and political situation of each country of the world qualified him with their trait. A student of history, he read and studied the events of present day world with reference to the facts and figures of history, and this made possible for him on many occasions to forecast the future development of world politics, especially those concerning the political life of India. Analysis of international politics in the perspective of Indian conditions had been a special feature of **Yugabani**. He hammered his pen repeatedly to warn authority about the prospective trend of political thinking and policies of neighbouring countries. At least six months before the Chinese aggression in 1962 he in his **Yugabani** repeatedly sounded a note of warning to the Government and

almost chalked out the plan which the aggressor would follow. Events in subsequent days proved the truth of his forecasts. The same thing happened during the invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan. One thing which deserves to be mentioned is that he never rested by merely pointing out the danger; almost instantly he would suggest measures to fight the evils. In this regard he was straightforward and ruthless and knew no compromise. He always was against the appeasing policy and believed that this national disease, whether political or economic, should be treated by a surgeon and not by a homeopath. This was equally true of his discussion of social problems and in each individual case his thinking and contribution was novel and original. His criticism was never destructive; it always was constructive in nature and object and by his suggestive criticism he often moulded public policy and received ample support from the ruling party. Even though he vehemently and scathingly criticised every policy of the Government, he was revered and respected by all as the guardian of parliamentary democracy. He

preferred to remain outside politics in his private life and assigned to himself the role of the opposition. Though ruthless as a critic he never hesitated to appreciate the policy of the Government if it was genuinely concerned with the welfare and interest of the nation.

Yugabani was the only journal in Bengal which harped on the reason of the reader and not on his emotion. It was a characteristic feature of the Indian press once that it relied more on emotion than on reason. It could stir up volcanic enthusiasm but could not make them serious in their thinking and action. **Yugabani** roused the thinking power in man. It shook the reason of the individual. It would strike at the brain and rarely appeal to the heart of the reader. Each line and each word of **Yugabani** was as hard and piercing as a bullet. He would drag out the reader from out of his stupour and make him active and serious about his role. That is why **Yugabani** was unique. It was a class by itself and it is this immortal contribution which Sri Debajyoti Burman left behind for the coming generations.



THE HAZARDS OF WRITING : THE OPINIONATED EDITOR

Principal K. SREE RAMA MURTY

According to the Oxford English Dictionary to "edit" is "to prepare, set in order for publication", while Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary fixes three distinct functions for an editor : (1) to prepare (an author's works, journals, letters etc.) for publication, by selection, arrangement and annotation, (2) to revise and make ready (a manuscript) for publication and (3) to govern the policy of (a newspaper or periodical) ; decide what is to be printed etc. In what follows, we shall be mainly concerned with the second function of the editor mentioned above, namely, to revise and make a manuscript ready for publication, and consider the third function of governing a policy of a newspaper and periodical and deciding what is to be printed only so far as it affects the prospective contributor to the magazine or periodical or writer of a book.

The well-known American publisher Alfred A. Knopf, in course of a lecture delivered in 1964 in New York on "Publishing Now and Then : 1912—1964" said : "The greatest change, to my mind, has been the emergence of the editor". Not that the editors did not exist before, but that there has been a noteworthy change in the role and importance of the editors ; it is to the elevation of the editor to the most dominant position in the literary and cultural firmament that Mr. Knopf alludes. Prior to the emergence of the editor, there were publisher's readers like Meredith and Edward Garnett who did admirable work as intermediaries between the publishers and authors like Hardy, Conrad, Galsworthy and Lawrence. Even though the reader was paid for his services by the publisher, he was a freelance, working at his own home, just like any other writer, on the manuscripts sent by the publisher. He was, in reality, a literary adviser not only to the publisher, but also to the writer and most often he was a senior and experienced man of letters, devoted more to literature than to the publisher and conditioned more by aesthetic tastes than moved by commercial

considerations. Maxwell Perkin, an Editor to the publishing House of Scribner is quoted to have written in 1921 to young Scott Fitzgerald : "Don't ever defer to my judgement. You won't on any vital point, I know : and I should be ashamed if it were possible to have made you ; for a writer of any account must speak for himself". That is in the right tradition of publishers' readers whatever one is called. But during the recent decades, the publisher's editor has emerged in a new role vested with greater responsibilities and rights. He works in the publisher's office as a full-time employee with a regular pay.

Even though it is in America that the publisher's editor has emerged very clearly as a more powerful factor in the business of publication of books and periodicals, even in other countries where publishing is developing into a flourishing business the effectiveness of the publisher's editor is commensurate with the magnitude of the business of publication. The enormous increase in literacy has resulted in the publication of paper-backs and large circulation magazines. There are two distinct kinds in the paper-backs and periodicals that are being published. On the one hand, there are the reprints of great classics, scholarly works of authors and critics, and standard fiction and non-fiction that cater to the tastes of the more enlightened and the elite. On the other hand, there are books and magazines produced for immediate consumption, for 'light reading' by as vast a number of people as possible, looked at more as perishable consumer goods than as "the precious life-blood of master-spirit emblamed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life". These books are 'processed'—to use the American jargon-word that is gaining greater currency in common parlance—to set formulae of success. The formulae arrived at by the publisher's editors. The aims are purely commercial ; to mint money by serializing in a magazine, printing and selling in millions in paper-back editions to be sold in railway book-stalls and drug-stores, and by selling the filming rights.

It needs no labouring to establish that the role of the publishers everywhere has not merely been to distribute the books submitted to them by authors, but also to make the authors write the kind of books that have a good market, and even attempt to create fresh markets for the books that they publish. It is said that many outstanding books have been written at the instance of the publishers. But the enormous increase in the reading public and the consequent demand for books and periodicals that entertain more than enlighten the huge crowds at a comparatively low level of critical appreciation have, by the operation of well-known dialectical law of increase in quantity beyond a critical level resulting in change in quality, created an entirely new situation that has very correctly been analysed by Senor Ortega Y Gasset in his *"Revolt of the Masses"* more than three decades ago. Discussing the phenomenon, an anonymous writer of the article "Towards processed literature" in the *Times Literary Supplement* (May 27, 1965) says: "These books are invariably sensational or are designed to appear so; through high-powered publicity, they can be made famous become house-hold words, at any rate for a few months. They are by no means invariably novels; they may as easily appear as 'sociology'. But the genre is irrelevant. If it were suddenly discovered that books of new verse could be sold by the hundred thousand, lyric poets would immediately be in demand, and the editors would be there to show them how to adjust their inspiration and its expression to the public taste".

Being the policy maker for publication and having the set formulae for books to be published the editor not only forces a kind and mode of writing on the manuscripts to be submitted, but actually makes changes after the manuscripts are submitted. As a matter of fact there seems to be a tacit understanding among the American writers that the manuscript they submit is merely raw material placed in the hands of the all-knowing and all-powerful editor, who "processes" the raw material into a novel or a book. Alfred A. Knopf in the lecture referred to says: "Not very long ago a distinguished professor at one of our great universities whose book, we had accepted for publication kept on asking me, before we had even gotten around to signing a contract: who is my editor going to be? Who is my editor going

to be? He should not have needed an editor—only a publisher. But he did need an editor chiefly because, like so many of his contemporaries he didn't feel sufficient confidence in his own ability to make his own book exactly what he wanted it to be".

While it is very likely that the competitive commercialism and desperate need to succeed for survival are increasingly shoving the writer to subservience before an editor, the erosion of self-confidence in the writer is probably due to some built-in characteristics of American life which are unfortunately being imitated elsewhere. Most of the colleges and universities in America have regular courses in creative writing, which while undoubtedly improving the technical standards of books and articles written by those trained under them might be forcing a kind of drab uniformity on whatever is written, curbing the individuality and eroding self-confidence in the writers. There is also an inevitable group activity and collective effort in writing, particularly for popular entertainments like the films and television and all collective efforts are found to undermine the individuality of a writer and make his surrender to an editor easy. When so much depends on whether one is accepted or not, whether one is considered a success or not, little wonder that the writer submits himself to the correction and reprimand of the editor. It is very important to note that it is not merely by correcting and changing the submitted manuscript that an editor exerts his influence. Even while the manuscript is under preparation the writer has to keep in mind the editor to whom his manuscript is to be submitted for acceptance and try not only to express such ideas as would get the editor's approval but also adopt a suitable style or stylization. It is very well-known that magazines have developed distinctive styles of their own besides adhering to certain ideas and ideologies.

Even while the majority of writers in America accept the editor as the Big Brother guiding them, chiding them when they go wrong and rewarding them when they are right, some independent thinkers and creative writers have started protesting against this dominance. Louis J. Halle of the graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva and a very well-known contributor to periodicals like *The Encounter*, has initiated

ed a correspondence in the columns of *Times Literary Supplement* with his letter to the editor in the issue of September 23, 1965. He writes: "writers do not complain, in print, of this growing editorial imposition because to do so would be like publishing an account of one's wife's impositions when one intended to go on living with her. Over the past few years I have collected, in private, however, accounts of experiences that are for the most part typical. In representing them here I omit only the identities of the writers or publishers involved. Let me in algebraic fashion, refer to them all to one writer called 'W'. Prof. Halle narrates the experiences of few W's vis-a-vis P's and E's (Publishers and Editors) not only of periodicals but also of books. He observes: "So it is that the writer who resists the efforts to make his writing conform to an editor's standardized style may find himself under heavy and prolonged pressure. If he is dependent on editors for his bread and butter, he is hardly in a position to resist' . . . The development of the written language is being limited, in the States and in England, by the increasing replacement of individual by corporate style. This has a fundamental bearing on the future of writing as an art, the future, in a word, of the language".

Oliver Stallybrass of the well-known British publishing house of Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd. (*T.L.S.* October 7, 1965) joining the controversy writes: "Literature has few more insidious enemies than the publishing firm whose conception of a house style extends beyond conventions of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. Even in those minor matters, there are authors whose idiosyncracies are calculated and justified. As for the larger issues of style one shudders to think of the treatment a Carlyle or a Henry James would have received today from many an American editor hell-bent on eliminating unusual words and long sentences". So far as there is a mutual understanding and adjustment between the writer and the editor so far so good. "What—and this is the crux of professor Halle's letter—of the few cases where dead-lock is reached? Here it is essential to distinguish between the unsolicited and a commissioned work. In the former case there is a simple selection: The author seeks another publisher. The real problem is the commissioned book, and here, unless the contract has catered for the situation, the whip-

hand may simply be held by the party—by no means always the publisher—with stronger will and bargaining position . . . publishers as well as authors suffer loss of reputation over a badly written book: and in many cases have more reputation to lose". This is an admirable statement of a publisher's position. But the real problem is not the commissioned book because usually the author of a commissioned book is one who can hold his own against the publisher or the publisher's editor. It is really the unsolicited contributor who is afraid of being rejected if he insists too much on his own individuality and idiosyncrasy.

John Vladimir Price of University of Edinburgh, Department of English Literature, recounts (*T.L.S.* October 14, 1965) his own experience in connection with a manuscript, on a moderately controversial subject in Academe sent to a journal in the United States: "The result (of editing) was that when the article appeared it said not what I wanted to say but what an editor thought I might have wanted to say . . . Fledglings like myself are often most reluctant to challenge the editor's changes, for fear of appearing obtuse or difficult and having the manuscript returned. But those who have 'arrived' can object and should". It is clear that the mutual adjustment and understanding between a writer and the editor can as well mean simply the adjustment on the part of the writer only after an understanding that the book or article may be rejected otherwise.

This controversy gathers a greater momentum with Professor J. Margenthau of the University of Chicago joining the correspondence. Prof. Margenthau is certainly one of those who have 'arrived'; he was contributing regularly to "*Commentary*" for several years and then had a clash with its Editor Norman Podhoretz who is himself a literary heavy-weight, for undesirable interference with his article. Prof. Margenthau explained in a lengthy 'open letter in answer to a question' in the *Hudson Review* (Summer 1965) the reasons for his stopping writing for "*The Commentary*". This letter entitled "The writer's duty and his predicament" is followed by a reply from Mr. Podhoretz and a rejoinder by Prof. Margenthau joins the correspondence in the *Times Literary Supplement* on the issue of writer and Editor (November 4, 1965) and the leader

writer of *T.L.S.* also joins the fray in the same issue.

Prof. Hans J. Margenthau submitted an article "Goldwater—The Romantic Regression" for publication in *"The Commentary"* and it was published in the September issue of 1964. He claims that there have been drastic changes in language, emphasis and content of the article on account of extensive and intensive editing and that he did not know of the changes till he saw the article in print. He addressed a letter to the editor, deploring the alterations made without his prior consent and giving the original words and sentences with a request to rectify the false impression made by publishing the letter in the next issue of *"The Commentary"*. The editor did not publish the letter. Professor Margenthau stopped writing to *"The Commentary"*. There were queries made and regrets expressed by several friends on this account and Prof. Margenthau published the letter already referred to. He comments in the letter (*Hudson Review*, Summer, 1965): "By taking the place of the author, the editor makes it impossible for the latter to discharge his duties toward himself and toward society. What is at stake here is the issue of intellectual freedom in its most profound and personal sense... The editor would have the right to impose his judgement upon the author only if there existed one correct philosophy, one correct kind of argumentation and one correct way of writing to the exception of all others. Societies indeed exist which believe in, and practice, these propositions; we call them totalitarian. There the writer must think, argue and write as the editor tells him to, and generally the editor doesn't need to tell him because a rigid system of political social awards and punishments will keep the writer in line without editorial prodding... language and thought are indeed inseparable; for it is only through language that thought becomes conscious of itself and makes itself heard. Standardized language is appropriate to standardized thought, and here is the proper domain of the ghost writer, the presumptuous editor, and the usurping producer... His (writer's) language is his thought. Change his language, and you have changed his thought."

In his reply, Mr. Norman Podhoretz argues that "his (Prof. Margenthau's) grammar was corrected, where necessary; his syntax was

straightened out, where necessary; a few of his gaucheries were eliminated; and in one case an obscure point was clarified by the transposition of a sentence to a place where it logically belonged". He further argued that similar changes were made by him as editor, in the fifteen articles written by Prof. Margenthau and published during previous years in *"The Commentary"*. With a biting sarcasm, Mr. Podhoretz continues: "I had not known, I confess that Mr. Margenthau was a great poet. I also confess that I am not sufficiently discerning to be reminded by Mr. Margenthau's prose, as he is, 'of the rhythm, melody, and structure of a familiar piece of great music'. In its unedited state, to tell the truth, it often strikes me as ponderous, repetitious and rhetorically gauche... Mr. Margenthau speaks of 'barbarization'. Yes indeed, I agree. The English Language is being barbarized by people who have not taken the trouble to master its mechanics and who are permitted by timid or irresponsible editors to further debasement in books and magazines. Our culture is being barbarized by 'writers' who brag of having an individual style when half the time they cannot write even a correct English sentence, and who are able to bully editors into accepting offences against the language, against logic, against the most literary standards—all in the name of 'creativity' and 'freedom'.

While meeting some of the points made by Mr. Podhoretz, Prof. Margenthau retorts in his rejoinder: "The burden of Mr. Podhoretz' argument appears to be that, not being able to write printable English, I owe it to his editing skill that my articles printed in *"The Commentary"* do not seem to be devoid of literary merit. This argument leaves unexplained the fact that I have written in identical style for a great number of distinguished publications which have not had the benefit of Mr. Podhoretz's editorial authority".

Mr. Podhoretz's argument that as Prof. Margenthau is not a creative writer but a mere journalist and a political commentator whose language can be altered and corrected by the editor does not make it clear as to how the editor distinguishes a creative writer when he comes across one. "He is apparently a 'creative writer' comparable, if you like, to Carlyle", quips Mr. Podhoretz. Is it not precisely about the short shrift that a Carlyle would get at the hands

of an American editor that Mr. Stallybrass talked about? Mr. Podhoretz would certainly not dare to correct the grammar and syntax of Carlyle when once he is established and recognized as such. Our worry is about a Carlyle in the making who simply can never emerge unscathed and un-mutilated out of the hands of the modern opinionated editors.

In his letter to the editor *T.L.S.* (November 4, 1965) Prof. Margenthau says: "By putting words into my mouth which are his (editor's) but not mine, he makes me appear as somebody different than I am". The leader writer of *T.L.S.* (*Ibid*) immediately catches hold of the sentence as an example of Prof. Margenthau's *gaucherie* in style and hastens to give a demonstration of editorial dexterity: "If for example, the sentence in Mr. Margenthau's letter was changed from 'By putting words into my mouth which are his and not mine he makes me appear as somebody different than I am' to 'By putting his words into my mouth he gives a false impression of me', would Margenthau's centre of being really have been under assault, or merely a pleonasm removed?"

"By putting his words into my mouth," is certainly not as effective as "By putting words into my mouth which are his and not mine", for, in the latter there is an emphasis that the right words in one's mouth are one's own and not of another. "Gives false impression of me" is miles away from "makes me appear as somebody different than I am", for giving false impression' is vague and amorphous whereas appearing as somebody different than oneself is more specific. This is a clear example of how essential interference devitalizes the original by reducing sentences to groups of cliché's Prof. Margenthau has definitely conveyed what he wanted to say. This only confirms "What Prof. Margenthau has said in his letter to *Hudson Review*": "Language and thought stand in an organic and intimate relation to each other". This is so not merely in a creative writing but even in ordinary polemics

It is clear that the power of the publisher's

editor has increased and is continuously on the increase in America. This is a clear symptom of a disease to which Charles Morgan has drawn the attention of the world in his "*Liberties of the Mind*" (1951): "The disease of the society which ends in annihilation of independent thought, and of all will to independence, is a disease of rare subtlety which, by causing men to believe that they are thinking freely when they are not, flatters them and conceals itself. It is a disease which gives none of the warnings of pain but insinuates itself by the pleasant sensations of ease and pride. During the 20th century its progress has been so spectacular and so violently accelerated that it has called attention to itself". The disease is the surrender at each step of more and more of the liberties of the mind.

Concluding his letter in the *T.L.S.* (Nov., 4, 1965) Prof. Margenthau strikes a pessimistic note: "We are here in the presence of a barbarization and corruption which appals me intellectually and outrages me morally. What is the remedy? I see only one: write only for those who respect you by respecting your language. Perhaps this will soon mean: if you want to remain true to yourself, don't write at all".

But the editors are themselves writers and most often writers of a very good standing. It should not be difficult for the editors to come to terms with the writers. "It is also true that all writers need editing. But all editing should be done with the full knowledge and approval of the writer. Any manuscript ultimately should be the sole responsibility of its writer. If he wishes to delegate the responsibility to the editor, the editor's name also should appear on the title-page. It is said that the editor's name is listed at the back of a volume in the U.S.S.R."

Probably only through writing and writing clearly and emphatically against the evils of undue interference and drab standardization that a writer can fight for his independence and continue to remain true to himself. The fight must continue even if the cost is the retreat to oblivion and silence.

THE PROBLEM OF SURPLUS CATTLE IN INDIA

Prof. SUNIL BANIK

It has been reported that the Congress Working Committee, while carrying out the recommendations of the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting presided over by the Prime Minister, issued directions to the State Governments for issuing a blanket ban on slaughter of cows by suitable legislation, as the Central Government wanted to avoid taking any responsibility in this regard.

The demand for the total ban on cow slaughter, raised by a group of people and political parties on 7th November last in Delhi resulted in violence, arson, deaths and wide-spread failure of law and order unprecedented since independence. This particular issue from the inception of planning in India created two dogmatic vocal groups: one with religious sentiment and the other with an equally vehement opposition for the projection of religion. But rational understanding of the whole problem by a group of thinking people has been deeply entrenched by the two extreme views during these years. Economists and social scientists, devoid of traditionalistic and ultra-particular thoughts have been pressing all along that a total ban on cow slaughter would mean a road-block to resurgence of the agrarian economy in general and for self-generating cattle development programme in particular. While these people have enough respect for religious sentiment, superstition and belief, they were against any attempt for any organised superstition, particularly of politically powerful people, to hypnotise the economy and the people on religious grounds. They advocate a process of dehypnotisation.

There is nothing wrong in worshipping the sacred cattle as it is equally necessary to presume the sanctity of human beings. Again, it is really criminal to keep the dumb cattle shockingly neglected, diseased and in a process of slow-death due to lack of adequate resources.

When the spectre of Malthus is frightening our infant economy and when we require ample provision of productive requisites to bring the obdurate agricultural sector on the self-sustaining

growth track, we find a plethora of limitations such as lack of availability of both domestic and foreign savings, past slumber, technical know-how, etc., to revolutionise the agrarian economy which is sustaining about 80 per cent of the total population and also a vast cattle population which according to provisional 1961 Livestock Census was 176,670 thousand out of a total livestock of 336.56 million. (The total livestock in India under the 1956 Census was 306.50 million). The total cattle population according to 1956 census was 15.87 lakhs. Out of the total cattle population in 1961, 7.25 lakhs were male over three years, 5.42 lakhs female over three years and the rest were below three years. According to the 1961 Livestock Census, West Bengal with a total land area of 33,829 square miles (density of population, 1,032 persons) had a total cattle population of 11,465 thousand. The present human population of the State is nearly 4 crores. While the land area has remained the same and when most of the lands are under agriculture and habitation, huge increase in cattle population has created problems of fodder and feeding resources for the cattle. Due to the partition of the country, the State had lost vast pastorage areas and got back large number of refugees not yet fully rehabilitated. The State is facing a serious cattle problem due to alarming increase of sub-standard cattle and corresponding decrease of fodder supply. Most of the cattle population in this State depend on dry fodder and stall-feeding due to lack of green fields.

It has been estimated that in India nearly 17 million cattle are engaged in agricultural operation—of them some are directly engaged with approximately 38 million ploughs, in approximately 11 million carts used for farm transport, other than a large number of those engaged in the cattle driven ghannies, sugarcane crushing, irrigating farm canals and other farm works. The use for rural India, is not sufficient, first because availability of bullocks per acre is very low (All-India average is one pair of bullocks

per 9.4 acres of land); secondly most of the bullocks are not that much vigorous either for various uses in the farm or for breeding purposes. While it is necessary to aim at the optimum uses of the existing cattle population, it is also necessary to work out both short-term and long-term measures to enrich the cattle population as the process of raising the productivity of the cattle is a long-drawn one.

It is roughly estimated that production of milk in India at the end of the First Plan was 19 million tons, Second Plan was 22 million and Third Plan target was 25 million tons. The gross milk production during the end of the Third Plan was, however, 20.64 million tons, out of which about 13 million tons were marketed. The average consumption of milk in India is only a little over 5 Oz. per day when the civilised minimum standard is 10 Oz. per head per day for a balanced diet. During 1951 the average per capita consumption of milk and milk products was 4.75 Oz. per day, in 1965, it was 4.9 Oz. and the Third Plan target was 5.1 Oz. per day. The average yield of milk from the cow is only 413 lbs. per year when the average yield of buffaloes is 1,100 lbs. of milk per year. The average yield of milk from cow in India is very much lower in comparison with the international standard. It was officially estimated that milk and milk products contribute nearly 6,200 million to the national income and the aggregate contribution of the livestock was estimated to be more than Rs. 10,000 million to the national income. It was further estimated that of the total annual production of over 0.46 million tons of meat from all types of livestock per year in India, production of beef was only 0.12 million tons and only 0.9 per cent of the total cattle population is slaughtered per year for meat which has a valuable protein content.

The Third Five Year Plan stated, "The productivity of India's livestock is generally low. Although high individual yield of milk is realised in some breeds of cattle and there is evidence of slight increase, India's average yield continued to be extremely small."

The productivity of the Indian cattle population can be raised through a systematic planning for the feeding, nutrition and veterinary facilities, disease control and also scientific breeding. One of the main problems of the cattle population in

India is that there is no adequate supply of fodder and feeding resources. The First 5-year Plan noted, "Unfortunately, however, existing fodder and feeding resources are not adequate for maintaining this large cattle population. The quantity of fodder available is only 78% of the requirement. While the concentrates and feeds suffices only for about 28% of the cattle. Moreover, while there is a great deficiency of milch cows and working bullocks, there is a surplus of useless or inefficient cattle and the latter constitutes a great strain on this scanty fodder and feed resources of the country." The 2nd Plan Stated "It is commonly considered that in relation to the supplies of dry fodder at least one third of the cattle population may be regarded as surplus and that in relation to the supplies of green fodder and concentrates the position is still worse." The situation has not improved since then and with the increase of human demand for agricultural land and increase of the number of cattle due to ordinary and induced rate of growth, the problem has further been intensified. Poor feeding breeding and maintenance have created a vicious circle from which it is difficult to have any scientific system of cattle raising without a total reorganisation and planning. The 3rd 5-year Plan on question of surplus cattle stated, "Weeding of inferior stock is a necessary complement to programme of cattle improvement and systematic breeding. . . An aspect of the problem of surplus cattle is the menace of wild and stray animal." Surplus cattle also inflicts considerable loss to the grain and corn fields. The 4th Five Year Plan, however, has only mentioned that some feeds and fodder development programmes will be taken up in the 4th Plan for bridging the gap between the demand and supply.

The Five year plans, with a view to improve the cattle population, established several artificial insemination centres, bull rearing farms, key village blocks, fodder demonstration-cum-training centres, fodder banks, some veterinary and disease control centres, go-Sadans, go-Shalas, go-Sambar-dhana etc. The Five year plans also recommended preservation of surplus monsoon grass, procuring grass from the valleys of the foot hills, setting up of mixed farming units, pasture development etc. But all these activities in this field were not even sufficient to scratch the surface of the

problem. Diseases of the cattle such as rinderpest, and other contagious diseases, which caused some years back 60% cattle mortality and reduction of their vitality and working efficiency, are still rampant.

From such a background regarding the nature and character of our cattle population it is suggested that uneconomic and surplus cattle should not be allowed to exist. This is essential not only for raising the productivity of the remaining cattle through making available to them the existing scanty fodder and feed resources as well as other amenities but also to allow the agriculturist to get the economic return from such surplus cattle for the transformation of the rural economy. Cash money to the agriculturists, is essential and this can be procured through selling out all these unproductive surplus cattle. For this, of course, there is a need of organised and integrated marketing facilities.

Introduction of railways and other transportation, factory economy and urbanisation have broken down the self-sufficient rural farm-economy and have introduced striking changes to farm life. Now urban areas provide new and good markets for the rural products and this will create new interest in farming, cattle rearing etc., and this in turn will make available ready money to the rural sector which still lacks them to a great extent.

Diversified urban demand will bring about agricultural re-adjustment to meet the new urban demand pattern. If a good amount of rural capital is tied up in wearing out cattle population then the rural economy will continue to remain in its present position. Mechanisation of agriculture in India is at a slow process, as trucks and tractors cannot flood the rural areas in the immediate future. But with the gradual adoption of technology, large cattle population will become surplus (though it is difficult to determine the criteria of surplus).

Article 48 (Directive Principles) of the Indian Constitution states "State shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific line and shall in particular, take steps for preserving and improving breeds, and prohibit the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle". But a complete ban on cow slaughter can neither help organise animal husbandry on modern and

scientific lines nor improve breeds in order to increase their productivity, as such a complete ban on slaughter of all cattle will create a striking racket of fertility revolution and will produce large unproductive wild cattle to jeopardize the position of the good cattle in the country. In case of such a total ban on cow slaughter the fertility rate of the cattle population according to an Expert Committee (1954) of the Government on the prevention of slaughter of cattle, will be 6 per cent per annum.

A good section of the community having no prejudice against cow slaughter, beef and beef selling profession, may as well, consider such a ban as abridgement of their fundamental rights, unreasonable restriction on carrying on their age-old occupation, business or trade and food habits when protein values of such food had never been questioned.

Apart from the constitutional issues involved, there are also other more important economic issues on this matter. While surplus, uneconomic and unproductive cattle population will do more harm than good to the rural economy as well as the cattle population, it will also mean wastage of huge resources.

Rational and planned cow slaughter cannot only earn huge foreign exchange for the country but it may also save huge foreign exchange by way of indigenous manufacture of some essential industrial and non-industrial raw materials, (such as pharmaceutical products, liver extracts, insulin etc.), inedible products, (tallow, guts, gelatin and glue, fertilisers, meat meal etc.), through proper hygienic and centralised modern slaughter houses and abattoirs with proper facilities for flaying, scientific curing, fattening of beef and packaging. India can earn huge foreign Exchange through export of meat and export of improved hides and skins.

In a recent seminar (March, 1965) on the Economic Problems of West Bengal organised by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and Industry, it was estimated that through meat export India can earn 100 crores rupees in foreign exchange and rupees 150 crores in foreign exchange from the export of hides and skins. However, for the export of beef and hides and skins a well integrated rural market linked up with urban market, scientific processing and packaging,

scientific tanning and grading of hides and skins as well as continuous scientific research will be necessary. Bones of the cattle slaughtered and from timely recovery of carcasses after the natural death due to old age, disease, occasional drought and floods etc., if processed scientifically, can also earn huge foreign exchange. At present the bone crushing industries in India depend on the primitive method of bone collection from the jungles and forests.

The total ban on cow slaughter will not only throw out a large number of people from their present occupations but will also close down many supplementary industries such as meat processing and packaging, leather goods, glue, soap, fertilisers and certain other by-products industries.

Nearly 55 per cent of the cash income earned by the farmers in the United States is from the live-

socks and their products. The American meat packaging industry, first started in 1818, now stands second to steel which is the largest industry in U.S.A. in huge resources. The meat packaging industry in U.S.A. not only improved the cattle produce by 50 per cent but also reduced the mortality rate of the cattle population to a great extent.

When there is no abundance of virgin soil, vast unoccupied regions and immense pastorage areas in India for utilising as cattle ranges and ranching, it is irrational to allow such a huge surplus cattle population to carry on a deplorable existence particularly when the cattle becomes unattached and economically unwanted as soon as it loses its productivity and milk rendering capacity.



CONSEQUENCES OF AUTOMATION

G. VASUDEV RAO

In a Press Conference held in Calcutta on 28th December, 1965, the Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation of India announced the installation of one electronic computer in Bombay and the intention of introducing another one in Calcutta shortly. The manner in which the installation was made in Bombay and is going to be made in Calcutta, notwithstanding country-wide agitation by the employees as well as disapproval of and protest from responsible public opinion, only betrays an element of doctrinaire subservience to these highly sophisticated gadgets.

These Superhuman Gangets

To state simply, the life of an electronic computer is its magnetic brain which can take, store and release on command all the information that are fed into it. Today's newest computers are capable of performing calculations in billionths of a second. One such computer takes only 150 hours to perform calculations which take 25 men a whole year to do. Manufactured by the Control Data Corporation of USA, the CDC 3600 is one of the most advanced computers in the world. It is capable of doing as many as 600,000 additions and subtractions and 200,000 multiplications and divisions per second on 15 digit numbers or words.

In the life insurance industry the computer can play its role most effectively in a thousand and one ways. The memory of this machine is the magnetic tape, half-inch wide ; sprayed with a magnetic oxide material which can take in data in minimal space and can retain them for years, dozens of years, if necessary. Round about 20 such tapes, each 2,400 feet long, can store all the relevant policy

particulars of one crore LIC policies. Once the basic data of policy particulars are fed into the memory of these machines the only thing that is to be done is to direct queries to the machine and in a matter of a thousandth fraction of a second, the machine will provide the answer, be it loan, surrender, paid-up value quotations or automatic preparation of premium notices, keeping account of inventories or preparation of staff salary bills.

The Withering Flowers

One basic problem continuously haunting the planners in resurgent India is the problem of unemployment. At the end of the 1st Five Year Plan, the extent of unemployment was estimated to be 5.3 million. During the Second Plan it increased to 9 million. By the end of the Fourth Plan the volume of unemployment is estimated to cross the staggering figure of 23 million. Amidst this growing unemployment, the ranks of educated unemployed are also growing. Thus the talents of the younger generation, the finest flower of our nation, are getting rusted and going waste. At a time when the energies of the nation are to be concentrated in creating a new social order ensuring better standards of living to our people, bringing new hope and light in their lives by offering them food, shelter and employment, utilising their talents in constructive directions, it is tragic that a premier public sector enterprise like LIC should go for electronic gadgets and trample the hopes and aspirations of thousands of young men and women who look towards this institution for jobs and for a better future.

Tears, Tears All The Way

"Rationalisation without tears" has been

the slogan made popular by vested interests in this country. However, the experience gained in such industries as cotton textiles and jute show that there were tears all the way on the face of working people and rationalisation proved nothing but an instrument in the hands of big employers to enhance their already higher rates of profit without conferring any gain on consumers or society in general. Round about the mid-fifties both cotton textile and jute industries went in for automation. In the five year period between 1957 to 1962 although the cotton mills' production registered an increase of over 9 points, yet, paradoxically enough, the daily work force registered a decrease of 18,000. The experience of the jute industry is yet more revealing. In the same period with 7,000 less labourers the production increased by over 15 points. Hence, the assertion that rationalisation poses no problem in a growing business like that of life insurance and not only there is no reduction in staff but more people are required to be employed, is nothing but a piece of fantastic prevail.

Fatal Enemy of a Healthy National Policy

In a country like ours, the big question is whether our industrial and economic development have gone thus far as to accommodate electronic machines without creating any serious upheaval in the present order of things? The USA with the assistance of electronic computers handles 122 times more life insurance business than the LIC does with only 4 times the employees the LIC has. In other words, these computers enable one American clerk to discharge the volume of work at present discharged by 30 LIC employees. The stark truth is that with the appearance of these computers in the LIC, out of every 30 employees 23 will be found redundant and therefore, surplus. Now, the LIC has 50,000 employees. With full automa-

tion of the entire services, more than 40,000 employees are bound to be surplus. Even in an advanced economy like that in the USA, automation has caused serious social, political and psychological repercussions. Substitution of human labour has put the entire American affluent society in a vortex of fierce controversy. To put it in the language of NEWSWEEK magazine (January 25, 1965) "Automation is becoming the most controversial economic concept of the age. Businessmen love it. Workers fear it. The Government frets and investigates and wonders what to do about it." American Big Business is eloquently frank and candid about the vast potentialities of the computer in its labour saving aspect. No less a person than Thomas J. Watson, President of the giant IBM Corporation, one of the giant US companies manufacturing computers, has this to say: "We can't argue that technological change and automation are no labour saving devices. Of course, they are. They do cause displacement. In fact, to do so is one of their major purposes."

With this backdrop of American experience it is not difficult to visualise what is going to happen in this country once the production procedure is streamlined with automatic gadgets. In the words of Sri D. P. Thengadi, General Secretary of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, "These products can be used only by depending on American know-how, personnel and finance. There is no inherent but only a created demand for these machines. This is nothing else than falling into the trap of a technologicalempire-building-programme,... Economic wisdom lies in the efficient utilisation of given resources. Our country has vast resources of man power and raw materials. But we have a paucity of capital. Economic development in Bharat, therefore must be labour-intensive and not capital-intensive. Automation would be the fatal enemy of such

a healthy national policy...Automation is an extraneous factor. It has not grown as a result of an internal growth of Indian economy...To say the least, the movement for automation is more in the nature of a fad than a reasoned calculation."

The Problem of Large Scale Transfers

There is a news in the air that the LIC has put a total embargo on all future recruitments. The leading financial institution in the public sector, it should be remembered, is giving a lead to shrink the potentialities of an expanding employment market. How the private sector will react is anybody's guess.

Apart from the questions of retrenchment and ban on future recruitments, the threat of transfer of thousands of employees is also hanging like a Democles' Sword on the employees. To quote Sri Thengadi again : "A sophisticated policy of gradual retrenchment through forced idleness, is not an alternative to a no-retrenchment policy. A policy of retrenchment once decided upon can be enforced in more than one way. Thus in the case of LIC the process of centralisation will in itself require the staff scattered all over the country to concentrate in Bombay and Calcutta. The position regarding housing and other amenities at both these places is so bad that the staff so transferred can be easily made to resign merely by being asked to make their own arrangements for housing on transfer."

Process of Dehumanisation

Apart from the social and economic problems automation has created in its wake, several psychological problems also have sprung up. Let us now consider the problem of automation on an intellectual plane. In the present century, to the eternal shame of man, he has lost himself in a self-created jungle of machines. The recent power-failure in New York is an eloquent testimony to this excessive and humiliating subjugation of man to

machines. For the first time in their lives, many New Yorkers looked with amazement at the magnificent star-lit sky. A Poet was heard saying : "That's what is wrong with a push-button society. All that has to happen is for one button not to work." In this mechanised society, work ceases to be a creative act and becomes a commodity. "The sense organs of man are becoming so functionless in the automated society that even his faculties of enjoyment are being crippled." It was against a situation like this that Marx rebelled in 19th century England, Thoreau raised his voice of protest in America. In our own century Mahatma Gandhi warned his countrymen against excessive dependence of man upon machines.

The re-division of labour destroys the interaction and inter-dependence of workers, disrupts group cohesiveness and hampers the formation of new relationships. Many individuals will have to suffer cruel hardships, personal, mental and physical, in adjusting themselves to a computerised environment.

Resistance and Confrontation

To focus the intelligent and serious public opinion in the country on this new menace, a Convention against Automation was held in New Delhi on December 7, 8, 1965, sponsored by the All India Insurance Employees' Association. Almost all the Central Trade Unions—the All India Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, United Trades Union Congress and Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, represented by Sarvashri K. G. Srivastava, George Fernandes, R. C. Pradhan, Tridib Chaudhuri, MP., and D. P. Thengadi, MP., respectively—were keen participants in the Convention. Several major Trade Unions both in private and public sector came on the same platform to win a common objective in unison. Among the

eminent Parliamentarians who attended the Convention were Sriyuts K. K. Shah, Hiren Mukherjee, Indrajit Gupta, Dinen Bhattacharjee, Prabhat Kar and S. M. Banerji. The Convention was inaugurated by the eminent jurist Sri N. C. Chatterji, MP., and presided over by Sri Rajni Patel, M.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, President, All India Insurance Employees' Association.

After exhaustive discussion the Convention adopted a declaration stating its aims and objects and passed a resolution spelling the concrete things to do immediately. The working class of the country accepted the challenge of automation with calm determination and firm conviction.

The employees of the Life Insurance Corporation of India are today engaged in a major movement against automation under the dynamic leadership of the All India Insurance Employees Association, Calcutta. The major chunk of the working class of the country is already drawn into the orbit of the struggle. More than ten lakh and eightyfive thousand signatures were collected on mass

petition to Lok Sabha. On 31st August 1966 the petition was submitted to Lok Sabha. The petitioners inter alia requested the Lok Sabha to place a total ban on electronic computers and to accept it as a policy not to import electronic computers.

Viewed from whatever angle, be it the employees or the policyholders or the nation, automation will spell disaster for all. It will retrench employees; it will cause more inconvenience to the policyholders; by excessive centralisation and concentration of authority in the hands of a new set of technocrats it will curtail the employment potential of a fast expanding public sector institution. Our repeated requests to scrap this whole programme have fallen on deaf ears. The logic of circumstances, therefore, has pushed us on to the path of struggle for survival and also for safeguarding the interests of the policyholders and the nation at large. "Real generosity towards future lies in giving all to the present" said Camus. To safeguard the interests of the future generations let us unite and fight this menace here and now.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Food and Politics

The Congress leadership, including those in the Government—both at the Centre and in the States—often complain that the opposition parties have been unfairly exploiting the country's difficult food situation to gain their particular political ends. That there has been continuing and unrelieved crisis in the food grains supply situation in the country ever since the last General Elections sent back the Congress party in even larger numbers than ever before to Parliament and the State legislatures, and which assumed a point of extreme criticality following the Chinese invasion of our northern frontiers, has been all too obvious to be ignored. Since then—according to Government statistics—we have had at least one all-time peak harvest, but the crisis has continued to assume a mounting tempo. There is, however, room for serious doubt about the reliability about Government's statistical assessment of the measure of our food grains production. They must have been materially erring on the side of under-statement; for according to the Government's estimate of the area under active cultivation in the country, the highest level of production so far stated to have been attained, would seem to have been yielding in terms of rice-paddy and wheat, only about 2 maunds per bigha per annum. This, obviously, is a wholly absurd figure, for such an extremely low level of per acre production would not cover even a fraction of the cost of cultivation to the tiller. It would, therefore, be quite legitimate to assume that the production of food grains within the country must be consider-

ably higher in actual fact, than put out in Government's statistical estimates. Publication of such obviously erroneous figures by Government may—the more charitably inclined may concede—be due to the gross incompetence of the concerned departments of Government; but it may also be supposed by the less gullible that this has been and is being done with deliberate intent to serve some political ends of the ruling party. If that were so, the accusation that the sorry food situation in the country is being exploited by the opposition parties to gain their particular political ends may equally apply to the ruling party also.

But even according to the statistics officially published by the Government, the food grains supply situation would seem to be extremely confused and beyond proper understanding and assessment. According to the forecasts published by the Census Commissioner of India, the gross population of the country by the end of 1967, would assume the level of very nearly 500 million. From the analysis of population by age groups available from the reports of the last three decennial census enumerations in 1941, 1951 and 1961, it appears that the percentage of the population falling within the age group 0 years to 8 years comprise roughly 36.6 per cent of the total. Assuming that the proportion would remain materially unchanged during the current period, the number of those within the age group 0 years to 8 years by the end of 1967 would be a little more than 180 million and of those in the age group of above 8 years and over would be 320 million. In one of its reports the Planning Commission stated some time earlier that although, having

regard to the average nutritional pattern of the people's food intake in this country, the desirable level of allocation of per capita adult food grains intake should be 18 oz. per diem, it would not be possible to provide so much until agricultural production had attained a higher level of efficiency which, it was expected, could be reached by 1970-'71; until then a 16 oz. per capita daily allocation would be considered reasonable. At 16 oz. daily adult allocation and 8 oz. daily for those in the age group of upto 8 years of age, the actual **consumption-requirement** of food grains of the country's total population should be of the following order :

1964-65 harvest year. According to Government's own account, again, the measure of imports of food grains during 1965, which was considerably attenuated in comparison with that of the previous year, aggregated 4.6 million tons. In 1965 our population numbers would be at least 24 millions less than what it would be in 1967 assuming a 2.4 per cent annual increase in the population. The gross availability of food grains, according to the above figures, would be 84.6 million tons and gross demand would be a little under 81 million tons. There should, therefore, be a carry over to the next year, of at least 3.6 million tons. In 1965-66 the quantum of food grains harvest

Age-group	Number	daily quota	daily total consumption	Annual consumption
0 yrs. to 8 yrs.	180,000,000	8 oz.	40,178 tons	14,664,970 tons
8 yrs. and above	320,000,000	16 oz.	142,858 tons	52,143,170 tons
Gross actual consumption requirement of the population :				66,808,140 tons
Add 10 per cent of actual consumption for seed grains and unavoidable wastage (depredations by Mr. Subramaniam's rats for instance)				6,680,814 tons
Gross quantity required to satisfy human consumption demand, those for seed grains and for wastage :				73,488,954 tons
Add 10 per cent more of this gross quantity to cover fluctuations in market demand				7,348,895 tons
Total quantity required to satisfy all kinds of demand				80,837,850 tons
				say 81,000,000 tons

Now, let us have a look at the actual supply position. Let us not, for argument's sake, look back at the position prior to 1964-65 and assume that at the beginning of 1965 we had no carry-over of food grains from the previous years. The Government estimates firmly established 80 million tons as our total cereal production during the

was, initially, stated to have been of the order of 79 million tons in Government's own estimates; it was later played down to 77 million tons and finally to 75 million tons. With the carry over of 3.6 million tons, the total available quantity would aggregate 78.6 million tons. In 1966, again according to accounts published by Government from

time to time, the actual imports of food grains delivered to our country by the food-aid giving nations, has been of the order of 10 million tons; the quantum of gross availability would be of the order, then, of 88.6 million tons. In 1966, again, the population would be about some 12 millions less than what it would be in 1967. Nevertheless, if 81 million tons is the measure of our gross demand of food grains including those for seed grains, unavoidable wastage and for satisfying market fluctuations, there should be a net carry over of at least 7.6 million tons into 1967. Latest forecasts (again according to Central Government sources) of the estimated harvest during the current (1966-67) season, although it would be bound to be much less than originally anticipated on account of severe drought in certainly areas of the country, it would be likely to be around 80 million tons. If that is a realistic forecast, even in 1967 there should be a surplus, even without additional imports, of some 6.6 million tons after covering fairly adequately every kind of need, including the actual consumption needs of the people. And, yet, our Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture have estimated our food deficit for the next year at around 19 million tons and have been roving the whole wide world with begging bowl in hand importuning other nations to feed our people!

Curiously enough, whatever the manner of the Government's handling of the food situation in the country, the opposition parties appear to have been accepting the Government's estimates in this behalf at their face value. Either they are unable or unwilling to examine these estimates carefully and arrive at their own independent assessment of the actualities, or they find it politically more expedient to accept Government's published estimates in this behalf and pose their political programmes on that grossly erroneous basis. In either case it is as downright dishonest as that of

the position assumed by the Government and the ruling party. What it actually would seem to boil down to is that the ruling party and the parties in the opposition alike are out to exploit a situation, which would appear to have been created by deliberate purpose and intent; that would be bound to contribute to the existing confusion in the people's mind and their utter helplessness.

We must frankly accept the fact that our electorates, by and large, are ignorant and unable to think for themselves. It would appear that all existing parties, whether on the right or on the left, whether comprising the ruling party or the opposition, have been contributing immensely worse measures of confusion to an already extremely confused situation, in the hope of deriving whatever party gains they politically may, out of this frankly machiavellian situation. They would appear, however, to have ignored one very important factor in the whole sorry tale. The people, helpless and confused as they are, have nevertheless the instinct and the intuitions of the ignorant and the unlettered. They may not yet put their finger right on the spot from where all this confusion and helplessness springs; but their intuitions are unmistakably guiding them to an approximately correct approach to the keys of the situation; that all this confusion springs from the obligation to serve certain entrenched vested interests which finance the parties respectively into power and opposition leadership. And this very true intuition has been leading to an increasing measure of distrust of all political parties.

Now, therefore, would seem to be the time for people of education, imagination and rectitude to come forward and begin to discharge their responsibilities to the society to which they belong, especially if they have any regard for the democratic society and desire it to survive these onslaughts upon its existence and stability. In a democratic society every individual has

his direct and positive responsibilities to the political system. The more educated and better established have a correspondingly greater responsibility to undertake in this behalf. There are no doubt serious deterrants in the way. For one thing, the process of electioneering has been made so inordinately expensive that it has gone wholly beyond the reach of the normally honest and educated person. But the people's patience and tolerance of current political management and careerism of the parties in the legislatures have been rapidly reaching a crucial desperation point and it has become urgent and imperative that those large numbers among our honest and educated people whose love for their country is more genuine and exceed their love of personal comfort and peace, should come forward to step out and do something to arrest this dangerous trend by introducing a more wholesome note and honest effort untainted by self-interest and careerism into the management of the political organs of the nation, so that democracy may survive. Results adequate to the needs of the situation will necessarily take long to properly fructify; years of patient effort and painstaking endeavour would have to be put into the process. But a beginning has to be made some time and at some point and the present would seem to be a very opportune one for the purpose.

It is, perhaps, some measure of the desperate national need in this behalf that a group of such people in West Bengal and elsewhere have, only recently, begun to make some serious but, yet, too feeble efforts in this direction. The group, will have to satisfy themselves that they sponsor for the elections only those whose reliability, by every measurement, is beyond all suspicion or question. It is good that they have publicly declared that they are not a party and will never become one. We assume that they mean that they do not intend, like the other existing parties in the country,

to create vested interests in the country's politics for themselves for, as we have already commented, all political parties will remain suspect in the present murky atmosphere and will not easily be able to gain anybody's confidence and trust. It is still better that in the group we find the names of some whose intellectual, social and moral standing in the community is very high; this, above everything else, is what is most urgently needed to-day. The results at the ensuing elections that they may hope to obtain may be very inadequate; their preparation has been too short. But whatever the results may be, that should not disappoint nor deter them from continuing their very laudable effort into the future beyond the immediate elections; if they are really honest about their professions that they have been led into the public arena by the horrifying spectre of crass mismanagement, nepotism and corruption in every field of political activity in the country from which, they felt that the country and the people must be rescued, cost what it may, then they cannot give up even if they were to be currently defeated at the polls.

When Thieves Fall Out

The pressures within the Congress party, it has been quite obvious for a considerable period, have been steadily mounting over the years distorting, in very large measure, the monolithic image of the ruling party. But so far the internecine dissensions within the party have been of comparatively minor significance. The top leadership of the party appeared to remain indestructively cohesive in spite of pressures from increasingly dissident rank-and-file followings of the party. But some time ago occasional evidence of serious dissensions among the top-ranking elite of the party came out. One such occasion was when the late Jawaharlal Nehru was obliged to dispense with the services of several of his senior Cabinet

colleagues in accordance with the requirements of what has since become notorious as the **Kamraj Plan**. Although the step was taken reportedly to reinforce the organizational strength of the ruling party at its base for which the constant guardianship and supervision of some of the senior-most leaders of the party was said to have been urgently called for, it was not a convincing enough pretext. What appeared to be the cause of the so-called **Kamraj Plan** was that the group really seized of power within the party thus arranged to eliminate from effective authority some of the senior-most and powerful personages within the ruling coterie who, for one reason and another, had incurred the displeasure of the real powers behind the scenes and had thus become **persona-non-grata**. It was quite obvious that with all his personal glamour, the late Jawaharlal Nehru had already begun to lose his grip over the party machinery and had to yield to pressures if he had at all to maintain his own position of undisputed and unrivalled leader of the party and his Government.

With his sudden passing away things again threatened to assume critical proportions and a fresh power-struggle within the party seemed almost inevitable. With a measure of commendable adroitness, however, the leaders who really mattered averted such a contretemps by putting up the late Lal Bahadur Shastri as the successor. There was a great deal to commend Lal Bahadur Shastri to them as the obvious choice for the succession. Throughout his long incumbency, first in the AICC and later as a member of the Union Cabinet as Railway Minister and then, after a short break, as Home Minister, he seemed to be the most docile of human beings among top-ranking Congress party leaders. He was, apparently, a man without any kind of personal ambition and the least obstreperous among them. It seemed likely that to those who wielded the real power in the Government from behind the scenes, he would be

an easily amenable quantity who could be made to toe the line chalked out for him without question or demur. Soon enough, however, it became quite clear how mistaken they had been in their estimate of the character of Lal Bahadur Shastri. He remained unfailingly quiet and unassuming, but he managed within a very short while of ascending the Prime Ministerial **guddee** to prove that that he had a mind of his own which could, without any outward show of either strength or subservience, brush aside all extraneous and outside influences and pressures with complete unconcern. It is said that he very soon made it explicitly clear to the Congress President that within the broad framework of the party manifesto at the last polls the conduct of his Government was his own affair into which he would tolerate no kind of intervention or interference from party bosses. In one vital matter alone, it would appear, he was unable to demonstrate any measure of effective strength,—that is, in dealing with the increasingly muggy food situation in the country. But here also his failure was due more to his realistic assessment of the weaknesses of the administrative structure he had inherited than to any kind of readiness to compromise with the unspoken demands of the concerned vested interests—official and otherwise—which he made quite clear, when he deprecated the so called plan to introduce full statutory rationing in the country on a very wide scale covering all towns and industrial complexes with a population of—down to—300,000 and more and even 100,000 and more. It may be recalled that he said that introducing statutory rationing in cities with populations of 1,000,000 and more would have to cover, in the aggregate, a population of roughly about 17,000,000. The administrative resources of the Government to cover even this comparatively small area of administrative responsibility involved in the introduction of statutory rationing, in itself, could not be said to be quite adequate; to widen this area so

materially as to cover all towns and industrial complexes with populations of 300,000 and more—which would have to roughly cover a population of well over 45,000,000 in the existing state of the Government's administrative resources, would be completely beyond its power to accept.

But the clearest picture of Lal Bahadur Shastri, the man of iron will and character was presented when he had to deal with the Pakistani war upon India. He faced the ordeal splendidly and proved himself a real leader of men and his Government. And even after the Pakistanis were virtually routed and U.S.-British pro-Pakistani pressures went on building up through the U.N. to bamboozle India into accepting terms of a fresh cease-fire which were neither basically right nor were justified by the actualities of the military situation, he remained quite steadfast in his determination to ignore these and extract legitimate terms in India's favour before he would agree to another cease-fire against Pakistan. Unfortunately, however, he was prevented from living up to his initial stand in this behalf, not merely because these pressures went on ceaselessly mounting, but primarily because his own party colleagues forced his hands in the matter. Finally at Tashkent his steadfast refusal to accept any condition that would have the effect of compromising India's wholly legitimate position in respect of the so-called Kashmir question, earned him the admiration of the whole world. That Shastri proved quite a disappointment to those of his party colleagues who had mistakenly supposed that in him they had found an easily amenable **yes-man** was soon obvious and those who are popularly known under the aggregate appellation, the **Syndicate**, had already begun to propound a thesis of party leadership and the Government which has since become quite notorious as the **Ranchi Thesis**. It was fortunate for the **Syndicate** though, perhaps, equally unfortunate for the country and even the Congress party,

that Shastri was so suddenly carried away by the cruel hand of fate at the very moment when after so much of preliminary obstacles and troubles he had at last been able to sign a joint agreement at Tashkent with the President of Pakistan. Otherwise it is quite possible, there might have been quite a tussle for power between him and the **Party Syndicate**.

The Syndicate, after Shastri's demise had grown in wisdom and was now prepared to take necessary measures to find a nominee for the Prime Minister's office who would be, heart and soul, their absolute slave and quisling. During the short few months Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been in the office, she has proved how abjectly she has become the **Syndicate's** slave. In the dismissal of Shri Gulzarilal Nanda—not that he ever deserved to have been elevated to the position which he had continued to so ineptly occupy for so long—and what followed, the hand of the **Syndicate** has become all too obvious; one very prominent member of the **Clique** even went so far as to publicly assert that he was mainly responsible for booting the former out. The present Prime Minister made a brief but wholly futile attempt to assert her independence when she practically asked for the resignation of some of her very prominent Cabinet colleagues, but had to give up and abjectly retract almost at the very next moment. Instead, the opportunity was taken by the **bosses** to force her hands to dispense with the services of some of her Cabinet members who, for one reason and another, had earned the formers' displeasure and had thus become **persona-non-grata**; one them has since defected from the Party itself.

The Syndicate, apparently, is the strongest factor in Congress Party politics to-day and, hence, in the country's political prospects in the immediate future. With the general elections coming on, they have been ruthlessly eliminating most of their detractors and rivals, with the result that

the Congress has become a vast **snarling cat-house of polyphonous discord**. The internal dissensions within the Congress in Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra has long been endemic. In West Bengal new factions developed when the former P.C.C. President, a former Minister of the State Government and a Congress man of long standing and unimpeachable character, was booted out by the ruling faction within the party. In Rajasthan and, lastly, in Bihar also, the party appears to have seriously broken up into fresh and powerful factions. In other, perhaps less important regions also, the Congress appears to be a house divided as, for instance, in the Union territory Tripura. In Orissa the long-standing dissensions within the party appears now to have degenerated frankly into a struggle for power. In Assam the rumblings beneath the surface are none too inaudible. Taken all in all, the Congress presents a sorry spectacle of disintegration and disaffection.

Anyone with a sense of history could easily discern that something like this was bound to happen in the long run. The Congress, even from the beginning of its inheritance of the sceptre of power, has been proving itself wholly unsuited by both the personal character of those who comprised its ruling coterie and their individual intellectual and moral equipment—with, of course a few very honourable exceptions here and there—to bear the responsibilities of democratic governance. They were frankly out to exploit the **spoils of power** for themselves and their sponsors and patrons, mostly belonging to certain favoured and long-entrenched vested interests. It was mainly the latter's financial support that has, so far, enabled the Congress party at the last three quinquennial elections, to win increasingly overwhelming majorities in the Union Parliament and in the State legislatures. The Congress had made the elections deliberately far too expensive so

that no honest and well-intentioned person of quality and substance could successfully venture into the arena of popular elections. Universal adult franchise, normally considered an expression of the most progressive aspects of democratic development has become, in the peculiar conditions and circumstances of this country, a very handy and effective tool in the hands of the unscrupulous and the affluent to exploit the popular vote. When the matter was being considered in the Constituent Assembly at the time of approving the final draft of the Indian Constitution, the President himself, the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, was reported to have been vehemently opposed to the measure. The writer had an opportunity of personally asking the former as to whether this was true and his reasons for such opposition. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was a man of intellect with an acute sense of history. He had replied that in a **traditional** society like ours where the people were wholly unacquainted with the techniques of democratic government and the positive responsibilities of electorates in maintaining such a standard,—in a society especially where the level of literacy among the people was so infinitesimally low, universal adult franchise, he said, might easily degenerate into a dangerous tool in the hands of those who accidentally inherit power to rule the people despotically in perpetuity. Unfortunately political pressures from his old colleagues was able, ultimately, to eliminate his effective opposition to the measure, but what he apprehended might happen as an inevitable consequence appears now to have come to pass. The Congress had, by an accident of history, inherited power from the British in India, despite its earlier and repeated pledges to the contrary and ignoring, at the time, the wise counsels of Mahatma Gandhi. Power, they say, corrupts and **absolute power** corrupts absolutely. The corrupting influences of power appears to have spread to

all ranks of the Congress leadership who soon, with the spoils of power within their own little grips, came to equate the interests of the country and the people with those of the power-interests of their own party and most of the more powerful ones among them even went to the length of equating the interests of the party with those of their own selfish desires. If one were to be wholly truthful—although it may take a great deal of courage to own it—even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was at one time regarded by the entire Indian people as the very epitome of selfless devotion and dedication to the service of his country and his people was found, after a few years of office as the first Prime Minister of India, to have had feet of clay. The evils which he allowed to be perpetrated when he might easily have nipped them in the bud, has been a heritage of disaster not merely to his own political party, but alas, to the whole country and all the people of India!

Congress, thus, has enjoyed monolithic powers of governance over the country for very nearly two whole decades now. And, what is the result? One is reminded of the picture conjured up Rabindranath's last testament to the world—his *Crisis in Civilization*—in which he had accused the British to have been leaving behind what he called a "vast heap of futility" after two centuries of rule over India. What the British had not been able to achieve in evil doing and in their exploitation of the weak and the innocent, our Congress masters have outdone by a long margin within less than a couple of decades. Education, food, public order and security, a long and unbroken vista of frustration, distress, insecurity and disorder and an innumerable host of consequent evils unfold before our eyes. How many centuries it will take for the evils and the wrong-doings of barely two decades to be healed, only the future historian can possibly forecast.

There is, however, a very faint silver lining to be discerned in the remote horizon. When thieves, an old English aphorism states, fall out, honest men into their own. The thieves who comprise the Congress's kitchen appear now to have been falling out among themselves in real earnest. So long as the top leadership remained cohesive and unbroken, minor dissensions among lower rank and file did not seem to matter so very materially. But during the last few weeks some very vitally placed top leaders of the party have finally broken out of this thieves' kitchen. There is every evidence that the process of disintegration has, at long last, started in right earnest. But whether this will enable the honest to come into their legitimate inheritance will have to largely depend on the use to which they are able to turn the present opportunity which the ineptitudes and worse of the ruling party has been so forcefully presenting itself to them. If the Congress has been inept and worse—and there is little question that it has been so—the so called opposition parties have given no better account of themselves. The same story of manouvering for power and preferment has marked the working of the opposition as a whole. Most of them have been minor splinters of the parent Congress party itself. There was only one party of some strength which had an ideology and an objective—right or wrong—of its own; but even this one party appears now to have been breaking up on the rocks of personal interest and power-positions. Along with the ruling party, they have been completely impervious to the people's rights, desires and interests. No one can seriously look upto any of them to bring succour to the people from the poisonous effects of two decades of Congress misrule.

The whole future will have to turn around the awakening of the basic awareness of the people's natural leaders, the educated intellectuals, those in the learned

professions, thinkers and others, of their positive responsibilities to a democratic order of society. The work, as I have often observed in these columns, will have to be a long and painstaking one. There must not be any thought of personal reward for those who are willing and courageous enough to take up this onerous responsibility and the ardent and almost heart-breaking work. If this is done, then, surely, the honest men will eventually be able to claim their own. It is encouraging to see that some individuals have just begun to think in these terms. Some of them have even started to organize the necessary machinery with a view to making a beginning towards this very necessary end. Results are bound to be only infinitesimal, having regard to the very little preparation that has gone into this new effort before the ensuing elections. If all this effort is, however, just a flash-in-the-pan and merely a pre-election project, nothing will have been gained. The effort must be kept up beyond the elections into the next five years and, perhaps, even into the following five years after them. Only then can the honest come into their own.

Rhodesia and the Commonwealth

Britain's Prime Minister Mr. Wilson's desperate manœuvres to save the Commonwealth while at the same time pampering to the not merely juridically illegal but also politically wholly immoral White minority rulers of South Rhodesia can be aptly likened to tight-rope walking. But all his adroitness in the game notwithstanding, his efforts to maintain a precarious balance appears to have come a cropper. In the first instance he appeared to have banked too much on the gullibility and the weaknesses of his African and Asian partners in the Commonwealth. His apparent show of widening the area of sanctions against the illegal South Rhodesian regime through the

U.N. Security Council has not deceived any of them and they have been clamouring for both widening the area of sanctions which, to Britain's embarrassment, would have the result of bracketing South Rhodesia and South Africa together so far as the application of the proposed sanctions were concerned. It is notorious how, immediately after the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth on the ground of South Africa's policy of **apartheid** which, in spite of South Africa's plea that it was a domestic matter and wholly outside the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth's consideration—a plea which she has maintained before the U.N. all through the years and from the counsels of which she might have been expelled ere long had it not been for the support of the Anglo-U.S. lobby in the U.N.—the African and Asian members of the Commonwealth who are in an overwhelming majority, were not prepared to countenance, the British Government concluded separate bi-lateral treaties with the South African Government which have had the result of not merely maintaining their old relationships intact but even to have brought them closer together. At that time some members of the Commonwealth felt that it would be proper for most Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth to withdraw from the Association as, clearly, Britain's new relationship with the South African regime demonstrated her active acceptance, even tacit approval of the latter's reprehensible and immoral racial policies. Unfortunately India and some other members were not quite prepared to take any decisive decision on the question and the whole movement ended in a continuing stalemate.

Very much a similar situation has now been created in respect of Britain vis-a-vis South Rhodesia. The normal and the obvious thing for Britain to do would have been when Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesian independence rejecting Britain's proposals for alternative measures for

future progress towards such an end, for Britain to have taken police action and to have dealt with the rebel Smith regime as it would deserve to have been dealt with under the ordinary laws regulating the relationship between Britain and her colonies. But this Mr. Wilson and his Government have steadfastly refused to do. What he has been attempting to do instead is so transparently obvious that this should not have deceived anyone except, perhaps, those who would find it to their advantage to be so deceived. Britain's latest stunt of bringing the matter up before the U.N. and which has led to a measure of discomfiture for her, should not, equally deceive any one. It is quite clear that Mr. Wilson's Government, in spite of its so-called socialist ideology are not quite sorry that Ian Smith should have rebelliously seized independence so that White dominance in this last among the African colonies may be saved and perpetuated.

And, yet, strangely enough, Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth seem to be apparently reluctant to enter the lists for a shown-down with Great Britain on this issue. The legal position as regards members of the Commonwealth other than Britain seems to be a little confused. The British Crown has been accepted as the formal titular head of the Commonwealth. In the circumstances it may be doubtful if it would be juridically tenable for the Commonwealth to expel Britain from her counsels. If it were not so, such members of the Commonwealth as may be willing or determined to break off their relations with Britain as members of the same commonwealth of free and independent nations, may have the alternative of themselves withdrawing from the Commonwealth. This, for many reasons, many of them are reluctant to do, prominent among them being India. There seems to be a notion that the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth, most of whom are saddled with under-developed economies, are not in a position to jeopardise the economic, technological and other assistance which they receive from Britain by breaking away from the Commonwealth. This, on assess-

ment, may be an entirely erroneous supposition. If the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth receive a great deal of assistance from Britain in their national development projects by way of foreign exchange credits, technological know-how and in other ways which are seemingly important to them, it is equally important for Britain to maintain the present relationship with these countries for they provide to her the largest and an almost illimitable dumping ground for her obsolete and derelict industrial equipment which would otherwise sell for mere scrap value and an almost fabulously remunerative market for her unemployed who are sent out to these countries in droves masquerading as **technologists** while, in real fact, they are no better than merely **bilaiti karigars** or mechanics. Their only superiority to the indigenous mechanics in most of these countries is that they come with an aura of prestige and that they can, generally, spell and sign their own names in English, which these indigenous mechanics are mostly unable to do yet.

Rhodesia, however, has now become a crucial test of the bona fides of both Britain and her Afro-Asian fellow members of the Commonwealth. If certain basic principles rather than mere considerations of expediency and gain were to regulate the decisions and actions of a Government, Britain could not possibly evade the obligation, in conformity with her declared racial policies, of eliminating the rebel Smith regime of South Rhodesia and thus rescue the overwhelming coloured majority population of the country from the oppressive domination of a small minority of whites led by Smith and his illegal Government. Similarly if India and the other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth were to place their declared principles ahead of matters which may be considered expedient in the national interest at the moment, they could not possibly tolerate or countenance the racial discrimination inherent in Britain's dealings with South Rhodesia as well as her relations with the Government of South Africa vis-a-vis other and, especially, coloured members of the Commonwealth. Unless the Afro-Asian group in the Commonwealth awaken to a sense of their positive responsibilities in this behalf and until they are prepared to take decisive action in pur-

suance of their basic social objectives, Britain will not be persuaded to do the right thing by her Afro-Asian colleagues in the Commonwealth. Once this can be done, the sheer force of self-interest will compel Britain's hands to take both decisive and purposeful action without shilly-shallying as she has been doing so long. The British Government may be prepared to indulge the obstreperousness of their Rhodesian cousins; that this readiness to do so will stop short, if we know anything of British character, at the point beyond which they would be likely to materially hurt their own interests. If lack of decisive action meant the inevitable cessation of the Afro-Asian members, Britain would cease to be as indulgent and soft-handed as she has been so long, for she would stand to lose far more from the defection of the Commonwealth than she would be ever likely to gain by putting the interests of the White minorities of South Rhodesia above those of the native population. This, the Afro-Asian members of the British Commonwealth of Nations should clearly understand.

National Council of Education

Sixty years ago some of our most eminent national leaders of those times, with the late Surendra Nath Banerjee at their van, announced the decision at a public meeting held in Wellington Square, Calcutta, that to enable the people of the country to realise their responsibilities to the Motherland, a national bias must be given to our system of education. They felt that the structure of education in the country, especially at the secondary and university levels. Dependent as it was upon official British patronage and support, it would not be able—on the country it was purposefully designed not to—invest the country's growing manhood with that sense of national awareness and self-respect which was an essential ingredient towards nation building and which could alone be achieved through a truly national university.

It was with this end in view that at the public meeting referred to above, it was decided to constitute an educational society which was to be known as the National Council of Education. Donations for the projected institution were asked for at the meeting itself and a very generous gift was at once promised by a prominent citizen of the metropolis, Shri Subodh Chandra Mullick who at once was invested with the honourable appellation, Raja, for his munificence to this national cause.

The National Council of Education organized a National College in Calcutta with a number of national high schools in different district towns of the province. But, perhaps, the most significant among the institutions organized by the Council was the Bengal Technical Institute which was originally located at Muraripukur, near Maniktala in North Calcutta. This Institute had to fight a hard, long-continued and relentless battle not merely to keep itself going but also to maintain a level of engineering education which would be comparable in its standards to those of the best among the Government controlled and financed institutions in the field. It was a hard and relentless struggle for survival and the immense amount of sacrifice and selfless dedication that went into the process by its extremely poorly paid teaching and other staff should always be remembered with gratefulness by the nation.

It was not until the princely gift by the late Dr. Rashbehari Ghose came into the hands of the Institution and it was shifted to a more commodious site in Jadavpur in the South of the metropolis, that the Institution could emerge out of the woods and start off to a period of rapid development. In course of time it earned a great reputation and some time after independence its status was elevated to that of a full-fledged university with Dr. Triguna Sen, himself an old student of Bengal Technical Institute, as the first rector.

Under Dr. Sen's far sighted and very sensible leadership, the Jadavpur University has now earned the status of one of the most progressive educational complexes in the country and some of its faculties, especially in the fields of engineering and fundamental science, are already regarded as being among the most progressive. What is especially significant in the context of the present times, this has been one of the few Indian Universities which does not appear to have been touched by the current violence of student unrest, such excellent student-teacher and student-administration relation has been established here.

IS A NEW IMAGE FOR BUDDHISM IN THE MAKING ?

WILLIAM PULLEY

What has served to provoke this following comment, was a 6-page article published in *Time International* magazine (American), December, 11, 1964. Those who understand the current tensions brought about by cold-war and policies of 'containment', will also understand that when *Time* magazine gives 6 pages to any issue, it is not only vital as world interest, it reflects a powerful trend as well. *Time* magazine and perhaps many in the West, are reaching out for an answer to the conduct of the Vietnamese Buddhist monks and others in the Buddhist world, and we shall try to answer this to the best of our ability and experience. One of the questions posed in this article seems to reflect the general resentment which reads as follows :

"Are Tri Quang and the other Buddhist leaders naive or villainous, or both? Are they merely inconsistent in the grand Vietnamese fashion? Are they nationalistic or Communist dupes? Whatever the answer, much of it lies embedded in the myriad traditions of a great faith, noble, puzzling to the West, durable, and sharply challenged by the modern people."

Many also are those in the 'civilized' world who await hopefully for the cold war to abate that a more positive period of constructive action can be expressed in the affairs of East and West. For over 15 years, an unending 'war of nerves', political and economic juggling among nations, have left the readers of newspapers jittery and brooding while neurosis and psychosis increases yearly to fill Western hospitals to overflowing. And now, when the carefully laid plans of 'containment' to surround and control the 'enemy' fade into mists of illusion, the planners are seen as frustrated, unpredictable and surely angry men.

Now the new trend of 'name calling' and hate provoking is already seen in the journalistic effort of Western newsmen to direct attention to religious influences said to 'defeat' the noble effort to cold-war. *Time* magazine, in writing their 6-pages account on the rise of Buddhist rebellion in Asia which frustrates the planners of

cold-war, focuses its white-light of journalistic power on the traditional monk who is said to have made an about turn from docility and goodness, to political and materialistic attachment and entanglement.

It appears then that the 'new image for Buddhism' will suffer greatly or such politically keyed information to decry 'degeneracy' in Buddhist development will cause millions to thoughtfully examine the facts and bring about a needed 'house-cleaning' in all Buddhist lands. The article of *Time* magazine is well researched and surely reveals a number of facts not too well-known in either Asia or the West. Also, the author of this particular article has more than average interest and insight on the Buddha's noble doctrine as this was revealed in early Buddhist-thought'. But he also employed the ugly colouring of political opportunism to destroy the brighter colours of good reporting.

Let it be said then that my reason for 'standing up to be counted' (as a Buddhist) lies in the thought that I am no stranger to the subject of Buddhist development in South East Asia. Actually, I have spent several years in the Robe as a Buddhist monk and have taught and lectured to young student monks from some 5 different Asian countries. From such good contact I have learned the inner feelings and objectives of Buddhists throughout the Far East. Moreover, my secondary reaction to *Time* magazine's article, was to remind myself (and others) that ours is not the problem to protect sectarian attachments and loyalties to "Buddhism", but to see such movement, degenerate or otherwise, as merely the outgrowth of world upheaval and the result of misguided men, (monks and others) who fail to read and live the Buddha's clearly outlined guidance. Also those who reason along such lines, must know that the planners of cold-war threaten, invade and destroy Buddhist lands. If then there are seen monks who 'break their silence' to prevent such action can this be called 'degeneracy'? Among these monks are men of wisdom who know the tendency of ambitious and

egocentric men to "use others up". Korea is a striking example of this.

Let us begin a more worthy analysis of this situation by saying that Buddhist development in South East Asia, was a process that only the honest historiain can ably assess. It was as much a 'hit-and-miss' movement in the life of humans as anything comparable to Western lands. But now the present inroads that foreign intervention and cold-war makes on Buddhist lands compels some unification of aims and objectives to survive, hence a 'house-cleaning' is in order. This is a statement of fact even as accurate as the knowledge that the present cold-war must explode into glaring flame exposing it as a medium for power and new markets and not the 'peace promoting' influence Western journalists picture it to be. Colonialism and cold-war are actually one and the same influence if we are to believe history and review the negative movement of Portugal, Spain, England and other European countries who sent armed ships and men to the unexplored regions of the Far East in search of trade and loot. Cold-war has only taken on new proportions abetted by modern psychology and rapid communication of selfish men. For such action, a man of wisdom will not blame whole nations but will single out the guilty.

But this same history further shows the equally important picture of a slow and painful movement of "integration" in human affairs brought about by a 'shrinking' world, the same force that gave birth to the cold-war and desire of men to control the lives of others. A 'shrinking' world would be certain to increase contact and communication among humans, but such experience to the tradition-heavy human mind would also be sure to cause disruption and fear. Psychologically and factually the element of 'change' is painful to humans who have always expressed great fear when change endangered their gods, their tribes and their traditions. This 'shrinking' world is no benevolent plan for 'evolution' in the affairs of men, it is an inevitable consequence of contact and communication.

Here, I shall omit any mention of the sordid history of the Western man pushing into the peaceful but uncertain life of the Asian, because such argument is relatively unimportant in contrast to the overall picture of the growing and more powerful historical influence of contact and

communication in a modern setting' This present day action on the part of educators, politicians and the forward march of scientific and technological aids does not actually balance the scales between East and West, nor does it erase the brutal history of the West. All that is said here, points up to a typical Buddhistic view on "Dependent Origination" to show how events in history or the coming together of various influences, tend to create situations and new forms. And this same principle further reveals that the new forms created are things in the process of forever 'becoming' (changing) fraught with the elements of change and chance as science now concludes.

To clarify a few of the unmentioned psychological and historical facts not mentioned in the *Time* magazine article, let us turn to a Buddhist event of great eminence and movement and better known as the Chattha Sangayana or First World Conference of Buddhists held during 1954-56 at Rangoon, Burma. Burma invited thousands of representative monks and laymen from almost every country in Asia also including European Buddhists. The conference convened with Theravada and Mahayana sects participating side by side over this two year period during which time elaborate plans for the propagation of Buddhist Doctrine were made but few carried out to fruition. Actually, six of such conferences were held in various parts of Asia with the same more or less negative ending of apathy and uncertainty on objectives. One highly intelligent monk from India who attended all of these conferences described them to me as "window dressing" and even 'political feelers'. He was indeed depressed with his experiences, seeing no effective aims in concerted Buddhist action of the conferences. I cannot confirm this because I did not attend the conferences that followed the Chattha Sangayana at Rangoon. True, the Buddhist monk is no grand organizer such as we will find among Western churchmen and business types. And because of this, when a world movement demanded organizational 'know-how' the Buddhist found himself not only ill equipped but hesitant and confused. But if we are to believe the reports coming in, he is learning fast.

Then what happens when we examine this same picture from a purely psychological frame of reference? Day after day in that 100 acre compound the First World Buddhist Conference

had named "Kaba Aye" (Peace Pagoda), thousands of yellow and brown robed monks of Theravada and Mahayana backgrounds experienced that greatest test that grows out of contact and communication. Without being too fully aware of what was going on in their subconscious minds to protect traditional views, a great majority did feel the arising of resentments as individual challenged individual on 'belief' and doctrine. Then later, youthful black-robed monks of Japan joined the happy gathering to add to the frustration brought about by the coming together of men more attached to their sect than to 'wise-detachment.' Under such pressures, is there any wonder that so little was done at the conferences? Psychological factors must be considered. Here we see at once the power of sectarian and ideological attachments as the greatest of disrupting influences. Human tendencies to cling to ideologies even in the face of dangers brought about by world upheaval were present in these Buddhist gatherings.

Moreover, this brings up the study of the mechanical nature of the human mind to react to loyalties and traditional patterns long before any reaction to reason takes place. Working for the best interests of the human kind is generally secondary thought; robes and the color of robes flashed before the eye are too often the primary consideration of monks and others who react to their sense of 'loyalty' and so-called duty. Fortunately, there are always more thoughtful monks and laymen to counterbalance such error.

In this more constructive criticism of my fellow-men who wear the saffron robe, and the obvious political nature of the *Time* magazine article, let it be truthfully said that both studies are relatively insignificant when we think in terms of the magnitude of human responsibilities in our modern and demanding world. Politicians or statesmen are rarely prone to touch the sacred confines of religious thought in any land, and it is only under the pressures of sanctioned cold-war and a so-called political expediency that such action is taken. And it is strange indeed to see and feel a note of 'lament' in the writing and account of the *Time* article, a type of lament emerging from a Western journalist for a religious (or philosophical) influence said to be exclusively 'Eastern'. Here the journalist wishes to give the impression that he is 'carrying the ball' for improvement in Buddhist-thought and action equally

as well as any Eastern adherent might carry it.

Also in the 6-page article of *Time*, there were accounts of overstressed situations regarding the so-called 'abandoning' of the Buddha's command' which made no allowance of tolerance for young monks in training. The comment of distraction and negative criticism ran as follows: "... the sandaled monks with shaven heads have abandoned Buddha's command to be 'still and motionless' and have plunged deep into politics. While most continue their usual duties of meditating, reading the scriptures, teaching and begging, more and more of them are busy issuing political manifestoes, organizing riots, and working for the downfall of governments."

Here we catch the note of resentment and distraction of those who plan or report the cold-war and we quickly envision the politician, the militarist and others sitting in smoke-filled rooms smilingly debating and resolving the fate of South East Asia and Buddhist lands, mentioning them as "push-overs" (easily conquered) and destined to be subdued according to the elaborate plans of the planners.

On the matter of monks dabbling in politics, the Buddhist world must remind *Time* magazine and all others involved that they have omitted a type of criticism to include the Roman Catholic church in politics. The Roman Catholic church seems most proud of its ability to participate in local, national and international political juggling which action no doubt has contributed to its ability to survive and dominate. True, such action is foreign and even distasteful to Buddhist monks who relegate such matters to trained statesmen. What happens to able statesmen in times of powerful cold-war is another consideration, but the fact is evident that when statesmanship fails in Buddhist lands, the responsibility of the monk becomes obvious and urgent.

It seems most reasonable to assume that following the experience of the cold-war 'experts' on what was gathered about Laos and Cambodia, and the bite of old wounds inflicted by the Chinese and Koreans at an earlier period, the planners should have good reason to not only reflect on the emergence of Buddhistic resistance, but to put this feeling into an entirely different type of protest. But instead, the reporting takes the form of a wordy article that has the high potential to stir the already raw emotions of Western readers into greater 'extremisms' such as those felt by the In-

quisitors of the Middle Ages to relight the fires of religious hate. Such action, tends to cancel out the long years of constructive planning and hoping for better East-West relationships that sincere people the world over have sought and laboured for. Jean-Paul Sartre the eminent French playwright and novelist refused the Nobel Prize on the argument that the best interests of East-West communication and integration was endangered should he accept a prize exclusively Western.

But the more thoughtful Buddhists should find in the *Time* article some blessings in disguise. There was helpful information offered on the Seventh World Fellowship Buddhist Conference at Sarnath, India which convened early in December, 1964. Here at the Deer Park of Sarnath where the Buddha some 2500 years ago delivered his first sermon to five devoted followers, 150 Buddhist leaders from 25 nations gathered to resolve Buddhist interests which is said by *Time* to have sounded more like a U.N. debate. Present were Russia's Venerable Lama Jambal Dirji Gomboev said to represent 500,000 Soviet Buddhists and the conference's guest of honor the Dalai Lama now exiled in India. The conference was said to be highlighted by motion-pictures and testimonies of South Viet Nam with the published statement: "The unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation solemnly declares before the world that it avoids all activities which are opportunist, discriminating and political." This conference, convening in the name of Buddhist effort, is seen by *Time* magazine as a strange contrast to that first meeting of 5 devout men who gathered to hear the Enlightened One expound the Four Noble Truths with an excellence that echoed around the world to the benefit of men in all lands where education and cultural advance has found expression. On this, we must agree.

But most saddening of all was the published comment about the 'leadership' of the Vietnamese monk, Thich Tri Quang, said to be the emerging South Viet Nam's top Buddhist leader, and the same person who took refuge in the American Embassy during those hateful days that produced the self sacrifice of monks and others in public places. Thich Tri Quang is said to have reacted to questions put to him about politics by saying: "Like all educated Buddhists, I don't like Communism because it is *atheistic*. I strongly believe that Communism can never win." How often were similar statements heard during the American

political and racial upheavals in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and even echoing as far north as Chicago and New York. Here was a little monk mounting the same sentiments of the cold-war planners, blown by the winds of chance to South East Asia. Such is the lamentable ignorance and misguidance to inflame the Asian and even those wearing the robe. A monk who has chanted Buddhist scriptures for many years, comes up with hate-provoking and short-sighted statements about 'winning and losing' in a day of H-bomb development. Or to display his lack of understanding about 'atheism' within the framework of Buddhist-thought which is surely no mark of leadership or scholarship.

In this same thought, we are reminded of the American churchman who also lamented the presence of 'atheism' in 'godless' countries through the newspapers so long and loudly, giving birth to cold-war and a chain-reaction of approval from leadership in all levels of American life. 'McCarthyism' emerged from these ashes of fiery hate to threaten the political structure of a nation, and so-called respectable men took up the cry and the wave of cold-war rolled on uncontrolled and unchallenged. And now Buddhism stands in the path of this rolling storm of hate at whose core is that ancient and unconscious fear of the loss of gods and treasured mental images of illusion. The all Enlightened One could find no evidence of creator-gods and made this most emphatic in his teachings laying a firm foundation for his doctrine in his Anicca, Dukkha, Anatta (Impermanence, Suffering, No-Self), therefore, making of Buddhist-thought the mother of agnostic and scientific outlook on the life processes.

We who willingly and humbly stand up to be counted in these trying days, must ask the question, 'Is this the beginning of the end for those who "fare forth" in the quest of enlightenment and higher values through education? Are we as humankind inviting another Dark Age of priestly dominance and political corruption? Or, will such threatening events slowly put an end to crass ignorance and even stir the world's thinking element into a giant protest against hatred inciting propaganda and cold-war sanction? Or, is it naive to believe that intelligence can usher in a new day of higher educational and spiritual standards? All such questions are pregnant with potentials depending on the 'winds of change and the movement of human energies.

Another high point of historical interest is briefly referred to in the *Time* article regarding the "march and counter march of conquerors in Asia" as an influence on Buddhist life and outlook. It is a known and historical fact that Buddhism has undergone painful experience at the hand of the conqueror, and is also seen to change and absorb its various settings wherever it takes root. This is factual information when we review the events and environments of Buddhist life in India, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam, Korea, Japan and other areas in which the Doctrine of Enlightenment was introduced. The lines of good information that *Time* magazine omitted was to state that any doctrine of enlightenment is relative in both effect and fact, therefore to find wide variations of the Buddha's teachings in these lands mentioned, should be seen as a natural outcome. And now that Buddhism has reached the West, it will take still another form under science and the activism of the West. The *Time's* writer tried to sum this all up in his statement : "The ties that bind Buddhist monks and laymen are vague, for Buddhism has neither dogma nor pope, offers no individual immortality neither promises divine authority nor promises forgiveness of sins. Its diversity of practices embrace everything from the cool conundrums of Zen in Japan to Cambodian water rites and the exorcism of devils in Ceylon through a dance-to-exhaustion. Yet at the heart of all this is the escape from the burdens of existence as exemplified in the life of that princely ascetic and saintly agnostic Siddharta Gautama." A bit of salt and a bit of sugar but facts never-the-less.

Without question, a Buddhist "house-cleaning" is in order to restore its original heritage of wisdom. The findings of science and education have long abandoned the false and deluding promise of heavens and hells that priestly types have invented and drilled into the spongy confines of the unconscious mind. But now Buddhist texts are seen to be a grand mixture of speculative commentary, fantasy and the clearly outlined guidance of the Noble Buddha to confuse and confound the reader of such texts. From time to time it is the practice of thoughtful monks to "weed out" commentary that is misleading in the texts, but time and mental limitations of egocentric men are almost certain to put the same errors back in another form. Many sincere men going to the Far East and to Buddhist lands for new and helpful insights

are heard to ask the question : "Is it not possible for you to offer me Buddhist doctrine devoid of tradition and dreamed up monkish hallucinations?" There is always the tendency of unwise monks who invent fantasy to serve a mass-mentality, bringing a great philosophy down to this level and even incorporating illusion into scriptural writings. Therefore, the scholar who studies Buddhist-thought knows he must spend some time separating commentary and fantasy from the early doctrine of Siddharta Gautama as given to his five followers in the Deer Park at Sarnath and called the Four Noble Truths.

Many also are the sincere and devout workers for enlightenment in both Asia and the West who decry the 'paradoxes' that are taught as Buddhist scripture to assume that "rebirth" and "memory of past lives" can be parallels to science and educational guidance. Professor E. R. Sarathchandra of the University of Ceylon, decries the presence of so much Vedantic (Hinduism) outlook in the Buddhist scriptures (Buddhist Psychology of Perception, Ceylon University Press, Colombo 1958), and in the latter part of his book, reveals why Hindu pressures changed much of the Buddha's doctrine.

But in that ancient day of Vedantism and Brahmanistic outlook it was almost inevitable that the Buddha's teachings were to take a beating at the hands of fanatical and egocentric priests. If we have any desire to probe the facts and to argue about such phenomena as the "continuity of the life forces" or the origin and expression of recall or "memory" within the confines of consciousness, let this be associated with the more recent and dependable findings of those who understand these subjects. The Buddha definitely scolded those who foolishly talked about 'past and remembered lives' and mentioned such talk and speculation as empty and idle thought. The Buddha explained much about the life processes in language understandable to his time, but did not and could not describe these life processes in the more clear language of the geneticist who explains the hereditary principles with the aid of electronic microscopes and laboratory experiment. This should be evident to the more thoughtful person who has ranged beyond blind-belief.

The phenomenon termed 'recall' or 'memory' has long been under analysis, clinical and otherwise and is seen as a function of the unconscious 'memory' arising in a more or less mechanical and

in a impersonal manner from sensual stimulation or from hypnosis, self induced or otherwise. Memory can be seen as an unbroken chain of events leading back into the ancestry of humankind and definitely associated with the hereditary principle. Obviously this involves not only the person 'remembering' something of the past, but it involves the many experiences of several persons stretching back into a remote era of human action. The unconscious for example, 'remembers' and gives expression to primitive tendencies built into our reactions to seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting and consciousness. The 'genetic' or hereditary make-up of all living creatures is bound up with the principle of *memory* which fixes its vibrational presence in the cell life to be transferred or "re-linked" in another creature through sexual contact and the evolution of an embryo into the full blown human or animal.

Therefore, some persons under hypnosis (or otherwise) can 'remember' what appears to be 'past lives' when actually they merely tune in on that endless chain of memory that stretches itself back as far as memory can travel. However, to the religiously devout or the emotionally unstable, the romantic sound of the word, 'rebirth' lends a promise for a much desired continuity of life but at the same time offers no explanation aside from heavens and hells. It would be shocking to the good-minded to infer that *movement* of objects (mental and physical) is creative in itself. The Buddha taught that voluntary movement, physical and mental, created a condition of "karma" (action) which is the result of objects coming together. Therefore memory and karma (action) are one and the same, the result of many 'bits' of experience coming together as a conscious concept.

Referring again to the stimulating comment of the *Time's* journalist, there is the interesting account of a religio-political movement in Japan known as 'Soka Gakkai' (Value-Creation Society). Here again we have an illustration on how 'karma' or action tends to create and add to that endless flow of memory. This society is now being organized in Japan at the rate of 10,000 adherents each month, is shown to be a religio-political group with a membership of 13 million. It is further described as "intolerant in religious matters, fanatic, leftist and reforming in its political attitudes."

Viewing the rapid and popular rise of the Soka Gakkai Society of Japan brings up specu-

lation about its true meaning and of the basic causes of the emergence of Japanese unrest and its aims for Buddhist and political reform. *Time* magazine merely gives the overall picture of an 'emerging' reform but does not attempt analysis. But we do know that this tight little island, already overpopulated to the explosion point, is now seen to be engaged in a type of sanctioned materialism which the Soka Gakkai Society sees as dangerous to the religious, moral and social well-being of Japan.

But in a day when a 'shrinking' world must integrate and experience the pains of contact communication at all levels in human society, the sentiment about ancient tradition must bow low to the more negative movement of industry, sensual satisfaction and a type of interchange not always welcome. Under such influence the traditional "webs" in which we all struggle, become temporary prisons and we strive to break out into the more clear atmosphere of freedom where we can remake and remould more satisfying forms of life. In this same light, the Japanese might see their plight as a country gripped within the reaction of a rapidly changing world whose 'growing pains' are expressed in industrial dominance and sensual delights while the pitiful form of cultural life and moral balance goes neglected. It is interesting to know that Japan is seemingly doing something about its plight wherein there are many of us more or less powerless to act and who are filled with apathy, confusion and the deadly vapors of cold-war.

Those who read this comment on Buddhist development, or as *Time* magazine wishes to show the 'lack of it', should not grow too upset and emotional or cast feverish eyes about seeking out the so-called guilty to blame or punish. We all stand guilty. All of us would do better to see this world-wide strife as a chain-reaction caused by ignorance and a type of movement out of step with enlightenment. Action and action-result has created an explosion of unrest and change that contact and communication has brought about. The Buddha would remind us to think in terms of his "Dependent Origination" where it is shown that beings and events are created by the coming together of elements and influences that react on each other to bring about an action-result.

Book reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

"AROUND THE CHILD" is the journal of the Association of Montessorians, Calcutta, which is published annually on 31st August, the birth anniversary of Dr. Maria Montessori.

It is needless to say anything about the Montessori Method of Education, which has gained popularity in India now, as the public has become more conscious of their children's education.

The first Montessori Training Course in Calcutta was held in 1954, which aroused considerable interest here. As a result of this few more training courses were held subsequently.

After the first training course was concluded and diplomas were given, the Montessorians felt

that they would be out of touch with each other. Eventually a proposal for forming an Association was made, which materialised in August, 1955.

The aim of the Association is to maintain close contact among its members, to promote the development of the Montessori Movement in West Bengal and to maintain relations with and to co-operate with the Association Montessori Internationale. It tries to give the public an idea of the Montessori Method and Movement and to build up a new attitude of the adults towards the child. Exhibitions of Montessori Apparatus, meetings and instructive lectures are organised from time to time by the Association. It also assists in the establishment of the "Houses of Children" for the benefit of more and more children.

Indian Periodicals

The Soviet Union's Population Problem

The problem of population growth has, recently, been reported to have been rapidly assuming global proportions. According to the prognostications that are being made by the Food and Agricultural Organization over the last two years, the food production resources of the world has been lagging considerably behind, in their rate of increase, the constantly accelerating rates of population growth, especially in the areas which are popularly known as underdeveloped. These areas correspond mostly with those under long spells of colonial political domination and have been recently freed from their subjection to foreign rule. One of the many reasons why these areas have been more deeply affected by a widening disparity between the rates of population growth and development of agricultural resources, especially in the matter of food production than the more developed countries, has been the unsufficient incentives towards agricultural growth under colonial rule. India's is a significant case in point in this behalf, where her comparatively vast agricultural potentials have remained substantially unexploited because of the lack of interest of the former ruling power. Even after independence agricultural development, generally, has been a neglected sector, mainly because most of the resources of development have been concentrated upon the more glamorous industrial sector,—especially upon heavy industries.

Like India, the U.S.S.R. is a vast geographical entity covering approximately a sixth of the world's total surface area. Like India, again, the old Russian economy, under

the feudalistic despotism of the Czarist regime, has been a very backward one. The period since the October revolution of 1917 has been, initially, one of consolidation of authority and very little attention could be bestowed upon the need for a balanced development of the economy. It was not really until the early years of the thirties that authority was able, in any substantial measure, to turn its attention upon the development of the economy. Before even a decade could elapse after the process had been started, the country had to face the most devastating wars of history. It has been only during the last two decades and less, again, that attention could be concentrated upon the task of economic development. The problem, if any, of population in the U.S.S.R., therefore, should be of especial interest in the context of current Indian conditions. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar's article on the subject in the *Illustrated Weekly Of India* should, we feel, merit careful perusal :

The Soviet Union leads all countries in area with 8,599,776 sq. miles, followed by Canada (3,851,809), Communist China (3,657,765), the United States of America (3,615,211) and Brazil (3,286,170). This means that a sixth of the world's total area is within the Soviet Union. In population numbers, however, she ranks third in the list. According to an estimate made by the U.S.S.R. Central Statistical Board, the total population on July 1, 1966, was 234 million.

The Soviet Union has so far conducted three national censuses ; in 1926, 1939 and 1959. The total population increased from 147 million in 1926 to 170.6 million in 1939 and to 208.8 million in 1959. The present population total some 234 million. That is, the total population increased from 147 million in 1926 to 234 million in 1966—an increase of only 87 millions in 40 years or an average annual growth rate of about one per cent. The slowness of this rate is striking.

ing in comparison with India's addition of nearly 78 million in one decade (1951-1961).

The reasons for such a slow rate of growth are many, but the major ones are: firstly, the Soviet Union, during the first 20 years of its existence, witnessed a tremendous industrial development and, consequently, a large-scale migration to urban areas. Secondly, the rapid transition from private agriculture to collective farming resulted in a perceptible fall in the birth rate. Thirdly, despite the avowed Marxist ideology, the Soviet Government have always been liberal in their laws regarding marriage, divorce and abortion. Fourthly, there has been widespread knowledge and practice of family planning among Soviet wives and mothers. The dissemination of secular attitudes towards reproduction and the spread of the practice of contraception are traceable to the Soviet concern for the health and welfare of women and children. And the final factor which helps explain the country's slow rate of population growth is the enormous war losses the Soviet Union sustained during the First World War, the subsequent Civil War and the Second World War. The loss of life during the Second World War was incredible; according to one estimate, the loss of life between 1940 and 1950 among persons born before 1940 may be placed at around 45 million!

It may be added here that the Soviet Union and other Communist countries maintain that under Communism there can be such thing as a population problem in the economic sense. According to the Marxian theory the problem of too many persons putting pressure upon limited resources is a feature peculiar to capitalist societies which cannot occur under a socialist allocation of resources. The Soviet Union's low rate of population growth has been a great help to the country, for ever since 1928, when the First Five Year Plan was launched, the rate of population increase has never threatened to outstrip the rate of over-all economic development.

The Soviet Union today is more or less in the "modern cycle" of demography evolution in which both birth and death rates fall, but the death rate declines faster than the birth rate.

The crude Russian birth rate was about 50 per 1,000 before the October, 1917 revolution. In 1940, 1950 and 1960 the birth rate gradually declined to 31.3, 26.7 and 24.9 per 1,000 respectively. Today the birth rate is 22.5. This is a low rate in terms of Asian, African and Latin American conditions, but a relatively high one in comparison with the situation in North Western

Europe. The Russian authorities do not consider this a high birth rate and would like the rate to be higher since their problem is one of relatively empty spaces and a shortage of man power.

As for the death rate, the pre-revolution picture of famine, epidemics and high death rates has been radically changed to one of a dramatic and definitive decline in the death rate. The crude death rate has declined from 18.1 in 1940 to 9.7 in 1950. At present the death rate is 7.5 in 1,000, lower than the rates in the U.S.A. and North Western Europe. This remarkable achievement has been made possible by emphasis on very high standards of public health, the care and protection of women and children and the widespread practice of planned parenthood. The low infant, maternal and over-all mortality rates are reflected in the high (70 years) expectancy of life. Although some countries like the U.S. and New Zealand have somewhat higher figures, only a few advanced countries have reached a life expectancy of 70 years.

If India's population is characterized by male predominance, the exact opposite is true of the Soviet Union. During the last quarter century the Soviet sex ratio has been conditioned by a progressive shortage of men. The sex ratios in 1926, 1940, 1950, 1959 and 1965 were 93, 92, 97, 82 and 85 men per 1,000 women respectively. The statistics of the Soviet sex ratio at birth are not available to decide whether this adverse sex ratio is man-made or nature-made, but one must presume it is man-made and a direct result of the catastrophic war losses of men in the younger adult age groups. The Government have solved the problem of a shortage of men by a remarkable increase of women in the labour force. Soviet women have been trained to do just about everything, and the prolonged education and training of women and the limitless opportunities for careers act as a deterrent to fertility. The emancipation of women is a major factor in the evolution of the low birth rate in the Soviet Union. Here is a lesson for us in India.

The Soviet Union today is marked by a low and uneven population density. The disparity in settlement between the industrialized Moscow region and Siberia, for example, is vast. The density increased as one moves from West to East. The present density is about 10 persons per square kilometre. In the past as a result of the various Five Year Plans, there has been a massive movement of people from the rural areas to the cities and a shift of population from West to East—to the ore and coal deposits of the urals

and Western Siberia and to the oil fields located in the South-east. This east-ward movement was further accentuated during the Second World War under the threat of advancing Germans. It has been estimated that over 16 million persons migrated from the West to the East between 1939 and 1945.

The Soviet Union, like India, is a multi-racial and a multilingual state. There are more than a hundred "nationalities" or cultural minorities. The largest group is the "Russian" or the "Great Russian" people. There are at least 15 nationalities with a population of a million or more. The 1959 census shows that the ethnic and language structure of the Soviet population has not basically changed during the last intercensal period of 20 years. The "Great Russians" comprise a little more than half the population, and together with the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians, the proportion of these three leading Slavic groups amounts to approximately three quarters of the total population.

The Soviet authorities believe that they are relatively under-populated in relation to the available land and mineral resources. The leaders often talk of the need for a larger population. Several kinds of material inducements are offered to mothers to have third and subsequent babies.

But there is an important difference between the pro-natalist policy of the U.S.S.R.

and that of Hitler and Mussolini. Hitler and Mussolini wanted more and more babies. They banned contraceptives and all kinds of birth control methods. They wanted women to become child-bearing machines. But in the Soviet Union there is a widespread practice of contraception and the Soviet woman is free to bear the number of children she wants. Even abortion is permitted. The situation is much like that in Sweden, where the Government would like the population to increase but not at the expense of the freedom of their women.

Can we in India draw any lessons from the Soviet population policy? We are a democracy wedded to the Parliamentary system of Government and we do not want Communism. But we do have a pressing population problem and our concern is to reduce our birth rate. Here we can draw three lessons from Soviet experience. The first is that we should, like the U.S.S.R., put a tremendous emphasis on public health, hygiene and sanitation. Secondly, we must hasten the emancipation of our women—not just in theory but in practice. We must permit, indeed encourage, a larger participation of our women in the labour force and no job or occupation should be denied to qualified women. And, lastly, like the Soviet Union, we must devote greater care to the survival and welfare of our children, which will be possible only when there are fewer children. This means family planning.

Foreign Periodicals

Majoring in Mayhem

As the fourth general elections in India has been dawdling near, the grievances of the people against the decisions, actions and lacks of them, have been finding increasing expression through more and more widespread violence. Running through these widely scattered outbursts has been a constant, nagging and smouldering leaven of student anger which has been occasionally blazing forth in fury at different corners of the country at different times on what would, on the face of it, seem to be only minor provocations. The students, however, feel that notwithstanding the tall promises held out by the ruling *coterie* at the outset of independence and boastful claims since, the student and his education and, later, assimilation into the adult community has been marked by incompetence, indifference and intimidation. All this has been cumulatively building up over the years until it has now burst forth in explosive detonation—not merely in odd and selected corners of the country—but has now spread to the whole country. The immediate pretext for these apparently unconnected and disjointed expressions of student violence may seem to be quite unimportant, but evidence is not lacking that the whole thing is increasingly being integrated into a unified and major expression of protest against the failures and worse of the Government. What the *Time* has to say on the matter in its issue dated 28.10.66 under the above legend would seem to be interesting:

The mood of India's 1,700,000 university-level students is black. For the past two months they have been on the rampage in more than 150 Indian cities and towns; fighting police, rough-

ing up faculty members, overturning vehicles, burning cinemas and stoning the offices and homes of Government officials. Last week in the Northern city of Jammu, a crowd of 1,000 students tossed bricks at police for hours until retaliatory gun-fire killed three students. In some areas, student rioting has already exceeded in damages and ferocity the anti-British demonstrations that preceded independence.

While there could be no excuse for such wanton rampaging, hardly anyone denies that the students have much to be angry about. Facilities are limited and crowded. Underpaid professors are frequently careless and incompetent. Academic standards are often pitifully low. Worst of all, because of India's struggling economy, students despair of getting decent jobs once they graduate. It is the more urgent problem of trying to build the economy that prevents the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi from building new educational facilities. Mrs. Gandhi has taken a conciliatory attitude toward the students—which many Indians feel will only breed new outbreaks of violence.

An Explosive Quality

But it is not student violence alone that Mrs. Gandhi's Government has to contend with. There have been growing signs of serious inter-caste differences within the ruling party which appear to have been assuming increasingly intractable qualities as the dead line for the ensuing general election has been fast approaching. This also has a peculiar knack of finding expression in outbursts of public violence. The recent riots in the State of Andhra on the alleged demand for siting India's fifth public sector steel plant within that State has, apparently, been not merely fanned but even instigated by the Congress Party's State Government leaders in Andhra. How this has been reacting upon the minds of our foreign auditors would be exemplified

by the following comments of the **Time** (dated Nov. 11, 1966) under the above caption :

It seemed an odd reason for a riot. For months the government had been discussing plans to build India's fifth state-owned steel mill, and one of the likely sites was near the coastal city of Vizagapatnam in the Southern State of Andhra Pradesh. Several weeks ago, in an effort to force the government's hand to start building the plant soon, a regional patriot named Amruta Rao went on a hunger strike. Little by little noisy support for his demand spread throughout the State. Last week mobs went on a rampage in dozens of towns, burning post offices and railway stations, tearing down telegraph lines and looting private shops. Finally 18 rioters were killed in clashes with police and army troops were brought in by air to restore order.

This incident is symptomatic of India's jitters, which make the slightest cause a provocation of mob violence. In New Delhi last week, when a bus failed to stop for waiting students, the youths chased it down, shoed out the driver and passengers and set it afire. In Allahabad, Kanpur and Calcutta, mobs stopped and sacked trains and buses—for little better reason. Delhi rioters had not much to fear from the police, for the policemen themselves were busy demonstrating for higher pay outside the police headquarters; some cops told students that they would not interfere with their demonstrations so long as the students refrained from attacking police below the grade of inspector.

To some extent India's dark mood stems from the hopelessness of the country's economic situation. Reports from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh suggested that the fall (autumn) harvest throughout India is falling far short of expected goals—grim warning of a repeat of last year's food crisis, when the country was saved from outright starvation only by the shipment of 10 million tons of U.S. food. The current bitterness also seems to reflect widespread dismay over the failure of political leaders to provide dramatic remedies for India's huge problems.

As Parliament convened last week, the final session before next February's national elections, six no-confidence motions were introduced against Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi and her Government by Opposition parties, on everything from the stagnating economic situation to "self-righteous" foreign policy. Cried Minoo Masani, leader of the conservative "Swatantra" Party, "For God's sake go while there is still some administration

and order left ! Do not destroy the country before you go !"

With the Congress Party's solid majority the censure motions had no chance of success. Nor was the Party that has ruled India since 1947, in any danger of losing control next February. But within the Party itself, there was some grumbling about the lady Prime Minister. Some Congress members blamed her tendency to capitulate in the face of public demonstrations for encouraging pressure groups to bully the Government. When the goldsmiths took to the streets last August to protest against Government control of the gold content in jewellery, Indira caved in and relaxed official supervision. Similarly, last week she gave in to the demands of a Hindu sect that cow slaughter be banned by announcing that the government intends to proscribe the killing of cows in those areas of India directly administered by the federal government.

The grumbings also reflected deep splits within the Party and the fact that some Party leaders are waiting for Indira to stumble so that they themselves can make a bid for power.....

The Casualty List

And so on to the question of cow slaughter ! The cow is claimed to be revered and venerated as a symbol of religious piety among the Hindus, although there are quite large numbers of different sects within the Hindu community—especially among the so-called former untouchables (untouchability has since been banned by law), who are beef-eaters. Paradoxically enough, however, the cow in India is the most neglected among domestic animals and its generally pitiful condition does not seem to evoke either any sense of responsibility or even of pity among those who claim that they worship the cow as a god ! It is estimated that there are over 350 million useless and uncared for cows in the country and nobody bothers as to what may happen to them. According to certain exports they are better dead and their body matter used for various useful purposes to the community, for underfed and uncared for as they are, they are nevertheless consuming some food which might have been

more profitably diverted to the feeding of human beings large numbers among whom in India are equally as ill-cared for and neglected as the mendicant cattle. And yet the question of cow slaughter and beef-eating seems to rouse the indignation of the average Hindu to a white heat of frenzy and fury. Clearly this fanaticism is being used by certain politically interested parties for their own purposes. Their hand behind the scenes was almost clearly visible in the rioting and arson and killings that were let loose last November in India's capital. The **Time** in its issue dated 18th November and under the above legend comments:

"The cow", Mahatma Gandhi once said, "is a poem of pity." Last week India's sacred animal brought not pity but violence to the very door-steps of government. The occasion was a rally of 125,000 Hindus who had come from all over India to pressure the Government of Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi into enacting a national ban on cattle slaughter. Converging on a traffic circle near Parliament, the demonstrators at first listened peacefully to speeches. Then a Sadhu, a member of Parliament sprang on to the speaker's stand. He had just been ushered out of the Lok Sabha, he cried, because he had demanded the ban on cow slaughter. "Let us go and surround Parliament", he cried.

The rush was on. In the lead were the holy men. Many were completely naked and had pinned their ban the butcher pennants in their long matted hair for lack of any place else to stick them. Some shouted, "the cow is our Mother!" Dancing like dervishes, the Sadhus swung steel-tipped staves, axes and tridents to drive back police. Behind them surged the mob.

Repulsed by police with staves, the mob stormed the headquarters of the All India Radio, invaded other nearby government buildings and residences, including the home of Congress Party President, K. Kamraj Nadar (he escaped through a back door). Other demonstrators set fire to 56 cars and buses and 26 motor scooters. In desperation the police broke out rifles, began firing down Parliament Street to frighten away the rioters. In the melee eight persons were killed, 111 injured.

Another casualty was Home Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda. Indira Gandhi has been under so much criticism during recent weeks for failing to take stern measures against India's growing wave

of rioting that she realized it was time to take decisive action. So, out went the 68-year old ascetic who had served for the past 15 years in one Cabinet post or another.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi had a scheme of her own. She intended to use Nanda's ouster as an opportunity to reshuffle the Cabinet which she had inherited almost intact from Lal Bahadur Shastri and had so far been unable to alter. Her plan was to give the Home Ministry to able Defence Minister, Y. B. Chavan and install other favorites in the finance and commerce slots.

But the Prime Minister herself ended up as a casualty of sorts. Learning of her designs, the Congress Party's powerful regional bosses beat a quick path to her office and argued her out of the new appointments. In the end, she had to take on the taxing and potentially unpopular post of Home Minister herself. With the question of the breakdown of law and order as a chief issue in next February's national elections, Indira Gandhi now was more on the spot than ever.

A Show of Independence

With Nanda's ouster from the Cabinet, Mrs. Gandhi's desire for a thorough reshuffle in her government's portfolio allocations, so that she may become a more effective leader of her own Cabinet than she would appear to have been so far, found expression in the not unfounded rumour that she desired to remove at least two key Ministers from their hitherto held posts. In one case she was known to have virtually asked for the Minister's resignation. It did not, however, suit the convenience of the real Party bosses otherwise known as the **Syndicate**, who appeared to have effectively held her hand in the matter. In fact, Gulzarilal's banishment from the Cabinet does not now appear to have been so much the doing of the Prime Minister herself at her own independent initiative as at the behest of the Syndicate; one prominent member of the Syndicate was reported to have publicly announced that he insisted that Nanda must go. All that Mrs. Gandhi was able to do in the matter of her own Cabinet was to accept which, quite patent-

ly, was a compromise with the wishes of the bosses and led only to a minor reshuffle in the Cabinet. Says *Time* (dated 25.11.66) under the above legend :

As a proud and somewhat wilful lady, Indira Gandhi smarts under the allegation that she was picked as Prime Minister largely because the Congress Party's political pros reckoned that she would be easy to control. Yet she seemed to confirm that charge two weeks ago when she backed down on three Cabinet changes, after running into strong protests from Party bosses. Last Week, as if to assert her independence, Mrs. Gandhi went right ahead and made some Cabinet changes anyhow.

True, no one was fired. But four Ministers were moved to different jobs, and in the process she rid herself of a job that she had unwillingly inherited two weeks ago. It was the important Home Ministry from which she had removed Gulzarilal Nanda for his failure to block the violent Hindu demonstrations against cow slaughter that recently erupted near Parliament. Now she passed the powerful post to Y. B. Chavan, 53, the former Defence Minister. In doing so she also created a powerful potential rival for the future.

So far Chavan has been impeccably loyal to Indira, but he too has the qualifications of a Prime Minister; serving as an anti-British guerrilla in his teens, two jail terms during the independence struggle, experience as a former Chief Minister of the highly industrialized State of Maharashtra, which includes Bombay, and an excellent record as a Cabinet Minister. He was originally summoned to New Delhi and given the

Defence post in 1962 by Jawaharlal Nehru who needed a replacement for leftist Krishna Menon in the dark days after Red China's attack. Chavan rammed through an effective rebuilding of the army. Now he was clearly out to rebuild the Home Ministry's gentle image. His first orders in his new job were to prohibit a student demonstration in New Delhi and to jail two Socialist members of Parliament who encouraged students to defy his ban.

In Indira's other ministerial switches, Swaran Singh, 59, went from the Foreign Office to Chavan's old post at Defence. His place in foreign affairs was taken by Mahomedali Currim Chagla, 66, an Oxford-educated Moslem who has acted as Ambassador to both the U.S. and Great Britain. Chagla's vacant spot in Education went, in turn, to Fakruddin Ahmad, 61, whose old post as Minister of Irrigation and Power will be filled temporarily by one of his senior assistants.

What had Indira gained? Very little, her friends feared. True, she had shown that she could defy the bosses, and her shuffle put stronger men in more important posts. The big fear is that her tactics had turned the most important party bosses against her. Powerful Railways Minister, S. K. Patil was upset over the elevation of Chavan, a rival in Bombay politics. Patil is one of the three king-makers who comprise the "Syndicate" that has often controlled the Congress Party appointments. The other two—West Bengal Politico Atulya Ghosh and Transportation Minister, Sanjiva Reddy—were also upset by Indira's sudden show of independence. If they are still angry about it after next February's national elections, they might just try to edge the proud Lady Prime Minister quietly out of her job.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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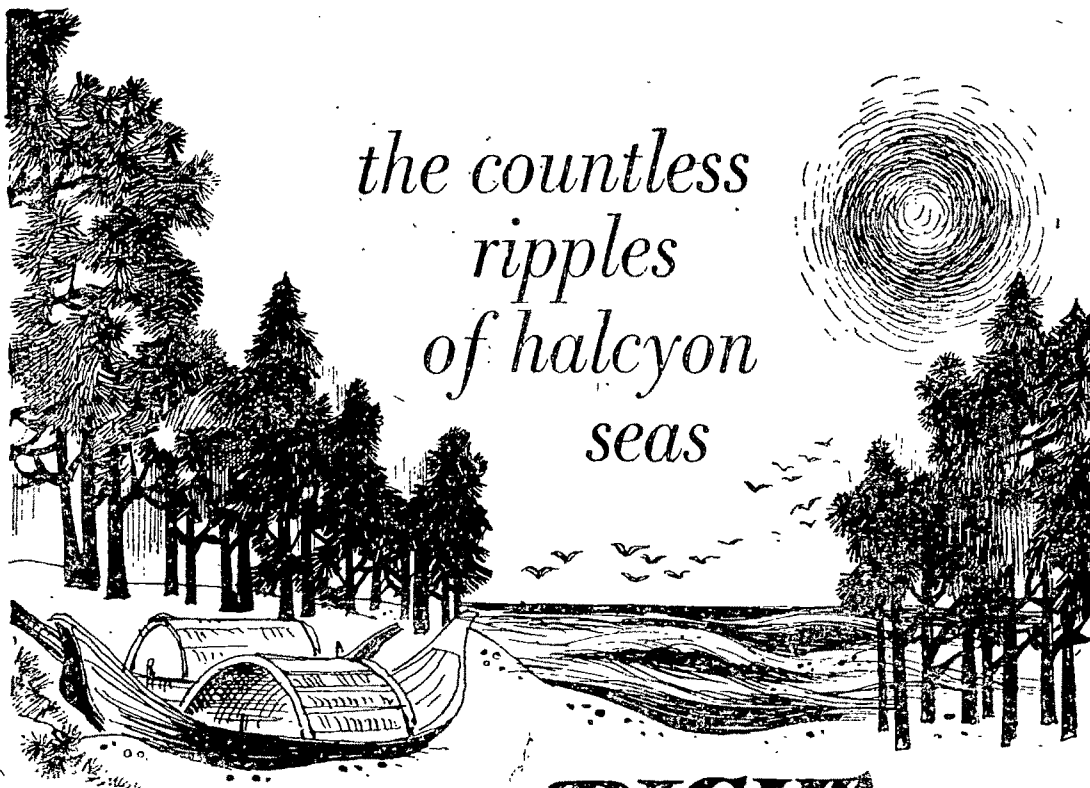
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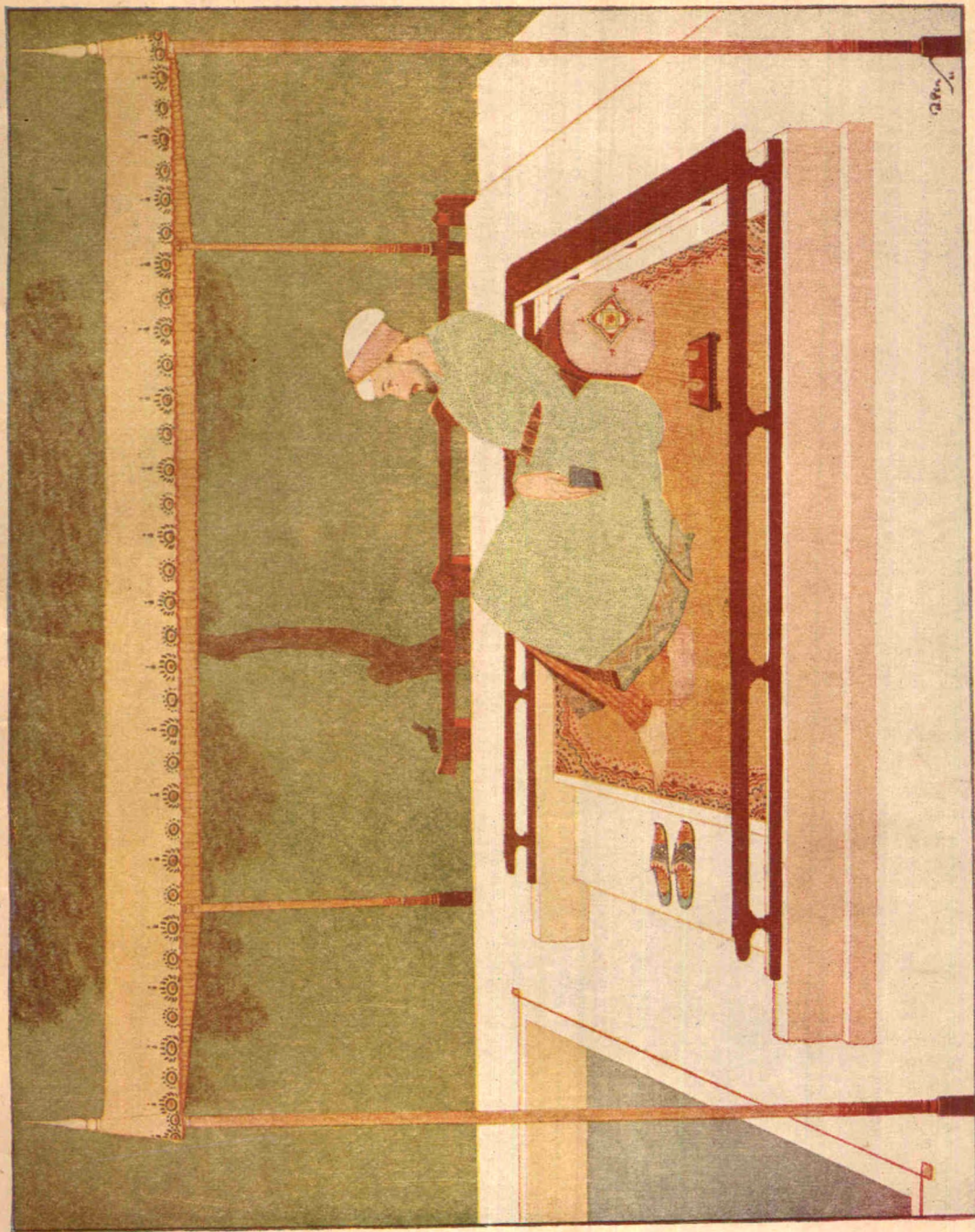
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NOTES

Dr. Radha Binode Pal

Born in 1886, Dr. Radha Binode Pal first distinguished himself by his knowledge of mathematics of which subject he was a professor in a college in Mymensingh. He later took up law and created a place for himself as a jurist of international reputation. He was Joint President of the International Academy of Comparative Law at The Hague in 1937. He was also a member of the International Law Association of Britain. In 1946, he was included in the panel of judges of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East which sat in Tokyo for the trial of leading War Criminals of Japan. After two years the majority of the judges found the accused persons guilty, but Dr. Pal submitted a dissenting judgment which ran to 800 pages and was considered to be a legal document of historical importance. He was later appointed a member of the International Law Commission, a judge of the Permanent Court of Justice of The Hague Convention and was, at the time of his death, India's National Professor of Jurisprudence. Dr. Pal was a fearless critic of persons who acted anti-socially and in an unprincipled manner. A little before he fell seriously ill, we had the privilege to call upon

him for a consultation. During our general conversation he gave a masterly analysis of current affairs which showed his deep interest in India's life and progress. His death has been a great loss to India and the world. His learning and legal acumen made his position quite unique among the jurists of the world.

Old Ways and New

Human progress or degeneration depends largely upon mass emotions and inclinations which are called social ideals and tendencies of particular periods and of particular groups of human beings. In these great mass upheavals of intense feelings and desires individuals of dominating personality often act as spearheads. Or, persons of unique talent and genius may cause and initiate the upsurges that change and affect human history. In either case these powerful human leaders guide humanity on to newer heights of attainments in civilisation or bring about a general degradation in outlook and action which cause the downfall of nations or of entire groups of nations.

Quite often such leaders of men just act for the satisfaction of their personal grandeur mania and cause great human suffering without really

leaving any permanent mark on the history of mankind. Their followers too, whose names are soon forgotten, after the leaders die, initiate the insane outlook of these short-period supermen and help them to destroy human values in order to establish their personal cravings on a high pedestal. Alaric, King of the Visigoths who lived only for forty years, invaded and looted the cultural centres of Greece during the period 396—408 A.D. He invaded Italy during 408—410 A.D., captured and sacked Rome and thereafter went to conquer Sicily, but died on his way in 410 A.D. Attila the Hun, known as the Scourge of God ravaged the Earth from the Caspian to the Danube. He conquered many lands from Persia to the Rhine during the 47 years of his life (406—453 A.D.) and fought the forces of Rome successfully in 452 A.D. Pope Leo I personally requested him not to sack Rome and he spared Rome. He established a reign of terror wherever he moved. Temujin, otherwise known as Genghis Khan (1162—1227 AD) became the Lord of the Mongol Tribes by 1206 A.D., conquered North China over-run the kingdom of Khiva, invaded north India and proved himself irresistible. He caused the death, enslavement and destitution of millions of human beings, but his contribution to human civilisation was negligible. Tamerlane the Mongol conqueror (1336—1405 A.D.) was the lord of many lands. He conquered Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Syria and Angora. He occupied Samarkand and made it his capital. He invaded India and sacked Delhi.

Leaving aside these terrible men of Fate, we may recount the story of others who were great conquerors and who carried civilisation with them too. Alexander, Julius Caesar and others have been such men. In modern times, we have seen men who have changed civilisations for better or for worse by following their own fanatical ideals. Revolutions have taken place and millions have given their lives in the struggles which were part of the upheavals. How far the people have gained by such revolutions can be judged by careful analysis of facts carried out by competent historians. Some have promoted civilisation and progress and others have not. Yet others have cost humanity more than their constructive achievements justify. In this list of beneficial or injurious revolutionaries would come Sun Yat-sen, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Mao Tse-tung

Ho Chi Minh and many others. Some have brought about progress through struggles that have at times caused great human suffering. Others have acted like just a Scourge of God and given little to humanity in exchange of the death and destruction they have initiated by their fanaticism. Of these latter revolutionaries some combined ethical ideals with their general political and economic objectives. These men have done good to their own followers and have helped mankind to adopt newer ways of social conduct. Others have been just fanatical, devoid of humane considerations and obnoxious in their passion to impose their will upon humanity. Some have gone out with their armies in the manner of ruthless war lords; while others have adopted newer ways of propaganda, fifth column and sowing the seeds of treason in other lands. But, generally speaking, these new entrants in the field of world conquest are no less offensive than those of ancient times in so far as they want to impose their will and overlordship upon peoples who live their own lives in their own traditional manner. Preaching new thought with the sword is an ancient game and not many are duped by it. New thought and ideals must be preached in a peaceful manner and without any attempts at inciting violent revolutions. For modern ideas of liberty and freedom are quite straight forward and unambiguous. There can be no place of authority for outsiders within a nationally organised community, even if they are prophets or priests of a new cult. And all agents of foreigners are traitors if they try to usurp political power by securing foreign assistance in any shape or form.

Dr. Radhakrishnan on Indian affairs

On the eve of the Republic Day, Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India, delivered his message to the nation. He described 1966 as the worst year since India became independent. We may not agree with him for we think the year during which Pandit Nehru allowed the Pakistanis to snatch half of Kashmir from us with Anglo-American assistance and the year of the Chinese occupation of the NEFA had been worse compared to 1966. Dr. Radhakrishnan also said, "we cannot forgive widespread incompetence and the gross mismanagement of our resources." Obviously he referred to the incompetence of the

various persons who have become Ministers in the States and at the Centre and to the mismanagement that has emanated from the Departments set up and worked by those Ministers. He should have pointed out that the Congress Party has been guilty of manning the ministries with low grade ability and education and that the same party has allowed its members to interfere with the country's administration by exercising "influence" and by favouritism and by wrangling things for their own advantage, directly or otherwise. There is now a countrywide awakening about the true nature of Congress leadership and the abject condition of the people of India under Congress raj and Dr. Radhakrishnan's condemnation will assure people that they have been right in their assessment of persons like Mr. Kamraj, Mr. Atulya Ghosh, Mr. Morarji Desai and others who are now going about the country advising people to vote for the Congress. The year 1967 may easily go down in history as the Year of Lies if and when all the election speeches made by Congress leaders were recorded. There are many despicable characters now roaming the country seeking votes for their party men and themselves among whom Congress men outnumber others. The next in order of numerical size are, of course, the Left Communists, who at one time described Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose as an enemy of the people.

The Communists also collaborated with the British during the British made famine of 1943 ; and are now hand in glove with the Chinese enemies of India. The President referred to the cult of violence, civil commotion and disorders and other acts of indiscipline ; as deterrents to smooth progress. He referred to the Calcutta Cricket riots of the 1st of January 1967, and to other incidents. He did not go into details or there might have been occasion to give statistics of Police Firings and Lathi Charges on relatively innocent persons and crowds. We have an idea that the police quite often provoke mass disorder by their arrogant and unintelligent ways, and that the number of times they have resorted to firing since independence could easily prove that the former imperialist police were not quite so trigger happy. The disorders that occurred without police provocation were usually engineered by agents provocateurs of various schools of thought.

Usually, they turn out to be paid by the foreign enemies of India.

This dangerous habit of going to foreigners should have been condemned by the President. Constructive nation building becomes obnoxious when its foundations rest on the doubtful sands of foreign assistance. The Congress rulers have already borrowed so much from foreign lenders that the country may easily go bankrupt and have foreign "receivers" sitting in Delhi. Those who seek foreign aid to bring about a revolution in India should remember that a revolution loses its natural glory when it is instigated and boosted and paid for by foreigners. The people of India should be particularly careful about the three things that come up in connection with the assessment of the state of affairs in this great Secular, Democratic, Socialist Republic. These are Incompetence, Mismanagement and TREACHERY. The people should take good care not to support the incompetents, the bad managers and the traitors. For those who vote for such persons become guilty of aiding and abetting the criminal actions of the people elected by their votes. 1967 is a critical period of Indian history. For, the 1967 elections will decide whether democracy will remain as a great force for social upliftment and well-being or will prove to be a vehicle of corruption, injustice, persecution and mal-administration. The function of political parties must become well defined in 1967. Parties must not be allowed to assume the shape of conspiracies for the exploitation of the masses.

The Dimensions of the President's Criticism

A simple acceptance of the President's criticism of the state of affairs in India cannot throw full light on the "widespread incompetence and the gross mismanagement of our resources" referred to by Dr. Radhakrishnan. He also admonished the political leaders of India and said: "Our political leaders should have a clear vision of the future of the country and not be content with their own individual comfort and survival". The President did not spare those who acted against the Government and the criticised "violent agitations, fasts, threat of self-immolation" etc., which "brought down our reputation for good manners and standards of public behaviour."

When we come to a detailed analysis of this

widespread incompetence and the gross mismanagement of our resources we find the political party men busily picking men and women of their own choice during the entire period of their dominance of India's public life and putting them into positions of profit and power. The railways, the Posts and Telegraphs Departments, the Police, the Courts, the Departments of Health, Education, Customs, Taxation, Industries, etc. etc., have all been slowly filled up by the nominees of political party men who could pull strings and get them in. These nominees have not been the best men available for the jobs but were persons who could not obtain jobs without wire pulling. The result has been an all round deterioration in efficiency and a general lowering of the standards of morality prevailing in the various branches of administrative work. Not all the men and women have been the nominees of the party in power. The Opposition parties have also been given a share of the ill-gotten jobs and *sine-cures*. So that they have restricted their criticism of Government to Foreign Policy and other matters of remote significance and left the question of maladministration proper totally mute and unspoken. This co-operation between the Government and their Opposition has been the ruin of India and people are only just discovering that it truly exists by reference to the Election policy of the Congress and the Left Communists. For they are co-operating even during the Elections by putting up feeble candidates against the leaders of the parties.

The gross mismanagement of our resources have been quite blatant. For of all our resources, our vast store of man power has been outstanding and we have not made any use of it. Instead of building up labour intensive industries and building a net work of roads, we have gone begging and borrowing to get hold of our valued machinery from Foreign sources and put up highly capital intensive industries at exorbitant cost with the result that our figures of unemployment have mounted skyhigh, our villages have remained isolated, our fields have not obtained even well-water and our people have lived in mud huts on a starvation diet without education, gainful occupation and medical assistance. Nineteen years of Congress raj with the Communist led opposition diverting public attention from matters of greater importance to less important and far away issues, have given us a vastly increased National Debt, an

inordinately inflated currency, inefficient and often corrupt service holders and a twisted outlook on socialistic developments which have not even been touched in the fringes in a fair and square manner. A great make believe Welfare State has been given certain ineffective and imaginary features and limbs which do little good to anyone, and the parties try to bamboozle the world as well as the people concerned by false propaganda which really dupe nobody who is sufficiently well informed. The lack of roads particularly has created a shortage in easily exportable commodities which are mainly agricultural goods, forest products and minerals. Vast stretches of the country remain isolated and the resources of those areas cannot be exploited commercially. Our foreign exchange is earned mainly from tea, jute, shellac, mica, other minerals and forest products. The expansion of tea and jute exports have their maxima. The other commodities may be exported in increased quantities, but that would require development of the territories in which they are found or grown. This development means roads mainly which have not been built.

That our party men have looked to their "own individual comfort and survival" in an intensive as well as extensive manner is obvious to all who have studied the change in the standard of living of political leaders. Many of them now own, either in their own name or by proxy, much property, money earning business organisations and other valuable assets; where they had nothing to start with. One leader in West Bengal is reputed to have a large garden house in a remote district which has the rarest of trees planted in its extensive grounds at great cost and air-conditioned rooms for which electricity has been specially brought from a great distance. Other leaders and their relations own fleets of buses, trucks, wholesale and retail houses and other property galore about which people talk openly and, perhaps at times, exaggeratingly. But the fact remains that while the people of India, in general, have gained heavy taxes, burdens of debts, loss of value of money savings and overwhelming penury, the political leaders of all parties, with honourable exceptions have accumulated wealth and have abolished want from their own individual lives and from the lives of their immediate followers.

About violence, fasts and threats of self-immolation, we may point out to the President that

some violence has been created by official mismanagement. The Calcutta cricket riots, for instance, were brought about by Political Party leaders, who controlled the particular sports, attempting to raise funds by selling tickets in excess of the number of seats. The police also co-operated with the ticket sellers by man-handling the ticket holding public. The facts will be fully exposed by enquiry and what we say may be accepted as the opinion of the public who attended the cricket match. Other acts of violence are engineered by the agents provocateurs employed by the foreign enemies of India. These agents of foreign powers go about freely in India and are quite often protected by the political party leaders of other parties. The President can easily declare all groups and parties having dealings with foreign powers, as unlawful and have mass trials of their party members to clean up the political atmosphere of India. Unless and until this is done, India will remain a prey to the evil genius of other nations. The Congress has for long years played into the hands of Foreign Nations and we have lost half of Kashmir and large tracts elsewhere in order to appease the stooges of these Nations. We have not learned anything about true nationalism from other nations. We still act contrary to our national interests in a shameless manner. Even the worst of foreign nations do not tolerate leaders who do no good to their own people. But we support bad men in power without compunction. This must stop and true nationalism take its place.

The words of Dr. Radhakrishnan will go down in history as a fearless and uncompromising statement of facts, pronounced for the removal of national evils of a very dangerous and destructive kind. Let us hope our people will learn the lesson which his pronouncement contains.

Death of Space Fliers

The death of the three Astronauts of America in an accident connected with the trial launching of a space rocket has come as a rude shock to all people throughout the world. Two of the astronauts Colonel White and Colonel Grissom were vastly experienced space fliers. Lt. Commander Chaffee had not flown in space. The world had known for a long time that space flights were extremely hazardous ; but technicians had been tak-

ing very great care to make everything connected with space flights faultless. That they had been largely successful in perfecting the technique of rocket flights and return journeys to particular spots, had been proved by the no-casualty record of space flights since Russia and America took up this kind of space probes for the ultimate conquest of space. But the probability of accidents had always been there and the brave men who risked their lives knew that some time or other accidents might take place. That we had no casualties before was our good fortune. This accident will not deter other courageous men from taking similar risks in the future and the work of conquering space will go on in the U.S.A. But the death of these brave men who have given their lives for the advancement of science, knowledge and man's achievement, will always be recorded as a great human tragedy and the dead will be mourned by all humanity as martyrs to a very great cause.

The Chinese Civil War

Totalitarianism like other forms of autocracy and tyranny create dissatisfaction and opposition among the people who are made to surrender to the will of one person or a small coterie of oligarchs. The reason for this is that autocrats and despots can never remain truly just, impartial and benevolent over a very long period. Immediate supporters of the Great Men develop likes and dislikes and indulge in favouritism and preferences. So, factions are created and efforts are made to clear the field by purges, demotions and changes. But the secret leaders of the factions stay on and try to establish their friends and supporters in power by fair means or foul. And eventually internecine fights take place and lead to civil war. Mao Tse-tung had been trying to become a prophet of communism and his followers have been setting up standards of behaviour in every field of life by reference to the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. From shoe-making to the abstractions of higher philosophy Maoism covered everything for a short-while in a loose thinking manner. This could not win over all Chinese workers and soldiers and the Red Guards, who were the Jeddys of the Peoples Republic, soon faced organised opposition. China is now in the throes of a civil war and, if this spreads, the enemies of China will be able to take advantage of it.

Pro Mao factions, whether civilian or military, are trying to rouse popular feeling against Russia. They are plastering the walls of Peking with posters saying "Fry Kossygin" or "Shoot Brezhnev" for the reason that the Soviet intellectuals have not accepted Mao as the prophet of communism. As far as one can understand the Russians are not yet taking any part in the civil war of China. But the unintelligent behaviour of the pro-Mao Chinese may drive the Russians into taking retaliatory action. Mr. Chou En-lai has already accused the Russians of persecuting Chinese students in Moscow but the Russians have brought counter charges against the Chinese in Moscow. Pro-Mao Troops are engaged in battles against Anti-Mao groups in various outlying parts of China, but details are not available.

The Elections

There is general propaganda against the Congress Party for mal-administration and failure to improve the condition of the people by better employment, increased supplies of essential consumer goods, stabilising the currency, reducing national indebtedness, lowering taxes and so on and so forth. The Communists (M) are being accused of being agents of India's enemy China. The other parties are generally disunited and they are putting up candidates in large numbers who will obtain slices of the total of votes without achieving anything much. There may of course be a greater number of non-party and small party men in some of the legislatures and in the Lok Sabha. In one or two states the Congress will have greatly reduced strength and in most states their might will be curbed. So, although the Congress Party men are loudly claiming success as nation builders, they will have to *really* do some nation building this time if they are returned to power in a full manner. The success or failure of the Left Communists will prove the degree of active patriotic fervour that voting public possess. The ideology of the small parties cannot be expected to rouse the masses to any enthusiasm.

Martyrdom of Gandhiji

Gandhiji was assassinated because he espoused the cause of the entire people of India and because he did not want any religious,

linguistic or racial groups to rule over the smaller communities. He was the father of the secular ideal though he himself was intensely religious. After his death a reaction set in and all communities curbed their passions to greater extent than they did before. Only the Congress leaders of later days could not rise to the heights demanded of them and a disintegration of India began by further divisions into new states on a linguistic and racial basis. The Martyrdom of Gandhiji was therefore made unfruitful by his alleged followers whose power hunger dominated their patriotism. Small communities were also exploited and dominated by the majority groups in different states leading to ill feeling and internal dissensions. At this juncture of India's history one has to remember the leaders of the past along with Gandhiji who all harboured unambiguous patriotic feelings in which there was no room for communalism or other divisions with narrower interests.

Modern Empires

In ancient times Empires were built by conquest, colonisation and political domination of the territories inhabited by others. To-day such conquest or subjugation of other nations is looked down upon by humanity as uncivilised and out-dated. So, the expanding nations of the modern world try to establish their suzerainty by other means. One method is the creation of blocs. That is, a powerful nation gathers round it a bunch of less powerful nations which accept its leadership and the group thereafter work together as a power bloc. The leader nation holds the whip hand and dictates to its supporters and followers in all matters of international or even internal policy. Another method is to create a large sphere of influence by military or financial aid and assistance. In such cases a powerful nation engages in large scale manufacture of arms and sets up an elaborate organisation for money lending, so to speak, and acts as an over-lord by virtue of superior military strength and the advantages accruing to a creditor as against a group of debtors. This thing does not work so well in the long run as creditors inevitably become obnoxious to the borrowers. The power blocs too develop tendencies to break up in the same manner as in the case of the Empires

of the past. So, the lure of conquest *par excellence* returns to the ambitious nations of today and attempts are made by them to occupy other peoples' territories on some pretext or other. In the case of China the pretext has been a false claim on other territories as being part of China. Tibet and the Tibetans have never been Chinese in any sense of the term. Even during the short period when China became suzerain over Tibet the overlordship was loose and vague. The Tibetans are of a different racial and linguistic type from the Chinese. Their language is written in a phonetic script and not pictographically like Chinese. Culturally too they are quite distinct from the Chinese. Yet the Chinese call Tibet a part of China. They also refer to large chunks of India as parts of China. This conquest by false propaganda and military expeditions is typically Chinese and it is a great menace to human freedom.

How The Congress Wins Elections

The Congress collects large sums of money from industrial, commercial and trading concerns to run its election campaign. They manage to do this by virtue of their control over the Government of India and the States. Had they not used this as a lever, no capitalists would have paid them any money. This is therefore a round about way of assuring the contributors that they are buying the good will of the Government by their contributions to the Congress election funds. It is therefore a highly objectionable practice and should be made unlawful. Further, the Congress leaders go round quite openly to the various employees who assist them with funds and attempt to put pressure on anti-Congress election candidates through these employers whenever a candidate is employed in an industrial or commercial establishment. This is not only objectionable, but is unlawful. But the Congress and its supporters do not observe the sanctity of the Law when it comes to winning elections. President Radhakrishnan should personally look into this aspect of the elections and protect all candidates from these pressure tactics.

Our Political Responsibility

Many persons who feel for the masses of India desire that there should be drastic changes in the leadership of the major parties, so that ideologies could be modified to fit in with realities. For abstract or purely theoretical consideration, cannot solve the problems that face India and the Indians. Whether we like it or not we have become indebted to foreign countries and to our own nationals in a manner which is economically unsound and very risky from the angle of national solvency. We cannot disown our liabilities and we have to pay interest on loans and repay the principal sometime or other as stipulated. This matter alone will put a strain on our resources which will require very expert and careful handling. The various parties with their present leadership have proved their incapacity in this and other spheres very fully during the last nineteen years. In the circumstances it becomes the duty of all responsible Indians who have ability and resources to go into the political field and take over power by their concerted effort. This is now essential as unless this is done, the future of all Indians will be in jeopardy.

To achieve this all Indians should immediately concentrate on the elections and see that good men are elected without reference to their party loyalties. Independents will be the best as they will have no party commitments. If suitable independents are not available, party men may be voted for provided they satisfy the conditions of unequivocal loyalty to the nation and general integrity. Whatever happens in the elections, all important and influential persons should continue to watch over the affairs of the nation actively so that the persons who come into political power do not abuse that power. The people of India must get the basic necessities of civilised existence, which are food, clothing, housing, education, medical aid, employment and social security. Besides these India must be strong enough militarily to defend her territories against foreign aggression.

A NOTE ON U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Dr. NARENDRA K. SETHI

In international trade and foreign commerce, the role of **Balance of Payments** is quite important. As far as the U.S. Economy is concerned, the three most significant things in this context (1) U.S. Gold holdings; (2) convertible foreign currencies owned by official U.S. agencies; and (3) liquid liabilities—both public and private to the foreigners. The tabulation of the Balance of Payments in the U.S. accounting is expressed in the terms of "debit" and "credit" entries which stress the relative importance of the various transactions made during the accounting year in review.

In the theoretical framework of the U.S. Balance of Payments, the following main items are included among the "debit" and "credit" sides respectively, and the difference between their values is shown as a deficit or surplus in the net Balance. Among the "debit" side are included: (1) Merchandise imports; (2) Services by the foreigners to U.S. residents; (3) Income in investments in the U.S. by foreigners; (4) Military expenses abroad; (5) Net private transfers to foreigners; (6) Net government transfers to foreigners; (7) Net U.S. private investments abroad; and, (8) Net U.S. governments abroad.

Among the "credit" side are included: (1) Merchandise exports; (2) Services rendered to foreigners by the U.S. residents; (3) Income on foreign investments of the U.S. residents; (4) Military receipts; and, (5) Net foreign investment in the U.S. other than in liquid assets.

A historical analysis of the U.S. Balance of Payments indicates that since 1957, there has only been one year which has showed a surplus. The highest deficit occurred in 1960 when it reached almost \$4 Billions. In

1965, the deficit narrowed to only \$1.3 Billions, which represents the smallest U.S. deficit since 1957.

It appears that the major reasons for the deficit are: (1) Military expenditures abroad; and (2) Net U.S. private and Government investments abroad. As a result there is a great outflow of dollars abroad. The relative position of exports and imports is virtually identical, without affecting the balance substantially either way. But as long as the U.S. military expenditures continue in this emphatic pattern and the investment abroad also persists, the deficit cannot be eradicated. However, it appears that in 1965, a new program of voluntary controls on direct corporate investment abroad had been initiated, which resulted in a net saving of about \$1 Billion. But the continued war in Vietnam is itself a drain on the outflow, and it might cost around \$700 Millions this year, again resulting in a deficit.

A very small growth was noticed last year in the foreign private holdings of the U.S. Dollars. Total gold sales to foreign countries last year amounted to about \$1.2 Billions.

Another striking fact that emerges in international finance today is that because of an upwards revision of both short term and long term interest rates in the foreign countries, U.S. is no longer considered an investment haven for foreign capital. This would also be an important factor in determining the net balance of payments position.

In addition, there is also a socio-economic and cultural-moral question involved here. This is primarily so in the two main issues: namely, the question of American

investment abroad, and the problem of American military expenditures abroad. In order to maintain democratic institutions in the free world and encourage developing countries in the economic growth, America has to invest abroad. Secondly, the treaties with foreign countries and the psychological fear of invasion from the Communistic countries around the world, also necessitates American military expenditures abroad. Therefore, for reasons other than those of pure foreign rationale, these social and political considerations are also important in the Balance of Payments position.

It is sometimes claimed by overly conservative and ultra-national economists that the Balance of Payments should always balance. This is a narrow view both of national and international monetary problems.

Firstly, the Balance of Payments cannot always balance. Secondly, it is based on certain accounting methodology which could give varying results depending upon the techniques used. Finally, much also depends on the question of interpretation and data provided in the accounts. In this framework, it appears that if the Balance of Payments always balances, it will have no meaning or validity both in the domestic economy as well as in the international structure of trade. If the "credit" and the "debit" sides match perfectly every year, it would lead to a stagnation of trade, liquidity, and of the U.S. holdings of Gold. Moreover, such a perfect matching will also have a passive impact on the world economy inasmuch as the United States has a moral obligation to lead the economy of the free world, to maintain peace everywhere, and also participate in the growth of the "under-developed" countries. Therefore, not only on the basis of pure economic and or fiscal theory, but also on the broader rationale of world leadership, it is necessary that the Balance should not always "balance". Moreover, it should also not continue to move only in

one direction, either deficit or credit always. The Business Cycle theory and its relationship with the concept of world trade and international business also upholds the aforementioned view.

The concept of "Balance of Payments" is interlinked with the concept of "Equilibrium" or "Adjustment Process". Gold standard operation and variable Exchange Rate Policy are two of the most important and controversial techniques of achieving international monetary adjustment.

In classical economic theory, it is believed that with a gold standard in operation, the equilibrium will be achieved by such gold flows as would produce the desired price changes to alter the demands of the imports and exports of the country, and thus correct the Balance of Payments situation. In the absence of gold standard, the fluctuating rates of exchange would adjust themselves to a natural level, at which supply and demand with reference to a foreign country would eventually balance. In the gold standard theory, only the relevance of Price is considered, while the two most important concepts of Employment and Output are neglected. Another drawback of the classical theory is its lack of realism, as it does not make any allowances for the various economic or social conditions under which the adjustment process must operate.

As a matter of fact, the gold standard provided a system of achieving adjustment whereby the international differences in price cost structures were removed by changes in the domestic price levels of surplus and deficit countries. In such a rigid method, the exchange rates were fixed. When the standard fell from its pinnacle of glory, it was thought that the desired changes in relative price structure would be best secured by variations in the exchange rates. There are four criteria which should be considered in employing adjustment. These are as follows:—

1. Ability to promise long-term balance in the country's Balance of Payments, consistent with high levels of trade at full employment;
2. Relationship with international liquidity;
3. How much reliance should be put upon purchasing power parity?
4. Care should be taken in deciding whether, with a given capital flow, a rate is really maintaining equilibrium.

W.M. Scammel a well-known British monetary expert suggests three different kind of elasticities, namely, price demand elasticity, price supply elasticity and, income elasticity of demand. Elasticity refers to the responsiveness of supply or demand to a change in price.

Fundamentally, the concept of elasticity is quite significant in the process of adjustment, both in devaluation and upward revaluation. Devaluation is most effective when demand elasticity is high. If supply elasticity is low, then the producers react to the demand-change by changing the price-structure.

It can be mentioned that if the precise elasticities are known before-hand, one can always make valid assumptions about the alteration in the exchange rate which would bring the equilibrium. However, elasticities can never be fully predicted in advance, and only educated guess can be made about them. The question of basic taste-changes can also confuse the issue. Therefore, one must exercise great caution and judgement in relating the idea of elasticity to Balance of Payments.

It can be argued that the Balance of Payments will improve as a result of depreciation even if the elasticities of home and foreign demand are each less than one. As a matter of fact, the Balance of Payments of the depreciating country will always improve if the sum of the elasticities of country's demand for imports and of the foreign demand of its exports is greater than unity. However, if it is less than one, the balance will not improve. Historically, it has been proved that exchange depreciation does in fact result in expanded exports for the depreciating country. This historical fact assumes meaningful validity in the wake of the recent exchange-depreciation in India.

Another striking difference in these two adjustment processes for maintaining equilibrium is, in the fact that when a foreign government supports its currency, it thereby loses dollars and may be forced to sell gold to the U.S. to acquire dollars for intervention. In exchange control process, the disequilibrium will express itself in a change in the exchange rate. If there is any imbalance in the current account, private capital outflows necessarily makes up the difference. Difference in interest rates between countries will cause capital outflows from the low to the higher interest rate country.

The gold standard adjustment has serious disadvantages these days, specially when we see that non-monetary uses of gold are increasing, and the concept of gold standard has been totally changed from its traditional view. It is also a static tool of adjustment and in these days of complex economic needs, interest rate variations, full employment maintenance efforts, and increased foreign trade, gold standard adjustment process is by necessity a very restrictive tool.

The Adjustment Process also considers the role of "elasticities" in its structural components and policy-determination.

NATIONAL CONGRESS BEFORE THE ADVENT OF MAHATMA

Prof. S. L. SINGH

The National Congress developed its economic outlook as a reaction against the imperialist policy of exploitation. Politically, economically and socially imperialism was playing a role quite contrary to the basic tenets of the new industrial civilization which the west had built up. The National Congress associated imperialism with exploitation, backwardness and oppression and held it responsible for creating and fostering vested interests. The congress policy of industrialisation and modernisation was looked with disfavour and hostility because it clashed with the interests of imperialism and undermined its basis. The founding fathers represented the forces of progress and regeneration. They had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of the new industrial civilization and wanted the country to take that path. Their views on large and heavy industries, state and private industries and foreign capital are very interesting. They had contact with the international movement against imperialism and established solidarity with it. A study of these ideas is particularly relevant and inspiring to-day. We are heartened by the fact that we are developing our economy in the best national tradition set by the founding fathers.

The National Congress though owed its origin to British inspiration¹ soon began to develop as a focus of national feeling. The leaders were no doubt moderates in their views and had in the beginning unbounded faith in the British sense of justice. They hoped to get the redress of their grievances by appealing to the democratic sense of the British people. They held this view because they were very much influenced by such great figures as Gladstone, Cobden and

Bright who had breathed a "new spirit of liberalism"² into British politics. They had hopes that British civilization based on the ideas of these great men and also on the theories of social reconstruction of Spencer and Mill would extend its benefits to India also³. Gradually they were disillusioned. Their attitude of solicitation changed and their outlook broadened as the Congress "gained a foothold on the affections of the people"⁴. How was it that the Congress gradually emerged as the representative of the national democratic aspirations of the people?

Indian Poverty

The Congress from its very inception was faced with the growing improverishment of the people of India. Any organisation which sought to represent the interest of the people had not only to take notice of but also grapple with this problem. Colonial exploitation saps the vitals of the economy of a country and dries the fountains of all growth. Being by nature parasitic imperialism fosters only a parasitic class like feudalism and scotches the initiative of all producing classes. Once an organisation is seized of the problem of poverty in a colonial country it has to get at its root and challenge the basis of imperialism. Nationalism naturally and inevitably comes into conflict with imperialism.

Though the leaders of the Congress in its early phase professed loyalty to Britain they raised issues which went against the interest of imperialist exploitation. They concentrated on the question of poverty which agitated the minds of all thinking men at the time. Naoroji had done pioneer-

ing work in this field and had set himself the task of "proving the appalling poverty and distress of the people and the outstanding indifference of the rulers". He had devoted half a life time to "the exposition of this subject"⁵. Ramesh Chandra Dutt also was one of the most outstanding Indians who unmasked the nature of British colonial exploitation and drew appropriate conclusions. Both came to be associated with the Indian National Congress, presided over its annual sessions and moulded its thinking for a considerable time.

The Congress and its leaders questioned and exposed the British claim of beneficent rule in India. Referring to frequent famines R.C. Dutt commented: "It is not gratifying to know that a country possessing a rich and fertile soil and a frugal and industrious population is still subject to recurring famines after a century and a half of British rule"⁶. The Government which had nothing but famines to offer after such a long period of rule stood self condemned. It was asserted that British rule had given India peace and security but "what was the use of this", commented Dadabhai, "if there were no life and property to be secured?"⁷.

Surendranath Banerjee, in his presidential address, gave a graphic description of the deteriorating condition of the people of India. He divided the last century into four periods of twenty five years each and said "During the first period, there were five famines with an estimated mortality of one million. During the second period, there were two famines with an estimated mortality of 5,00,000. In the third period there were six famines with a recorded mortality of five millions; and as we came to the fourth and the last period, we notice the increasing gravity of the situation and the terribly high record of mortality. There were eighteen famines during this period with an estimated mortality of twenty-six millions; and the last famine of the last quarter of the existing century was, in the words of

so high an authority as the Viceroy himself, the severest that the country had ever known"⁸. India not only faced desolation and disasters but her condition continued sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of destitution. This deterioration reached its climax during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The strategy of the Congress was to attack this most vulnerable point of imperialism. The existence of poverty could not be disputed so, in Dadabhai's view, it had become "the right as well as the duty, of this Congress (second session) to set forth its convictions, both as to this widespread destitution and primary steps needful for its alleviation"⁹. The Congress could raise this question as a matter of right, could go into its cases and suggest to remove it. The Congress could very well be held on this issue. Dadabhai, again in his presidential address at Lahore, 1893, stressed this point: "The question of the poverty of India should be fully raised, grappled with and settled"¹⁰. So more and more stress on the problem of poverty and the wretched economic condition of the people was laid as a matter of policy. It was considered to be the greatest question before India.¹¹

If the Congress showed moderation on political questions it was very assertive on economic issues. In its resolutions the Congress from the beginning persistently raised this issue. As early as 1886 the Congress in its resolutions viewed with "grave apprehension the increasing poverty of vast number of population of India"¹². Speaking on the resolution Mr. D. E. Wacha put his finger on the nature of imperialist exploitation. He pointed out that the mainstay of Indian finance was land revenue. In order to get more capital the produce of the soil had to be increased but "how is this possible when year after year the bulk of profits of the entire population are drained away in the tribute to great Britain, exported to fructify there, and swell still further the

unparalleled wealth of those distant isles, never in any shape to return here to bless the country from whose soil it was wrung, or the people the sweat of whose brows it represents"¹³. This drain was oozing out the last drop of its blood and this carrying away of a large portion of India's revenue depleted the national capital and increased poverty¹⁴.

by poverty which has for its root political causes"¹⁰. Exhorting the delegates of the I.N.C. session at Calcutta in 1906 Dadabhai said ".....be united, persevere and achieve self-Government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved"²⁰.

Economic and Political Problems

The motive behind insistently raising this issue appears to be not only to expose the hollowness of British claim to beneficent rule but also to prove conclusively that the problem could only be solved by the transfer of power (later self-Government) gradually and effectively into Indian hands. Thus the Congress linked the economic issue to the demand for representative institutions. The Second Congress in 1886 recorded its fixed conviction that "the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people"¹⁵. Mr. D. E. Watcha moving the resolution stressed the fact that "where representative institutions are once established there the Government even though a Government of foreigners can be drawn into the right track"¹⁶. A foreign Government could not be expected to look to the interest of the people. Dadabhai was convinced that "increased association of Indians in the administration of their own country was the very foundation of progress."¹⁷. Mr. R. C. Dutt presiding over the fifteenth congress session at Lucknow in 1899 thought it possible to prevent distress and disasters and deaths from famines, to spread prosperity and contentment if "blessings of self-Government were conceded to the people"¹⁸. Mr. D. E. Watcha, President, seventeenth congress, Calcutta, 1901 made a very significant remark. He said: "the mournful truth must be acknowledged that slow rises the country which is depressed

Congress and Industrialisation

India was noted for her industries from the ancient times. But her industries were gradually strangled and destroyed, first by protective duties imposed on Indian goods in England, and then by an unequal competition"²¹. R. C. Dutt was of the view that apart from heavy land assessment the killing of Indian industries by "a free competition with the steam and machinery of England" was the sole reason of Indian poverty²². This policy of the British Government compelled India to depend on the soil only. The National Congress stood in opposition to this policy and wanted state protection for the growth of her industries. The policy of free trade was ruinous for the country at the time. Dadabhai though a believer in free trade wanted protection for the infant industries of India. He observed: "I like free trade but free trade in England and India.....is some thing like a race between a starving, exhausted invalid, and a strong man with a horse to ride on."²³ It is an interesting coincidence that in 1899—the year the Lucknow congress was held—Lord Curzon wrote to Hamilton: "One of his greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it (Congress) to a peaceful demise"²⁴. This indicates the kind of attitude the British rulers developed towards the Congress though early official attitude was friendly.²⁵

When export of capital became the chief feature of the British monopoly capital, the British capitalist perceived the

advantage of "utilizing cheap native labour power by transplanting modern industrial processes out to India"²⁶. This led to the hampering of the growth of indigenous industries and the Indian masses became instruments of cheap labour for the profits of the British bourgeoisie. This intensified further the exploitation and impoverishment of the people of India. Dadabhai took strong objection to this kind of "development" of industries in India. Referring to an address of Lord Curzon in which he had hoped that India ought to be very grateful to the British people for developing mining industries in India Dadabhai observed "but these millions of Kolar Gold fields belong to the British capitalist, who is simply exploiting our land and wealth, our share being that of the hewer of wood and drawer of water"²⁷.

The Congress fervently believed that it was only through industrialization that the poverty of the Indian people could be banished. The rapid rise of Japan from a backward country like India to a position of eminence in commerce and industry gave rise to a conviction that the salvation of this land lay entirely in its industrial regeneration and development. Industrialization became the theme, the key-note of the policy of the Congress. Almost without exception resolutions passed and Presidential address delivered at Congress sessions referred to this problem. For the Congress the expansion of industries was the correct national ideal²⁸. The British imperialist opposed industrialisation and wanted that the attention of the Indian people be confined almost exclusively to agriculture. H. E. Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, in a speech at Poona emphasised the fact that "agriculture is and must remain by far the most important of all Indian industries and an essential basis of India's prosperity"²⁹. But such an idea militated against the mood of the people and ran counter to their most cherished ambitions. Surendranath Banerjee was

convinced that if the country was to be saved the Congress and its leaders had to be the "pioneers and organisers of a vast industrial movement"³⁰.

Lal Mohan Ghosh indicated the significance of industrialisation and the line it should take. In his view industrialisation formed "the best of all political levers". He wanted large industries but these had to be free from "exploitation by foreign capital". In his plan of industrialisation he wanted to safeguard the interest "not only of the capitalists" but also of "the wage earner and consumer". He was convinced that this pattern of industrialisation would mean that "three-fourths of our battle of reform is won"³¹. He clearly saw the political significance of industrialisation. He also wanted industrialisation not to take the monopolistic line because in that case the interest of the people would suffer and industries themselves might suffer a catastrophe through contraction of home market.

The Congress by launching industrial movement had put new vigour in national life³². This movement was a progressive movement. It was through this that the congress hoped to strike at the economic root of imperialist exploitation. Imperialism could not and did not look with favour at these efforts of the Indian National congress.

Swadeshi

If British policy stood in the way of industrialisation, and was not prepared to extend protection to it, leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, advocated "moral protection"³³. The idea underlying the Swadeshi movement was to attack British rule through British trade. The boycott of British rule served the double purpose of "encouraging native industries and of hitting the British people where it was asserted they would feel it most viz, in their pockets and compel them to relax their grip on

India"³⁴. So this movement was a movement for the strengthening of Indian industries.

Swadeshi movement arose in Bengal in Lord Curzon's viceroyalty. It caught the imagination of the people and rapidly spread all over India. The reason why it became so popular was referred to by G. K. Gokhale in his presidential address (Benares 1905). The Swadeshi movement, according to him was both "a patriotic and economic movement". The people began to think of their country and were impelled to make voluntary sacrifices for her sake. The swadeshi enabled them to take an intelligent interest in her (country's) economic development", and taught them the important lesson of "co-operating with one another for a national end"³⁵. The swadeshi thus sharpened people's consciousness against the imperialist policy of keeping the country backward. It meant more indigenous industries and more bread for the people.

The swadeshi gave an impetus for more and more technical education. A society was formed in Calcutta for the purpose of sending young men to Europe, America and Japan to receive industrial or scientific education. When these students began to return from study, a supply of trained workers became available for the furthering of native industries³⁶.

Foreign Capital

Dadabhai and other leaders of the Congress urged insistently that India needed industrialisation on a large scale. But industry was limited by capital. Indigenous sources of capital had dried up due to British exploitation. British capital was invested in India but as Sir Henry Cotton, President of the twentieth congress pointed out, "all the interest that is reaped therefrom passes to the pocket of the investor and he takes it to England"³⁷. This was the real obstacle to the progress of India.

If the profits earned were re-invested in India there would have been some gain to India also. The British capitalists were not prepared for this because they had no interest in the industrialisation of the country.

Dadabhai, with his keen insight, visualized this difficulty before Indian industrialization. He knew that there was paucity of capital in India. He also knew that private capital was unable to meet the requirements of development of industries in the country. He realised the necessity and importance of foreign capital and was prepared to welcome it. British capital went to other countries as well but the difference between capital going to other countries and India was glaring. What these countries did was to take loans from Britain, use them in the way they thought best and the British capitalists were paid back with interest and dividend. But with India the case was different. Dadabhai hit the right nail on the head when he said: "English capitalists do not merely lend but with their capital they themselves invade the country. The produce of the capital is mostly eaten up by their own countrymen and, after that they carry away the rest in the shape of profits and dividends"³⁸. It is difficult to improve upon this incisive criticism of the nature of imperialist exploitation of colonies.

Such exploitation was possible because the monopoly of capital was the major economic monopoly of imperialism. This was facilitated by the concentration of the entire system of modern credit banking in the colony in the hands of foreign capitalists. Another monopoly was their exclusive technical knowledge and experience. So the regeneration of the country through industries was not possible because, as D. E. Watcha pointed out in his presidential address: "there were.....formidable lions in our path, the foreign exploiters and monopolists"³⁹.

Dadabhai wanted industrialisation to

take an independent path. He did not want Indian industrialists to play second fiddle to the industrialists of foreign countries. When J. N. Tata wanted to seek help from foreign capitalists and set up industries through their collaboration Dadabhai wrote a letter to him saying: "To me it is a matter of grief that you should become the instrument of enabling foreigners to carry away the natural wealth of India with the only benefit of some thousands of Indians earning a livelihood. To my mind, it is a great injury to India." This could not be, in his opinion, the path of India's industrialisation because India would get nothing except "a few crumbs in the lower employment of her children"⁴⁰.

State Sector

The founding fathers had, surprisingly enough, clear vision of the role the state and private industries were to play in the industrialisation of the country. In an undeveloped country like India, bled by imperialist exploitation, it was felt necessary to assign a role to the state in the development of industries because private capitalists were mostly interested in developing industries which yielded greatest profit in the shortest time. Dadabhai had a plan by which India could be really benefited. He wanted that "all kinds of public works or mines, or all works that require capital, be undertaken by the State"⁴¹. Such industries required huge capital and long gestation period. So private capitalists could be least interested in them. Such a pattern of industrial development was conceived as early as the beginning of the present century.

It was also visualized that state-owned industries under a national Government could play considerable role in promoting national industries. Babu Ambica Charan Mozumdar, President of the Lucknow congress, opposed the transfer of railways to private companies because he considered

such a transferment "an abdication of state function". He looked forward to the day when the Government became national and railways owned by the State and controlled by the State will then be conducted upon national lines and will be the hand-maid of national industries by offering facilities for their growth and development"⁴². Thus the congress blazed a trail by conceiving such a pattern of Indian industrialisation. We are thus led to the conclusion that the logic of Indian situation has always pointed towards this path—whether then or now.

New Imperialism

By the end of the nineteenth century imperialism developed certain new features which were clearly perceived by the leaders of the congress. This new imperialism showed hostility to all national aspirations. It had become "frankly selfish" which was the case in the past. A wave of reaction had been sweeping over the country and India was going backward. G. Subramania Iyer writing on effects of imperialism on Britain, said that it was no longer "democracy that controls her Government but the wires were being pulled by the powerful plutocracy—the bankers, the financiers, the capitalists and investors". No justice could be expected from such a Government and "unbridled cupidity for other nations' wealth could only be their motive force. The policy and method of such a Government are not only hostile to the institutions of popular self-Government; they also favour "forms of political tyranny and social authority which are deadly enemies of effective liberty and equality"⁴³. Surendra Nath Banerjee noted these features of imperialism and observed: "Imperialism blocks the way (of progress).....imperialism has always been synonymous with autocracy". He was not prepared to welcome the new imperialism because it had "accentuated the forces of reaction".

It is of great significance that the Congress from the beginning had the clear realisation of this reactionary nature of imperialism. It can safely be asserted that the Congress represented the forces of social progress in India.

International Solidarity

We rightly associate international outlook with Nehru who consistently and persistently cultivated internationalism and made our national movement a part of anti-imperialist anti-colonial movements going on elsewhere in the world. We little know that our national movement had thrown a distinguished leader, no less a person than Dadabhai Naoroji himself who worked for international support and solidarity.

Dadabhai had the hope that the liberal opinion in England would help India get her due. Soon he was disillusioned. He came more and more in contact with H. M. Hyndman who stood for the oppressed against the strong. They were in constant consultation with each other. Both contributed informing and inspiring articles on the problems of India to newspapers and periodicals. There was some uneasiness at Dadabhai's seeking support of Socialists. The Hindu patriot considered it a dangerous policy. Dadabhai on the contrary deemed it a good fortune to have such allies. Explaining his position on April 8, 1898 he asked his critics not to get "prejudiced because it is the socialists who were helping us". Only the socialists came forward to support India's cause so he considered it an "unexpected good fortune" that Indian cause had been taken up "by a powerful and advancing organisation to whom the future largely belongs".

The reason that impelled him to look to the working class for support was that the workers of a capitalist country and the people of India had common interest. They were oppressed by the same capitalists at both places and so one movement had to

help the other in its own interest. The workers of England had very little to gain by the exploitation and oppression of a colonial country. It was the top stratum that largely gained by this connection. If the workers were to gain they were to gain not by "plunder but by trade". He cautioned that there was no question of breaking economic relations but of transforming them under normal commercial conditions. If anything suffered by that it was the profits of big capitalists and not the interests of the mass of the people.

Dadabhai's interests and activities were not confined to England. He attended the international Socialist Congress which met at Amsterdam in August 1904 as a representative of the people of India. The Congress discussed the colonial question and by a resolution called upon the workers of Great Britain "to enforce upon their Government the abandonment of the policy of oppression and the establishment of self Government". It was the most impressive spectacle for Dadabhai who felt gratified to see the workers of Europe "expressing their goodwill and extending their hand of fellowship to the suffering millions of India".

A study of the national movement of this period reveals that it got permeated with a social purpose from the beginning which became more articulate when Gandhiji came on the scene. The national movement being directed against imperialism and its reactionary policies came inevitably to form part of the social struggle as the masses were drawn in. The early leaders did the pioneering work and based the movement on progressive ideas though not backed by suitable action. But the hard facts of Indian politics drove the Congress step by step to a more and more extreme position.

1. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. *History of the Congress*, Pp. 22-23.
2. R. P. Masani. *Dadabhai—the Grand*

- old Man of India, London, Allen and Unwin, 1939, P. 96. Dadabhai obtained the first hand knowledge of the cultural and political institutions of England. He was convinced, that the British people, if true to their tradition, would help India obtain freedom.
3. *Ibid.*, P. 96.
 4. Sitaramayya—*op. cit.*, P. 29.
 5. While moving a resolution on poverty Mr. D. E. Watcha made this remark. Report of Second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in Dec. 1886—Calcutta Central Press Agency Ltd.
 6. R. C. Dutt, *England and India*, London, 1897, P. (viii).
 7. Speech made by Dadabhai at the Bloomsbury meeting in Dec. 1897, London. Quoted in "the Indian National Congress" by John Murdoch, ILD London and Madras, 1898.
 8. 18th I. N. C. held at Ahmedabad in Dec. 1902, Bombay, 1903, P. 37.
 9. Dadabhai's presidential speech. Report of the Second Indian National Congress held in Calcutta, Dec. 1886.
 10. Dadabhai's speeches and writings. Second Edition, Nateshan Madras, P. 37.
 11. Dadabhai in his address declared it to be "the question of all questions". Congress Presidential Address. First series 1885 to 1910, Madras, P. 136.
 12. Report of the Second Indian National Congress, 1886. Calcutta, Central Book Company, P. 47.
 13. *Ibid.*, P. 61.
 14. Dadabhai in his address on the "condition of India" at Toynbee Hall on January 31, 1901 said: "... what was something like three millions at the beginning of the century has increased now to a tax of 30 or 40 millions". Speeches of Dadabhai, Second Edition—Nateshan, Madras P. 32.
 15. Report of the Second I. N. C. 1886, Calcutta, Central Book Co. Ltd., P. 47.
 16. *Ibid.*, P. 41.
 17. R. P. Masani, Dadabhai,—the G. O. M. of India, Bombay 1939, P. 83.
 18. Congress Presidential Addresses, 1885—1910, P. 423.
 19. *Ibid.*, P. 526.
 20. Presidential Addresses, 1906. Second Edition, Nateshan & Co., Madras.
 21. R. C. Dutt, *England and India*, London 1897, P. 155.
 22. R. C. Dutt's Presidential Address. Report of the 15th I. N. C. held at Lucknow in Dec. 1899, Pp. 13, 14, 15.
 23. Quoted in Dadabhai Naoroji—the G. O. M. of India, R. P. Masani, P. 192.
 24. A. C. Mazumdar, Indian National Evolution. Quoted in Renaissance, Nationalism and Social Changes in Modern India by K. K. Dutt, Book Land, Patna, P. 18.
 25. Members of the Second and Third Sessions of the Congress held respectively in Calcutta and Madras were invited to garden parties at the Government House by Lord Dufferin and Lord Connerare in 1887, *Ibid.*, P. 17.
 26. *The Modern World*, Vol. V. India, Chisol, London 1926, P. 189.
 27. Speeches of Dadabhai, Second Edition, Nateshan Madras, P. 240.
 28. Mr. S. N. Banerjee in his Presidential Address noted: "The industrial movement was flowing deep fraught with national ideals" The Proceedings of the I. N. C. held at Ahmedabad in Dec. 1902, Bombay 1903, P. 13.
 29. *The Indian Review*, May, 1910, P. 346.
 30. The proceedings of the I. N. C. held at Ahmedabad in Dec. 1902, Bombay, 1903, P. 44.
 31. Presidential Address at Lahore. Report of the proceedings of the 19th I. N. C. held at Madras in Dec. 1903. Nateshan & Co., Madras, P. 32.
 32. Surendra Nath Banerjee claimed "we have communicated the Promethean spark which has vitalized the dying embers of Indian national life in all its spheres. We claim that we have fanned them forth into a living flame, full of warmth and brightness and radiance. The proceedings, of the I. N. C. held at Ahmedabad in Dec. 1902, Bombay, 1903, P. 13.
 33. Chisol, *op. cit.*, London, 1926.
 34. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, First Series, 1885—1910, Madras, P. 698.
 35. Congress Presidential Addresses 1885—1910, Madras, P. 673.
 36. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movement in India*, Macmillan, P. 365.
 37. Congress Presidential Addresses, 1885—1910, P. 678.
 38. Naoroji Dadabhai, *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, London, 1910, P. 228.
 39. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, First Series, 1885—1890, P. 526.
 40. R. P. Masani, *op. cit.*, London, 1939.
 41. Naoroji, *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, London, 1901 P. 228.
 42. Report of the 31st I. N. C. held at Lucknow in Dec. 1916, Allahabad, 1917, P. 30.
 43. *H. S. Review*, Feb. 1903, Allahabad.

THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : THE SEQUEL

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

From our survey and analysis of the events till March 1917 it is clear that the U.S. Government were in possession of very vital information about the course of the Conspiracy. The net was being drawn. Important people were arrested. The pressure of the British Government was bearing fruit. Then, rather quickly the situation developed in such a manner that the advantages of American neutrality in the war were denied to the Indian revolutionaries and their accomplices. On March 18, 1917 the news came that German submarines had torpedoed three American ships. Two days later the Cabinet advised the President to ask Congress for a declaration of war. On April 2 President Wilson delivered his war message to Congress : "It is a fearful thing," he said, "to lead this great peaceful people into war.....But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy.....for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace.....and make the world itself at last free." On the 6th Congress passed the war declaration and the President signed it. The neutrality of the U.S.A. was at an end.

Quite a few of the remaining members of the Conspiracy were subsequently rounded up. A message from San Francisco dated April 7 1917 in the columns of the New York Times¹ says that Ram Chandra, editor of the Hindustan Gadar, regarded by the Federal authorities "as the leader of the Hindu revolutionaries in the United States was arrested today after the arrests of twelve other Hindus. "The Government was reported to have obtained evidence

showing that he had sent 1,500 men to India within the previous two months to start 'the revolution'. 1,500 men in two months at a time when the Government had virtually tracked the revolution appears to be a fantastic figure. But it is an index of the uneasy state of mind of the preservers of law and order.

The messages also says, "Franz Bopp, former German Consul General here, surrendered to Federal authorities on his return from St. Helena, Cal." and was taken to Fort McDowell on Angel Island. Bopp and two other Germans had been at liberty under bonds since their recent conviction of neutrality violations.

Law then took its own course. The Federal authorities decided to concentrate prosecution in San Francisco. 105 indictments were returned on July 7 by a Federal Grand Jury in the city. Har Dayal's name appeared on this list of 105. Evidently he and some others, being away were not on trial.² The defendants were accused of violating the neutrality of the United States. The trial opened on November 20. At the outset all the defendants pleaded not guilty. About a fortnight later, Lt. Wilhelm von Brincken, former military attache of the German Consulate in San Francisco indicated in his room in the United States Disciplinary barracks at Alcatraz island that he and some of his German colleagues intended to plead guilty to indictments charging violation of the neutrality laws of the United States.³ On December 5, 1917 Brincken, George Roedick, former German Consul General at Honolulu and H. R. Schroeder, former Secretary of the Honolulu Consulate pleaded guilty.⁴ On December 4 the District Attorney named ten defendants to testify for the U.S. They

were Leopold Michels, San Francisco importer, M. Martinez, San Diego broker, Ray Howard, Los Angeles Attorney, Capt. Ralph Russ, U.S.A.; John B. Starr-Hunt, super cargo on the steamer *Maverick*; Ernest Sekunna of New York; Walter C. Hughes, New York Transferman; Dowes Dekker, Dutch revolutionist; Harcharan Das; Tehl Singh.⁵

From the same news item we learn that Dekker was a defendant but was not on trial. It was said that the charge against him would be formally dismissed before he formally took the witness stand as a Government witness. Dekker, according to Federal officials, was a political fugitive from Batavia. He came to San Francisco more than three years before the trial on his way to India. He was reported to have had several meetings with Ram Chandra and other defendants. He was arrested by the British in Calcutta. Subsequently sentenced to death, Dekker's life was spared on the insistence of a political party in the East Indies. The Dutch Government intervened and offered to imprison him on the island of Timor for the British. While the negotiations were in progress, the U.S. Government made a request for his extradition which was granted.

Dekker, who was summoned to Berlin by the noted Indian revolutionist Barkutullah,⁶ was in league with the Berlin India Committee and was its paid agent receiving £500 a month, and "had undertaken to spread doctored German war news and propaganda throughout India."⁷ He was given the code of the Berlin Foreign Office in Amsterdam by Champakraman Pillai. He asserted that he had placed it in the hands of the British as far back as 1915. This is believed to have furnished the explanation for hundreds of arrests of German agents in all parts of the world made by England and her allies.

"Throughout the trial the Indians were a constant source of confusion" remarked an American scholar.⁸ There was some-

thing more. The Indians suspected that justice, under English pressure, would be uneven. The American police was cautioned by the British agencies against Indian attempts at coercion and intimidation of the prosecution witnesses. There were rifts among the German defendants: all of them did not plead guilty. There were sharp differences among the Indian defendants behind the scenes, leading, as we shall describe later, to the court room murder of a very prominent Indian revolutionary leader by a colleague. And that again when the trial had almost come to a close.

Right from the second day of the trial all of the Indian defendants were searched for weapons. "This action will be continued daily in view of a warning given by the Government officials of the British Consulate that attempts might be made to harm Hindoo witnesses testifying for the prosecution." On November 21 again, in view of the warning from the British Government, U.S. Attorney Preston and his assistant, Annette Adams refused "to disclose the identity of witnesses to be called today (Nov. 22). One hundred and fifty subpoenas have been issued by Preston bringing witnesses from all parts of the world." The important witnesses were quartered in a downtown hotel where they were under the protection of the Federal agents since their arrival in San Francisco.⁹

Some of the Indian witnesses could not express themselves adequately in English. An interpreter had to be appointed. The Indian defendants charged the Government interpreter W. B. Gould with translating incorrectly. "Have justice—this is farce—give us justice" cried the Indians when Gould translated one of the witness' answers. Judge van Fleet assured them—"Your Counsel will protect your rights."

On the heels of this outburst from the Indian defendants and the assurance from the judge Preston demanded that the alleged Indian conspirators be ordered into

custody for the remainder of the trial. The Prosecution asserted that Government witnesses had been approached and annoyed, that attempts had been made to bribe the employees of the Whitcomb hotel where the witnesses were stopping "to reveal the time they appeared on the streets." Preston further maintained that Bhagwan Singh was printing a newspaper in which articles about the trial appeared "which should not be printed."¹⁰

As the trial progressed a few of the Indian accused, particularly Ram Chandra, continued their political propaganda. On February 26, 1918 Ram Chandra addressed a plea for Indian freedom to President Wilson. In closing his appeal Ram Chandra said: "India, Ireland, Egypt, Persia, Morocco, Malaya—these are all subject states. They should be represented in the peace conference, not by the Governments which dominate them, but by representatives of their own selection. Let not this war be ended, Mr. President, until their freedom has been achieved. For this they will be grateful to you. If you accomplish this your name will shine for ever, and with the luster that is now reserved for Abraham Lincoln among the galaxy of immortals."¹¹

The defence of the Indian conspirators and a few others was opened on February 28, 1918 by Attorney George A. McGowan. "We intend to show," he said, "that the Government of Great Britain has broken every promise it has made to them. We expect to show that the U.S. refused to deport them, after they had been hounded to this country from Canada and elsewhere." Ireland, McGowan pointed out, "has 100 votes in the British Parliament. India, with her 300,00,000 inhabitants, has not one single vote in that body." McGowan produced copies of the Gadar quoting liberty appeals by Patrick Henry, George Washington and Lincoln and President Wilson. He asserted that the whole case was being tried at the initiation of the British Govern-

ment. McGowan's severe denunciation of the British Government's rule in India brought Preston to his feet who maintained that the former's invectives were "scurrilous, unpatriotic and almost treasonable." He demanded that the entire motion be struck off the record. The Court overruled him.¹² Incidentally, the chief Counsel for the Indian revolutionaries was Theodore Roche.

Excitement and tension kept up the liveliness of the trial which went on for a little over five months. A sensational climax was, however, furnished on April 23 when a ghastly tragedy took place in the court room itself. It happened just at the lunch break. District Attorney Preston had finished his closing argument. Judge William C. van Fleet announced that he would charge the jury in the afternoon. He then left the bench and entered the chambers. The lawyears and the spectators arose to leave the room. Ram Chandra arose and started across the room. Ram Singh, his co-worker also arose, raised his revolver and fired. Ram Chandra staggered forward and fell dead before the witness chair "with a bullet in his heart and two others in his body." Almost simultaneously, Ram Singh too was shot and killed by United States Marshal James B. Holohan, who fired across the room over the heads of the attorneys. Holohan's shot broke Ram Singh's neck.¹³ The court room drama was a poignant tragedy. It raised the pitch of excitement very high. It was also a sad and unsavoury end to the story of an unsuccessful bid to foment revolution in India from abroad during the First World War.

Next day, in the course of an editorial on the San Francisco court murders the New York Times said: "to be sure the reckless villain in this week's romance was of foreign, not of native growth and of a race from which nothing at all is expected in the way of rapid and accurate pistol practice....."

The motives that prompted Ram Singh to indulge in this vile act—an indulgence which cost him own life—are shrouded in mystery. The assassin was dead and could not explain his conduct. "The Hindus themselves held to their own counsel." They said nothing¹⁴ The authorities either could not, or, would not unravel the mystery. Judge van Fleet began an investigation which suggested that Ram Singh had obtained his weapon in the course of a brief recess in the morning session, when he had wandered out in the corridor for a moment. Santokh Singh, a defendant was isolated from the others and interrogated.¹⁵ Sunder Singh Galli, another defendant, said he had seen Santokh hand over the revolver to Ram Singh. Santokh denied the charge.¹⁶ One development out of all this was a postponement of the sentencing of Galli by Judge van Fleet at the request of Preston. He was wanted as a witness in the Grand Jury probe of the murder of Ram Chandra.¹⁷ The story of the actual probe and its findings are not known to me. In any case, the actual cause and motives of the murder were not unearthed, or, they were not made public. Under the circumstances, the scope for speculation was widened, and, Ram Chandra, the intrepid leader of the Gadar Party in the U.S.A. became a controversial figure in the history of Indian revolutionary activity in that country.

Investigation by the police and the Federal authorities on April 24 established the fact that the court room murder of Ram Chandra had been plotted as early as April 4. On that date Ram Singh purchased the revolver with which he committed the murder at the pawn shop of William Schnaiz, 219 Kearny Street. "Comparison of the signatures of the murderer, together with the description given by employees of the pawn shop, definitely established the fact."¹⁸

That factiousness and jealousies within the ranks of the Indian revolutionary groups were an important contributory factor

leading to a failure of their programme is incontestable. This has been amply borne out in the previous papers in this series. It is not unlikely that Ram Chandra was a victim of this group factionalism heightened by the stories of failure which were brought out in the course of the trial. H. L. Gupta and Dr. C. K. Chakravarty had got themselves involved in an unseemly quarrel long before the trial began. Chakravarty and Ram Chandra had disagreed over the general programme of the conspiracy. The latter's propaganda technique and the expenses it involved had been frowned upon by the German paymasters. But factionalism among the Californian Gadars was at its worst towards the close of the conspiracy. We shall take it up a little later.

Much has been made of the factor of money by way of explaining the factiousness and the court room murder. The Prosecution lawyer Preston said, "As I understand it the evidence shows, and it certainly warrants the belief if it does not absolutely demonstrate it, that these men fell out with Ram Chandra because he squandered the German funds."¹⁹ Preston, as we see, believes. He has no conclusive evidence to fall back upon. In the earlier part of the trial proceedings, he says, "We will show you that Ram Chandra has \$9,000 out in a house, No. 5 Wood Street, in this city (San Francisco)." But he also says, Chakravarty got \$80,000 out of these boys. \$40,000 he still has.....Mr. Sarkar has \$3,000 of German money in his jeans which he has never accounted for. In other words, there was a large element of graft in this proposition. as there is in nearly all other proposition of this kind. This story will have its love and sentimental side before it is over."²⁰

Even if we assume that the grouse of his colleagues against Ram Chandra regarding the misappropriation and misuse of the Conspiracy funds had some basis, it passes one's comprehension why Ram Chandra was singled out. He was neither the only

nor the worst offender in this respect. Some of his colleagues, as is clear, had much larger funds at their disposal when they were arrested. But much evidently was made of the unsubstantiated charge against him. For some time past before the arrests and the trial, there seems to have been a concerted drive against Ram Chandra. Chakravarty appointed Harish Chandra "to become an auditor to look over the German accounts of Ram Chandra. And he rendered two decisions, one that he had stolen the money and another that he had not stolen the money."²¹ A very revealing probe indeed! And that again by a man whose own integrity was highly questionable.

Ram Chandra dead could not reply to the insinuations made against him. The hostile faction sought to build up a case against him. The insinuations could not be refuted. The end of the trial and the changed circumstances coupled with the sorry failure of the revolutionary programme as a whole, divested the entire episode of its excitement and interest. No serious attempt was made to solve the mystery of the court room murder.

The intrepid Hindu revolutionary from Peshwar had succeeded Har Dayal as the organiser and leader of the Gadar movement in San Francisco. There is hardly any room for doubt that his propaganda technique had failed to produce the desired results. Large sums of money had been spent on it and the Berlin India Committee had disapproved of it. But Ram Chandra continued to be too important to be ignored. He was strongwilled, occasionally imperious and uncompromising, and excited the jealousy of his colleagues. Internal feud and rivalry weakened his position. It may not be a wild conjecture to suggest that towards the end communal considerations weighed with the California group of revolutionaries. As the trial went on stories of energies wasted and money misspent, of schemes going awry and sacrifices ending

in futility and frustration, of inefficient organisation and inadequate leadership mounted up. Frustration clouds one's vision. It is not unlikely that some of the Indian defendants were enraged because nothing had come out of the conspiracy.

Ram Chandra added to their annoyance by his independent line of thinking, disregard of the necessity of prior consultation and his inexhaustible power to fight on. Take, for instance, the following extracts from a news item in a San Francisco newspaper. "When Chandra addressed a letter to Judge Van Fleet two weeks ago asking, for the Court's help in securing important witnesses from other parts of the country and declaring the willingness of the Hindu defendants to die for their cause, several countrymen took him to task for the action." Or again, "Chandra incurred the enmity of Ram Singh, Bhagwan Singh and others by taking the initiative in several matters important to the defense without consulting his attorney or associates."²²

The split within the Gadar ranks was older than the trial. Prior to the split, Ram Singh, the assassin was a strong supporter of Ram Chandra and in 1915 "toured China, Japan and the Philippine islands in the interest of the revolt conspiracy, Ram Chandra supplying the funds." Prior to that he is said to have made a small fortune in Vancouver in Canada. The split saw him join the faction headed by Bhagwan Singh.²³ In March 1917, Ram Chandra published an article in the Gadar denouncing Bhagwan Singh, Ram Singh and Santokh Singh. The article said in part: "Bhagwan Singh, Santokh Singh and Ram Singh, who in Canada fleeced the poor of thousands of dollars and spent it on pleasure, mingled themselves with the crowd of undesirables of the same kidney as themselves, and they got permission of an entire machine through our kindness, which they used to write against the Brethren, and, worst of all, at this unpropitious moment, when America was about to declare war on Germany.

They left nothing undone to bring criticism and blame on the editor and ourselves. In the end, driven to desperation, we expelled Bhagwan Singh, Santokh Singh and Ram Singh from the Asram, and, as before, so now we are doing our work conscientiously and lovingly."²⁴ Thus the California Gadar organization finally broke into two factions. They split up. "They have two papers going on here now."²⁵

That the differences between the two factions persisted even when they were facing the trial is beyond doubt. Ram Chandra was accused by the members of the opposing faction of using the German money to further his own particular purposes. On several occasions Bhagwan Singh 'so-called leader of the reactionary Hindu revolutionary party' reproached him. Disregarding the protests, the Hindu editor continued his work.²⁶

If by the accusation of furthering 'his own particular purposes' Ram Chandra's critics meant his expensive but not very fruitful propaganda methods, his pamphleteering and running of the News Service—the fact of his being in the lime-light and 'catching the public eye'—then the charges are understandable. Though vague and indefinite they were born out of a spirit of rivalry and jealousy. One is prepared to concede that Ram Chandra with all his patriotism and qualities of leadership was, perhaps, unwise in his choice of methods for furthering the cause of the revolution. But to insinuate and conclude without adequate evidence that the idealist revolutionary leader had used the funds for his own personal benefit is to do him grave injustice. A revolutionary lives and dies for a cause. Even if his mission fails he wants his reputation for honesty and integrity to go untarnished. The ill-fated Ram Chandra did not live to defend himself against the calumny that was spread against him. It is time that a serious attempt was made to unravel the mystery of his murder.

Earlier, we have quoted a newspaper report which again, had quoted an article written by Ram Chandra in which some members of the Gadar organization were charged with squandering money on pleasure. An independent assessment of one of them by M. N. Roy agrees well with Ram Chandra's description of this colleague of his. Roy had accidentally met Bhagwan Singh when the latter was on his way back to America after his unsuccessful "mission to go to Burma and incite the Indian troops stationed there to mutiny." Roy met him on board a German gunboat lying mid-stream on the river between Nanking and Pukow. Roy describes Bhagwan Singh as a disagreeable companion, "who had picked up many vulgarities of the American 'Herman' without losing any of the equally objectionable native characteristics." Roy found the company of his fellow stowaway "rather disgusting" and managed to part company with him at the Kobe harbour.²⁷ But moral scruples apart, Bhagwan Singh was, in the estimate of John Preston, "the brains of the whole enterprise.....He is a shrewd man. He is a dangerous man though. We have him here with just six false names in this record. At the time he was arrested he was making across the border; he said he was an English Jew going over to see an American girl."²⁸ Whatever that might be, the story gained some currency that Ram Chandra "had left Bhagwan, the poet, without funds even for his own defense when the trial came."²⁹

One may reasonably ask—Is the charge of misappropriation of public funds by Ram Chandra for personal benefit really true? Where is the conclusive evidence? The stories circulated by interested groups should be accepted with a good deal of caution. On the other hand, impartial evidence not only gives the much-maligned Ram Chandra the benefit of the doubt but almost exonerates him of the accusation. Here is a news item from a San Francisco newspaper. "Within an hour after Ram

Chandra, editor of the Hindoostan Gadar, had been arrested in San Francisco, together with twelve associates, on a charge of fomenting a revolution in India, wealthy Mohammedan Indians in this city began preparations to provide bail money for their leader as soon as the amount was fixed.³⁰ The American reporter may have mistaken the bearded Sikhs for Moslems. Or, in the absence of the cooperation of the Sikhs, the moslems may have come to the rescue of Ram Chandra in his hour of crisis. What we should take note of is the fact that Ram Chandra failed to secure the bail money himself. Chandra Chakravarty, it may be remembered, had no difficulty in providing the bail money himself. If Ram Chandra had really the funds would he not have furnished the bail money himself? There appears, therefore, a lot of sense in what another news item said.³¹ "Declaring first of all his devotion to the cause of freeing India, Chandra, who was on bail, continued to live in poverty with a young wife and two children in a bare one-room apartment in the south San Francisco section while he continued to fight the charges of prosecution."

To turn back to the trial itself. Here are the outstanding dates of the San Francisco trial:—

July 7, 1917—Indictments returned
 July 30—Defendants arraigned for trial
 November 21—Jury secured
 November 22—Trial opens to take testimony
 April 17, 1918—Arguments begin
 April 23—Arguments close; case goes to the Jury.

Of the original 105 defendants, 29 were convicted, 3 had changed their pleas to guilty, I was found not guilty, 2 were dead, I had been adjudged insane, 34 and the remainder either had fled the country or become Government witnesses.³⁵

Finally, on April 30, 1918 Federal Judge van Fleet pronounced his judgement as indicated below.

1. Franz Bopp—2 years at Mcneil island and a fine of \$10,000
2. E. H. von Shack—same as Bopp
3. Robert Capelle—15 months at Mcneil island and a fine of \$7,500
4. Joseph L. Blay—15 months at Mcneil island and a fine of \$5,000
5. Henry W. Kauffmann—\$5,000 Or six months in the county jail
6. Louis T. Hengstler—\$5,000 fine
7. Charles Lattendorff—One year at the Alameda County jail
8. Walter Sanarbach—12 months in the Alameda County jail and a fine of \$2,000
9. Harry J. Hart—Six months in the Alameda County jail and a fine of \$5,000
10. J. Clyde Hizar—1 year in the Alameda County jail and a fine of \$5,000
11. Lt. William von Brincken—2 years at Mcneil island, to run concurrently with neutrality sentence of 2 years
12. Bernard Manning—9 months in Alameda County jail and a fine of \$1,000

13. Edward Deinet—10 months in Alameda County jail and a fine of \$1,500
14. Heinrich Eelbo—6 months in Alameda County jail and a fine of \$1,000
15. Moritz Stack von Goitzheim—6 months in Alameda County jail and a fine of \$1,000
16. Bhagwan Singh—18 months at Mcneil island
17. Dr. C. K. Chakravarty—30 days in Alameda County jail and a fine of \$5,000.
18. Godha Ram—11 months in Alameda County jail
19. Taraknath Das—22 months at Mcneil island
20. Munshi Ram—60 days in San Francisco County jail
21. Imam Din—4 months in the same jail
22. Naranjan Das—6 months in the same jail
23. Bishan Singh Hindi—9 months in Alameda County jail
24. Santokh Singh—21 months at Mcneil island
25. Gopal Singh—One year and one day in Alameda County jail
26. Nidhan Singh—4 months in the same jail
27. Mahadeo Abaji Nandekar—3 months in San Francisco County jail
28. Gobind Behari Lal—10 months in the same jail
29. Dharendra Sarkar—4 months in the same jail

Federal Judge van Fleet also warned the Indian defendants against carrying on their propaganda any longer through their publications. "The public is in a frame of mind not to further tolerate propaganda against the allies of the United States. Where the Government does not take steps to stop propaganda directed at its allies, the people are liable to take the law into their own hands. There have been instances of this kind. I would advise all of you to discontinue your propaganda when you are again at liberty."

Thus ended the attempt of the Indian revolutionists to foment a revolution in

India from abroad. Despite van Fleet's warning, however, the agitation in favour of Indian Independence was started afresh by the Indian nationalists and the American sympathisers of the Indian cause some-time after the end of the war. The Indian struggle for emnicipation under the auspices of the Congress and the leadership of Gandhiji got an increasingly favourable press in the United States. Indian nationalist resident in America changed their technique in accordance with new political thinking in the home country. That story is, however, outside the scope of this study.

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1. *The New York Times*, April 8, 1917, 1, 20 : 4.

A news item in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, dated April 8, 1917, (p. 32) says, "Ram Chandra has been under surveillance of detectives of the W. A. Mundell Agency for two months. Mundell is in the employ of the British Government." Evidently the British Governmental agencies were making themselves more and more pronounced. This finds corroboration in Robert Morss Lovett's *All Our Years* (p. 157). "Das (Taraknath) told me later how his apartment had been searched without a warrant, by Sir George Denham, head of the British Police at Calcutta, with the complicity of local authorities."

2. *The San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 1917. The highly displayed news item also says that nine Hindus, Baron Kurt Von Reiszwitz, former German Consul at Chicago, Gustav H. Jacobsen, real estate dealer; Albert M. Wehde, art dealer and George Paul Boehm had been indicated by Federal Grand Jury in Chicago prior to the decision to centralize the prosecutions in San Francisco.

3. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1917, p. 1. "I think we can serve our country best by pleading guilty and avoiding further exposures in court proceedings", he said, "Every nation at war is bound to be involved in conspiracies, and the less said about these cases the better it will be for Germany. But if we don't plead guilty tomorrow I believe we never will." Brincken was son-in-law of George A. McGowan, a Defense Counsel.—*San Francisco Examiner*, December 7, 1917, p. 11.

4. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 6.

5. *Ibid.*, December 5, p. 11.
6. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 6, 1917.
7. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1917, p. 12.
8. Giles T. Brown, *op. cit.*
9. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 22, 1917, p.3
10. *ibid.*, December 6, 1917, p.1
11. *ibid.*, February 27, 1918, p.9
12. *The New York Times*, March 1, 1918, 4 : 5
13. *ibid.*, April 24, 1918, 1 : 2
14. *San Francisco Examiner*, April 24, 1918, p.1
15. *The New York Times*, April 24, 1918, 1:2 p.9
16. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1918, p.9
17. *ibid.*, May 1, 1918, p.5
18. *ibid.*, April 25, 1918, p.9
19. Trial records, p. 6875
20. *ibid.*, p. 20
21. *ibid.*, p.6879
22. *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 23, 1918 (5.P.M. edition).
23. Mrs. Ram Chandra told the writer that her husband met Bhagwan Singh for the first time in 1911 in Hongkong. Ram Chandra sent for him early in 1915 and because he was an effective speaker Singh was sent on several missions outside the U.S. They were not successful and Singh was recalled to San Francisco. It was after this that disputes over leadership arose and eventually led to a break between the two friends.
24. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1918,
25. Trial records, p. 6875
26. *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 23, 1918 (5 P.M.edition)

RAMESHWARI NEHRU PASSES ON

SOMNATH DHAR

Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, popularly known as 'Mataji' is no more. She passed on, in New Delhi, in the small hours of November 8, 1966. On the following day, the news of the demise of an outstanding social worker, who was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, in his countrywide movement of the uplift of Harijans, was frontpaged in most papers in India. In an editorial tribute to Mataji, the *Tribune* calling her "a great social reformer", and mentioning how her work with Mahatma Gandhi gave her a purpose in life, concluded : "The work done by Mataji in the service of the country will long be remembered by her countrymen." The papers mentioned that she had been awarded the Padma Bhushan in 1956 by the President for the services she had rendered to the people of India, in the form of social welfare work. It was a fitting tribute to a great lady when the Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, placed a wreath on her body, and the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan sent a wreath.

Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru was a founder of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. She visited Cairo in this connection. In 1954 she

Born in 1886, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru toured the Soviet Union. A powerful advocate

of disarmament, she led a non-official delegation to the world conference against nuclear bombs and for disarmament in Tokyo in 1957. She attended the Disarmament Congress at Stockholm in 1958, and was representative of the Disarmament Congress to the Secretary-General of the United Nations at New York. During recent years, before the death of her husband, the late Brijlal Nehru, and her consequent illness, she travelled far and wide, in the cause of world peace. In 1961, she was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize.

Publications of Rameshwari Nehru include "Gandhi is My Star" (Pustak Bhandar, Patna). This is a collection of her speeches and writings, and gives a complete review of the women's movement in India as well as the movement for the uplift of Harijans under the aegis of Mahatma Gandhi. She was also the author of a Hindi publication *Manas Vikas Ki Jhalak*. In 1950-51, the reviewers appreciating "Gandhi is My Star", called Mataji "a dynamic personality," "a great fighter for women's causes", whose "guiding star" was Mahatma Gandhi. "In Rameshwari's worship-laden words one finds yet another angle of the many-faceted personality that was the Mahatma".

The speeches and writings, mostly from articles, and speeches, were edited by me in the winter of 1945, when Mataji was living in Lahore, at 2 Warris Road, the princely residence of the late Raja Narendra Nath. I had the distinction of living in the same suite in which Jawaharlalji and Maulana Azad had stayed. During that period of two months—my vacation period from the S.P. College, Srinagar, where I was a lecturer—I had the opportunity to study Mataji closely. It was always an inspiration to see her follow her daily routine, starting with the morning newspapers, and letters, and going on to meetings and conferences, and ending with dinners and study. The day's programme, jotted down on a used invitation card, was always followed punctiliously. Later, after the Kashmir raid by Pakistan, I worked with her in the Ministry of Rehabilitation, for about a year when I was a Regional Rehabilitation Officer. In that capacity, I had the further opportunity to observe how she used to follow her routine.

The title "Gandhi Is My Star" given to her publication by Y.G. Krishnamurti, the literary adviser of Pustak Bhandar publishers, was not

chosen as a selling point. Mataji was 'mother' to the whole Harijan community of India, and in that capacity, Gandhiji's most trusted lieutenant in the movement. Right from 1934, when she started her drive for Harijans' temple entry in the Tamil Nad, she battled through her long life for the uplift and welfare of the Harijans. It was no coincidence, therefore, that that after the holocaust of the partition, she and her husband, the late Brijlal Nehru, left Lahore, and in New Delhi, she set to work evacuating refugees, recovering abducted women and giving comfort and succour specially to Harijans who were being evacuated from Pakistan. Soon after I joined the Harijan Section of the Ministry of Rehabilitation, I was deputed by her on Special duty, in April 1948, to evacuate refugees from remote pockets of West Pakistan. I had a tough time of it in the Multan district and precincts of Lahore. I remember how Mataji was happy when I told her the story in Delhi how the hapless Harijans had been evacuated in the dead of night from their village homes. And later, when I was in charge of rehabilitation of the Harijan refugees in Bikaner, and rehabilitated six thousands of them in that State, she was truly delighted. During the three months I was at this job in Ganganagar (Bikaner), I used to receive regular instructions from her, when I reported to her and the Director of the Section. I left the Harijan Section in 1949 to join the *Hindustan Times* in May 1949, from where I graduated to my present post in the External Publicity Division. But whenever we came to Delhi—returning from my London and Kuala Lumpur assignments of four years each—we would meet Mataji and Papaji (that is how the late Brijlal Nehru, her revered husband, was called). In 1962, when we had returned from a four-year term in Malaya, we found them living in the Harijan Sewak Sangh colony. Mataji, after resigning her honorary assignment with the Rehabilitation Ministry, had given up her official residence in Lodi Road, New Delhi, to live in this colony in Deilhi. The last time we saw her, she was in failing health, in Washington, at the residence of her elder son. Shri B.K. Nehru.

In this humble tribute to a lady, who was great because of her lifelong, Gandhian dedication to the cause of suffering, it is well worth noting

that she was always so immersed in her activities and her well-regulated routine that she never had the time or the aptitude for tantrums or temper. Her devotion to Mahatma Gandhi was matched by her admiration for Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and what he stood for in regenerating independent India. It was at her Srinagar residence that I met Jawaharlal Nehru for the first time in June 1945, when Shri Brijlal Nehru was the Financial Adviser to the Jammu and Kashmir Government, and Jawaharlal was the President of the Indian National Congress. Sitting at a meal with the Nehrus, it was interesting to hear Jawaharlalji talk of water alcohol and various products that could be manufactured in India once the country were free. While attending to the nice Kashmiri dishes that were being served, Mataji was gently prodding him with questions. There, in Srinagar, later on, she started the drive for the collection of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, an activity in which I was closely associated with her for about six months in Srinagar and Lahore.

It was in Srinagar that I told Mataji that I would rather give up my teaching job in Srinagar. I would like to join the *National Herald*, with which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was associated. She wrote to him. Jawaharlal's reply from Allahabad, dated November 10, 1945, addressing her as usual as Bijju Bhabhi, was characteristic of him and he said about me in part: "I met S.N. Dhar did not read his book. I took him for granted because of your recommendation. People don't seem to realise that newspaper work, often dull work, requires initiative and experience. No one can be a newspaperman unless he has gone through the mill. A newcomer however able must go through it in order to learn the ABC of the business. The *Herald* is being restarted soon and we dare not have newcomers to begin with. They clog the machine. I am however sending Dhar's application to the Editor and letting him decide..."

Two years later, in 1947, I received a letter from Mataji, from Lahore (dated October 14, 1947) which bespoke the anguish she has gone through. Inter alia, she wrote: "I can hardly tell you of how we passed the last ten weeks. We verily waded through rivers of blood and the dance of death is not over yet. But I am sore at heart and tired and therefore I am trying to leave this place as soon as possible. Besides, the work at Lahore is almost over for it has practically been cleared of all the Kaffirs and has become a true Pakistan". Then, she went on to express fears about the Kashmir news trickling from Poonch and Muzzarabad ("has declared independence"?), which were to be proved too true when a raid on Kashmir from across the border took place within the next fortnight.

Here was a true disciple of Gandhiji, whether she served the Harijans or the cause of women or children in the various organisations which she was associated with all the time. Even when her health was failing, as in the late fifties and later, she was as energetic as she used to be, never refusing to be associated with any social work on activity aimed at ameliorations the lot of unhappy people. Once she was associated with an organisation, she just would not lend her name to it. She would go through the aims and objects, and keep a tag on the activities, to ensure that these were realised in practice.

INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

Prof. ARJUNRAO DARSHANKAR

The Continuous increase in setting up of public enterprises and huge expenditure on them has raised the question of accountability of public undertakings. Members of parliament have always thought that the control of parliament should be more effective on public undertakings as they are financed by "tax-payers" money. Not in India alone, but in other countries of the world too, particularly in U. K. and France, there was a demand for an effective control over the public undertakings, which has been solved by appointing suitable select committees to go into the matter of public undertakings.

In France the public sector is fairly extensive. It includes certain mixed enterprises in which the government share-holding varies from 3 per cent to 99 per cent. Apart from the usual means of questions and debates, the French parliament has developed certain special devices to ensure greater control over public enterprises. The most important device for this purpose is the setting up of a Sub-committee of each Finance Committee of both Houses to follow and examine the functioning of the nationalized enterprises. The measure is to make information available to the Finance Committee and to the French Parliament.¹

In U. K. members on both sides of the House were discontented with the inadequacy of parliamentary information about the nationalised industries. There have been several occasions on which PAC did think

it fit to exercise this right, but its examination of the nationalized industries was always rather cursory and never particularly enlightening. Many devices were thought of and members of parliament approved the idea of a select committee. Mr. Morrison, however, was not satisfied with the proposed Select Committee. He advocated an ad-hoc committee of Inquiry. He said that the proposed Select Committee would lack authority on matters of managerial or industrial efficiency, and would tend to create, among the ordinary business men, who are running in the main, the publicly-owned industries...a rather red-tapish-unadventurous and conventionally civil service frame of mind. He reiterated his preference for the periodical ad-hoc committee of Inquiry, composed of competent business people who know the ropes of business organisation and management and of ordinary good citizens, with a certain number of parliamentarians.³

In 1953 a parliamentary committee of U. K., strongly recommended the appointment of a Select Committee, but the action was actually taken on 16th March, 1955, when a select committee on nationalised Industries was constituted. Owing to shortage of time the committee could not issue any report though it met twice. Again after the general election a new committee was constituted on 7th July, 1955. From then onwards the committee has been functioning satisfactorily.

In India also a demand was made in parliament for the first time by Shri Lanka

Sundaram M. P. in 1953. Again in 1956 it was urged by Shri G. D. Somani. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the then Finance Minister, who agreed in principle on the constitution of a committee, suggested that the time was not ripe for the constitution of a separate Select Committee in India.

He praised the work of PAC and E.C., which were examining the accounts of public undertakings. On his suggestion a standing sub-committee on public undertakings consisting of 15 members was appointed in May 1959 to facilitate a thorough examination of State undertakings.

In making its recommendations on public enterprises the committee seems to have been guided by the following consideration.

1. Public undertakings, to be successful, must be run on efficient business principles and practice.
2. Public enterprises need to be managed by capable managerial personnel with business acumen and aptitude, and
3. the public character of enterprises calls for parliamentary and governmental control to avoid waste in expenditure of public funds and to ensure the fulfilment of the general and particular objectives of the enterprises. The operation of the enterprises on business principles, on the other hand, necessitates the maximum possible internal autonomy. Both these considerations need to be properly balanced in setting policies, determining organization and relationships and laying down procedures for the enterprises.

Though in the beginning the Sub-Committee

did not enjoy the powers of the main committee for the purpose of examination of witnesses etc., but in 1959 these powers were given to it. After some time, along with the annual election of the Estimates Committee, consisting of the members of the Lok-Sabha, a sub-committee on public undertakings, used to be appointed from amongst the members of the main committee. For all practical purposes the Sub-Committee acted in the same manner as did the main Committee except that on conclusion of the examination, its reports went to the whole committee for final adoption.⁵ Here it must be noted that this Sub-committee made many recommendations of far-reaching importance.

Though on 21st September, 1963, Mr. Nityananda Kanungo, the then minister for Industry announced in the Lok-Sabha the constitution of a committee on public undertakings, it was not until May 1, 1964, that the committee actually started functioning.

Organisation

The newly constituted Indian Committee on public undertakings is composed of both the members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, like that of the PAC. The Committee consists of 15 members, 10 from Lok Sabha, and 5 from Rajya Sabha, elected by means of single transferable vote. The members of Rajya Sabha have equal status with the members of the Lok Sabha. It should be noted here that its counterpart in U. K. consists of 13 members of the House of Commons drawn from all parties in approximate proportion to their numbers in the House.⁶ Like that in the E.C. and PAC, no minister is

eligible for its membership. If any member or chairman of this committee is appointed a minister, he ceases to be a member of this committee.

Tenure of the new committee is the duration of the present Lok Sabha, though it was proposed that the tenure of the members of the committee should be five years with one-fifth of the members retiring every year by rotation. In the debate several members pointed out that this would cause difficulties, as every member was not likely to be re-elected in the new election to Parliament.⁷

Functions of the Committee

As the name goes, the main function of the committee relates to public undertakings. It was stated that it would examine the reports, accounts and audit reports of public undertakings to see whether they are being managed in accordance with "Sound business principles and prudent commercial practices" and perform all the functions of the estimates committee and public accounts committee in relation to these undertakings.⁸ Further it was stated that the committee will also examine in the context of the autonomy and efficiency of the public undertakings whether the affairs of these undertakings are being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices. The committee would have the widest possible powers to go into any aspect of the management of public undertaking. Such as production, finance or any other thing.⁹

Procedure of the Committee

The procedure of the committee is the same as that of E. C. and PAC. As soon as estimates are presented to Parliament, it is understood that the estimates related to public enterprises are referred to this committee. As it is not possible to undertake a detailed

scrutiny of all established undertakings, on whom so far 2,000 crores of rupees have already been spent, the committee selects a few of them every year and examines them and reports the matter to Parliament. In the same manner when the audit report of the public enterprises is presented to Parliament, it is deemed that it is referred to this committee which in turn conducts a detailed examination of accounts.

This committee also examines the various representatives of the public enterprises. Here it may be noted that the work of the cross-examination is not easy for this committee. They have to use all types of tactics to know the real matter on the subject. The committee visits various enterprises and studies the situation on the spot and finds out the error in it. After completing the cross-examination and various examinations the committee prepares its recommendations and forwards them to the parliament.

The committee, though only two years old, has suggested some important things. In its seventh report the committee has asked the government to clearly enunciate the economic, financial and social responsibilities of the public undertakings, so that they are well understood by the management of these undertakings.¹⁰

The Committee in its eighth report has made a very strong plea for economy in State-owned industries, on construction of township and factory building. It has also expressed that public undertakings should function as model employers".¹¹

The committee has expressed concern at the "extreme dependence of public sector projects on foreign consultants and collaborations. In its report on the management and administration of public undertakings, the

committee has pointed out that there is hardly any Industrial undertaking in the public sector which have been set up without foreign consultation or collaboration. By now, the committee says, it should have been possible for the country to have acquired enough technical knowledge to set up some projects with Indian know-how. But it seems no conscious effort has been made in this direction.¹²

Evaluation :

It is difficult to say at this moment, when the committee has completed only 2 years of work, whether the committee is doing satisfactory work or the powers given to it are sufficient or not. But it is an established fact that the committee cannot function smoothly if the required powers are not given to it. It should demand the increase in its jurisdiction as it was done by its counterpart in U. K.

The Select Committee of 1955 in U. K. was not satisfied with the terms of reference of the committee. It said that in its opinion the order of reference as drafted, leaves insufficient scope to make enquiries or to obtain further information regarding the nationalized Industries which would be of any real use to the House.¹³ On 30th November, 1956, Mr. R. A. Butler moved a motion which stated that a Select Committee be appointed to examine the reports and accounts of the nationalized Industries establishment by Statutes whose controlling Boards are appointed by the Minister of the Crown and whose annual receipts are not wholly or mainly derived from moneys provided by Parliament or advanced by the Exchequer.¹⁴

The Committee on public undertakings can achieve positive results only when it

gains the confidence of the Boards of Public enterprises. It should try to understand the peculiar problems of each industry. The committee should not give the impression that it is suspicious of the Boards or it is sword of damocles hanging over their heads. This is essential to avoid the fear complex in the Boards and also playing for safety. The Board should be made to believe that in the decision which they take in the interest of public enterprise, they would not be let down or exposed by the committee.¹⁵ The committee has to strike a balance between the ministerial responsibility and authority of the public enterprise. It should also avoid expressing its opinion on technical matters of the enterprise. For proper functioning of the committee "a good leadership" should come from its chairman.

The Indian Committee should also try to work on the broad lines of its counterpart in U. K. The Select Committee, there works on the following lines.¹⁶

1. Attitude of the Board—Whether they were carrying out a public service or doing a commercial job.
2. Degree of ministerial interference—its direct and indirect effects on the decisions of the enterprise.
3. Continuance of the un-economic services.
4. Control of capital investment.

If the measures noted in above paragraphs are implemented the Parliamentary control over public enterprise, will become very effective. The nature and extent of Parliamentary control is set out clearly in para 155 of Krishna Menon Committee report on Public undertakings. It reads—"Parliamentary control will become more real with

the knowledge that parliament will be concerned more with policy and with the advancement of the objects of production as a whole and that it would take a long term view rather than concern itself with the minutiae of administration. It would not be the intention of Parliament that its control should be, or should appear as a challenge or hindrance to the initiative of the man at the bench or at the desk. Parliament would desire its control to be real and gainful."

1. Balwantroy Mehta—Public enterprise and Parliamentary Control I.J.P.A.—April—June, 1958.

2. A. H. Hanson—Parliamentary and Public Ownership—P. 125.

3. *Ibid.*, P. 133.

4. J. P. Sharma—Research Notes—I.J.-P.A.—Jan.—March, 1965, P. 85.

5. H. C. Dassappa—Parliamentary Control and Accountability of Public Undertakings—I.J.-P.A. April—June, 1961.

6. Toby Low—The Select Committee on Nationalized Industries on Public Administration, London—Spring, 1962, P. 1.

7. *Indian Express*—19 November, 1963.

8. *Ibid.*,—19 November, 1963.

9. *Ibid.*,—3rd December, 1963.

10. *Ibid.*,—26th April, 1965.

11. *Ibid.*,—5th May, 1965.

12. *Times of India*—12th December, 1965.

13. D. N. Chester—The Select Committee on Nationalized Industries Spring, 1956.

14. A. H. Hanson, P. 144.

15. G. Rami Reddy—The Estimate Committee and the Parliamentary Committee on Public Enterprises in India—*The Modern Review*, October, 1964, P. 305.

16. *Ibid.*, P. 306.

JACK LINDSAY AND THE TRAGIC PRINCIPLE

Prof. G. V. ANIKIN

Jack Lindsay, an exponent of socialist realism in English literature today, has contributed a good deal to the development of the aesthetics of socialist realism. The writer's views on this problem include also interesting ideas about the tragic as an aesthetic principle.

Western criticism blames socialist realism for notorious one-sidedness, for inability to include elements of the tragic in its concept of heroic freedom. Socialist realism is being blamed even for the inexorable bidding of non-humane 'heroic pathetic principle' which allegedly does not allow a writer to think over the still persisting foibles of man, to think about fear of illnesses and tragedy of death. It is easy to disprove

these fancied charges against socialist realism with a few random examples from the literary works of Jack Lindsay. Socialist realism does not evade the tragic theme; the tragic situation makes a hero evince the depth of his progressive views which are the basis for ultimate mobilization of vitality and, in a special emergency, also for overcoming the dread of death.

The struggle is carried on in modern aesthetics and literature between the two concepts of the tragic. One represents existentialism and another the socialist realism. Jack Lindsay's book 'MARXISM AND CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE OR THE FULLNESS OF LIFE' (1949) contains a scathing criticism of existentialism. The existentialist concept

distorts the essence of the tragic, because its preoccupation with the idea of death supplants all other problems and aspects of life. Heidegger laid stress on the sense of the void; he contended that the deep layers of existence got revealed by anguish, that the ceaseless sense of death was the only proper condition of life. Jack Lindsay pointed out the anti-humanistic reactionary essence of existentialist philosophy which regards a temporary situation of the spirit, and immediacy, which is but irrationality, as of paramount importance. Jack Lindsay links the tragic with the heroic struggle for the cause of the people, striving for freedom, happiness, and human unity.

Jack Lindsay lays emphasis on the idea that the tragedy in the class society cannot be reduced to a plain myth. He deduces the tragic from the concrete contradictions of history and society, from the living conditions of working people. The tragic has a social content, but not a mythological one. The tragic in arts is based on the tension which arises in the class society between the existing class division and the striving for a society in which the class division would be done away with. This is Jack Lindsay's idea of the tragic conflict in the class society. This idea is related to Engels's idea of tragic collision as a contradiction between a demand of historical necessity and a practical impossibility of its realization.

Jack Lindsay cannot support the sympathetic delineation of the tragedy of the anarchic rebellion in modern literature. Such a rebellion in the long run turns round to the recognition of the class society, from which it detaches itself only for a while. The detachment has never been real, since

this is but the opposition put forth by a sensitive lone person. Jack Lindsay repudiates the anarchic rebellion, as contrasted to the organized revolutionary struggle of working class or people, bringing forward the ideal of freedom, independence, and equality.

In the novel 'A Scots Quair' by L. Grassie Gibbon, Jack Lindsay finds an example of modern tragedy, connected with class struggle, with revolutionary actions, with loyalty to working class, that means at present the loyalty to man and humanity. In the second book of this novel 'Cloud Howe' a subject of the general strike in 1926 in England is touched upon. The culmination of the novel is in the death of Colquhoun, which, as it were, symbolizes the ruin of peasantry in England as a class force and the transition of the former peasants into the hell of capitalist alienation, and their rebirth as fighters for peace, well-being, and brotherhood on earth.

The tragic content of the novel 'All Things Betray Thee' by Gwyn Thomas, in Jack Lindsay's opinion, consists in the fact that it reflects the irrepressible striving of people for the struggle and renewal of their life in defiance of any hardships and privations, and even under circumstances when everything seemed to have been lost.

Jack Lindsay included into his book *AFTER THE THIRTIES, THE NOVEL IN BRITAIN AND ITS FUTURE* (1959) a sonnet written by him in 1940. The sonnet is interesting for the expression of the emotional state of progressive Western intelligentsia at that time and also for the author's idea of modern tragedy and the ways of overcoming it.

At that period of the defeat of republicans in Spain and of the outbreak of World War II, the author already believes that the tragedy is coming to an end: 'Acted out is the tragedy of our day'. His hope for termination of the tragedy he sees in the unquestionable victory of the Red Army, although then the assault on the Soviet Union had not yet taken place and the Red Army had not yet come into action. The author trusted only the Soviet Union in the task of quelling the military catastrophe which had then enveloped Europe.

Tragic hero in modern progressive literature should be of the same stature as of Prometheus and owing to his participation in present-day political struggle he will acquire unconquerable power, creative simple-heartedness, and spiritual grandeur. This concept of a tragic and heroic character is an answer to all the petty theories of modernistic writers about the vanishing hero and dying novel. The progressive novel continues to develop, giving birth to a great many new powerful literary heroes, evoking emotional and intellectual response on the part of the readers of good-will all over the world.

In the book *AFTER THE THIRTIES, THE NOVEL IN BRITAIN AND ITS FUTURE* Jack Lindsay argues against Stephen Spender's approach to the problem of the tragic. Stephen Spender insisted on passive depiction, 'all from outside', without taking sides. He stood out cold-heartedly against the depiction of death in a war from the viewpoint of an author and of a reader's stand, to which an author appeals, counting only on a reader's sympathy and his sharing of emotional experience.

The unity of emotion and point of view between an author and a reader is regarded by Stephen Spender as hystorical. On the contrary, Jack Lindsay expresses a sincere sense of solidarity with the peoples' cause. Not all death is tragic by a long chalk. Death proves to be tragic, if it raises great moral problems which contribute to the aims and ideals of the struggle for progress. Partisanship is the most important criterion of the tragic. The position 'all from outside' cannot express all the anguish that arises at the sight of death of a man, who fought for people's happiness. Only the definite point of view of a fighter, the unshakable moral principless can convey a significance of genuineness and sincerity of the human sympathy for a hero, who has fallen in battle.

The hero reveals the best traits of his character while taking part in the struggle. Struggle-based conflict in a novel is an index of an aspiration for the future and a movement towards the future. To depict life in a process of struggle is to show it in a revolutionary development. To fight or to submit—that is the dilemma, rising before a modern hero. The old yet and ever-new Shakespearean theme of man's grandeur in struggle finds its further development in the art of socialist realism.

The death of a hero turns out to be his immortality. This is not the same immortality which is preached by religion. Gior-dano Bruno, the character in Jack Lindsay's novel *ADAM OF A NEW WORLD* found his fulfilment in the immortality of his ideas converted into an action by other people. Amidst the sufferings and anguish of body and mind which he underwent in the

dungeons of the Inquisition he felt a joy being aware of his immortal ideas. Giordano Bruno's death was not a mere extinction, but a pledge of a new world. Giordano Bruno has become a harbinger of the future. Death theme in his novel, devoted to the heroic personality is, in point of fact, a problem of the struggle for the sake of life, for overcoming the dread of death. There is an essential difference between Lindsay's treatment of the death theme and that of the existentialists who consider an apprehension of death as a sum total and a limit to everything on earth.

The tragic principle in 'ADAM OF A NEW WORLD' by Jack Lindsay is founded on the dialectical approach to the problem of freedom and necessity. The author affirms the necessity of heroic challenge to obscurantism and the freedom of a deliberate choice of fighter's path. Adequate relation of this problem with the tragic conflict gives socialist realism its advantage over a great many works of critical realism, in which freedom and necessity are sometimes in metaphysical correlation, now deviating towards an infinite chain of accidents, now towards a fatalistic inevitability. Both kinds of divergence may be encountered in the works by Thomas Hardy, for example. The position of socialist realism, as far as this problem is concerned, is in glaring contrast with the existentialist conception of the tragic, in which hero's freedom of choice and his voluntaristic behaviour are raised to the status of the absolute and the necessity is reduced to the 'existence' of fright and death.

In the works of abstract humanism and the writings of critical realism, on the borderline of two centuries—XIX and XX, the human tragedy was sometimes regarded, apart from

the social aspect, as pessimistic and as an effect of deeply rooted primordial cosmic evil. The cosmic is opposed to an individual, who feels at a loss against the background of formidable infinity, for instance, in the novel 'Two on a Tower' by Thomas Hardy, where cosmos is inimical to an individual. In modernistic bourgeois literature this dreary concept of cosmic evil supplants altogether the social aspect of art.

Jack Lindsay, on the contrary, shows tragedy in social context and 'the cosmic' in unity with the human. If a hero feels the truth deep in his soul and is aware of his inner freedom and is spiritually at one with people in spite of the tragic circumstances, then the human merges with the cosmic, individual united with mankind, and man communicates with the future. In his thoughts of masses Giordano Bruno, the hero of 'Adam of a New World' gains a foothold for his quests and ideas and sees his solitude come to an end.

Optimism of the idea of unity between the human and the cosmic finds in our century a practical realisation in the heroic conquest of the outer space by the splendid genius of man. This genuine humanistic solution of the problem 'man and cosmos' overwhelms the hystorical howls of modernist about a fatal inevitability of cosmic catastrophe in the atomic age.

Jack Lindsay stands out firmly against pessimism in the works of modern writers, lends his voice for the fight against the feeling of an apocalyptic doom. Writers should turn towards the people. In the struggle for ban on atomic weapon writers acquire a great power and unite with millions of people bent on remaking the world.

FOOD PRODUCTION IN MEXICO—IMPORTANT FACTORS

Dr. S. N. JHA

As expressed by Prof. Andre Mayer of France, the capacity for engendering new human lives, for protecting them against natural ills and for maintaining them by proper diets, is not a purely biological equation (like for instance, Malthusian, Theory of Population or Optimum Theory of Population or the Theory of Demographic Transition), which can usefully be set out in terms of a given number of individuals and a given quantity of food stuffs. It is a social phenomenon and where societies are concerned, it is governed by their density of population, their technical and economic levels and their degree of civilization. None of these are the result of mutually disconnected factors.

A society is an organized 'system'. As any other such system, each factor affecting the whole is linked to all remaining factors, and is at once a condition and a consequence of their operation. The economic level is governed by the level of technology and civilization; both the latter in their turn are governed by the former.

The 'social level' is a consequence of all the foregoing interdependent factors and reacts on them. Every minute, in every situation and every nation, there is a state of equilibrium, with a shifting point of balance, between these factors. That point of balance is not necessarily that at which the 'social level' is the highest, it is the point of balance appropriate to a particular moment in history. A society consists of men. And the man in question is the product of a

particular society and a particular civilization. Society as a whole must be changed if success is to be achieved.

Social Progress

The use of technical progress to multiply the goods of the earth has met with enormous success. If it is desired to adjust resources to population, expansion of the economy is essential. But if the necessary adjustment is to be made without friction, that expansion must be planned. The problem, then, is to replace mere chance by methodical action to enable men—all of them—by gaining increasing control of their own destiny, to make systematic use of technical progress for the improvement of their circumstances and the broadening of their horizons. That is the attempt which today societies are being gradually compelled to undertake, hesitantly and gropingly. There is division between the nations as to the methods to be used, and that in itself leads to tragic disagreements, so that the nations oppose one another as often as they co-operate.

All, however, are going willy-nilly towards the same goal. Their accomplishment is a hard and longterm task, and is dependent on the use of a new technique, that of social progress based on the Social Sciences.

To secure the necessary increase in production, agriculture must be equipped; but this would be all in vain if men were not first fitted for their task.

To secure the progress which is essential,

men must will it first and also will the means. It is now known that the rate of social progress will be what societies wish to be. Innovations by individuals are the springs which, canalized, used and exploited, make social progress possible.

I fully subscribe to the presence of certain conditions as pre-requisites for Economic Growth and development, as expressed by Karl Brandt, Director, Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California. The main goal in underdeveloped countries must be to get more purchasing power into the pockets of the average consumer. There must be assurance of the limiting condition that the choice of means is guided at all times by the over-all rule of a minimum of coercion, respect for an optimum freedom and civil liberties. As regards an equitable remuneration, the only equitable device to set wage rates objectively is the bidding by employers in a competitive free labour market. This brings us to the question of the resources that are needed in a developing economy. He distinguishes three types of resources :

(1) "Human Resources—means the capacity of people to utilize their physical, intellectual, and moral initiative and ability to render service individually or in co-operation with others to create wealth. This sort of resources is ultimately the only genuine prime moving factor in an economy—innumerable variables are at play and they are far more important in their influence than training of body, hand, and mind and application of knowledge through education—despite the extraordinary opportunities these afford to increase the utility of a labour force. Such variations are attitudes towards

work and leisure, sense of obligation and duty to make a contribution, self-discipline and pride of fending for oneself, motivation for any action or choice, response to different kinds of incentives, tenacity and persistence of effort, resistance to addiction to narcotics or alcohol, work and living morale, and ethical concepts. All these attitudes and traits in a labour force result from the performance of the nuclear cell of any society, the family. But they are also formed by formal education or apprenticeship and by religious groups... Hence there is good reason for offering the greatest opportunity for this talent to prove itself and to recruit the optimal number of the work force from this managerial pool." This is resources No. 1.

(2) He then comes to the resources No. 2, namely, the natural or environmental resources which include, "land", in all its environmental qualities, "water in all qualities", "radiation, movement of wind, power of tides", "energy-bearing mineral deposits", "ores of metals and other chemicals". He observes : "Only in relation to man's specific needs and wants and only by the purposeful and intelligent application of management and labour do these environmental resources yield any goods or services, and only so far as they yield a greater value than that of the input applied to them do they contribute income".

(3) Coming to the third type of resources he mentions, "the man-made resources, i.e. Capital".

He summarises by saying, "this analysis of the necessary combination of human, natural, and man-made resources, we may say that the degree of economic development

that will actually take place in a particular part of the world depends far more on the attitude, behaviour, and achievements of individuals and families in their organized national society than on the natural endowment of what is so glibly called natural resources. Beyond this, the achievement that can be attained depends again far more on man-made and man controlled conditions than on any fixed set of geographic, ethnic, or other ratios of quantifiable factors of production". He points out to what is called the consumer's sovereignty, "the non-coercive arrangement of optimal decentralization of will-power and decision making as the driving force of economic development relies ultimately on the belief that the people as consumers are—still the best adjudicators of what is good for them in the context of their preferences. This is the essence of political democracy and the economy—that is compatible with it."

He goes on saying, "To give man in any country the chance to live and work in a social and political environment that grants and secures an optimal degree of freedom implies a number of basic general requirements or conditions. Among them, the first is that the majority of the people are reasonable and realistic in their expectations as to timing and degree of what can be achieved in terms of economic betterment. In addition to these is the priority need of effective public administration." He reminds, "It is my considered opinion that what under otherwise equal circumstances makes the difference between economic prosperity and growth in one country and stagnation or deterioration in the other is often primarily the presence or absence of reliable and effective public administration performance."

Concluding he says, "I want to emphasize that there are many reasons why with the new era of national independence of more than 50 countries the age-old axiom that economic development and expansion is much faster in advanced industrial nations than in industrially retarded countries still holds. The causes of lagging development lie largely in the conditions I have just reviewed".

As remarked by Charles E. Kellog, "Above all, the programmes for food production and improved nutrition need to be consistent with the other cultural values of mankind. There is no reason to think that an aristocracy of technologists in general, or of agricultural technologists in particular, would serve mankind in its larger need better than other aristocracies."

A remarkable example of development coming out through moulding of these conditions is presented by Dr. J. T. Reid in his book "It Happened In Taos." He says, "A very unusual thing has happened in Taos County, New Mexico. It is so much of a departure from the ordinary that it is hard to believe. Yet it is true. Everybody got together on everybody's business. No longer is every body's business nobody's business. The obvious result is that some very important progress has been made—important not only for Taos County itself, but for the rest of the country as well. Everybody's business, in this instance, is the total welfare of all those living in the County—the deep-seated problems that have nagged and puzzled and hampered the citizens for decades, even for generations—Some very amazing things have happened; things which few thought could happen; things which

have raised the hopes and aspirations of the people and pointed the way to a new day."

How it happened? "In order for the people of Taos County to make progress against those problems, it was obviously necessary for them to organize against those problems. That organization has been known by the official name of the Taos County Project." The University of New Mexico coming into possession of the Harwood Foundation through a gift immediately sought to make the institution the spear head of an educational programme designed to serve the practical needs of the people of the whole state. If some real progress could be made in Taos County, it should serve as guidance in other areas.

The Case of Mexico

On these parameters let us have an inventory of things in Mexico to have a glimpse of comparative strength of factors leading to an increase in food production in that country. On these matters any individual's summary view is less important than his reasons. All we can really hope for is to understand some at least of the major factors involved. Mexico is a federal republic in South of North America. Its area in 1953 was 1969 thousand sq. kilometers. It is extremely fruitful, but contains much forest and wood land, and also mountain districts rich in minerals, especially silver and copper. Stock raising and agriculture are the chief occupations in the northern states and in 1953 population reached 25053 thousand, one-fifth of European extraction. The capital is at Mexico whose altitude is 7,460 ft. above sea.

As expressed by John Smith, "A tide of emigration swept from Europe to America. This movement, impelled by powerful and diverse motivations, built a nation out of a wilderness and, by its nature, shaped the character and destiny of an unchartered continent. The country is the product of two principal forces—the immigration of European peoples with their varied ideas, customs, and national characteristics and the impact of a new country which modified these distinctly European cultural traits. The result was a new social pattern which although it resembled European society in many ways, had a character that was distinctly American. Thriving Spanish Colonies had been established in Mexico. After the discovery of Columbus, Western Europeans found new homes in the Americas. The main urge was for farm land. The frustrated, the persecuted, and the seekers of new opportunity had a good place to go, "The new continent was remarkably endowed by nature, but trade with Europe was vital for the import of articles the settlers could not yet produce. Here the coast line served the immigrants well.....The coming of Colonists in the Seventeenth Century was the result of careful planning and management, and of considerable expense and risk.....In contrast to the Colonization policies of other countries and other periods, the emigration from England was not fostered by the Government. Rather, the initiative was taken by unofficial groups or by individuals.....The most impelling single motive which induced emigrants to leave their European home-lands was the desire for greater economic opportunity." The population then was scarce and there was much scope, "For land and other

natural resources were practically unlimited, and progress was entirely dependent on the size of the population available to develop them."

In its location, appearance and physical structure Mexico is a land of transition. As per information contained in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the situation of Mexican agriculture traditionally hampered by the small amount of arable land, inefficient production methods and generally low yields, improved markedly after 1940 through construction of irrigation and drainage works, improvement of seeds and use of hybrids, mechanization, use of fertilizers and the supplying of credit and communication through government means. The Mexican irrigation programme, in addition to creating irrigated land, also provided river control, soil conservation and production of hydroelectric power for Mexican industrial activities.

Under nationalized Land programme that resulted from the revolution, about half of the utilizable area is cultivated by government-sponsored co-operatives known as 'ejidos' whose members enjoy usufruct.

Ejidos vary in size and local arrangement and comprise about 3000000 rural families, whose average parcel is about six acres. A number of them are large co-operatives, dedicated to commercial crops. Beginning in 1941, small holders of private lands (not under ejidos programmes) obtained certificates against expropriation of their lands, and the remaining large holdings are mainly grazing lands.

Staple crops for subsistence are primarily Indian Corn (maize), beans, wheat, rice and potatoes. Until 1948 Mexico imported

some maize, but thereafter became self-sufficient in all but wheat and began to export rice. Main commercial crops are fibres, mainly cotton and sisal hemp (henequen). Cotton culture grew rapidly until Mexico stood next to Egypt as a World supplier. Coffee culture began in 1940, by 1951 it led all exports, placing Mexico after Brazil and Columbia as World producers.

Mexico and India

According to Ansley J. Coale and Edgar M. Hoover, "Mexico's population is about twice as highly urbanized as India's; 58 per cent of the labour force (in 1950) was engaged in agriculture compared to 70 per cent in India; per capita income in Mexico is estimated as some 2 or 3 times that in India; gross investment constitutes some 14 per cent of national income, compared to less than 10 per cent in India; and the growth of national product has averaged some 7 per cent per annum since 1939, compared to about 3 per cent per annum since 1951 in India."

International transactions are a larger fraction of national income than in India. Mexican authorities have sought to limit the importation of consumer's goods. Because of large increases in agricultural output, Mexico has been more or less self-sufficient in food in recent years.

"The setting for economic development in Mexico differs from that in India in aims and strategy as well as in ways. Even though the government in Mexico is the product of a revolution, and operates under a revolutionary constitution, and although it

has played an increasing role in encouraging the growth of the economy, economic development seems to be more under the leadership of private entrepreneurs, and less subject to government management and direction than in India.

While there has been perhaps more emphasis in Mexico than in India on reforms in the ownership of land, there is so far less emphasis on government action to relieve other causes of rural backwardness and poverty. In Mexico there is no equivalent of the Planning Commission and the Five Year Plan that are so prominent in India, and no federal agency performing a function equivalent to the Community Development Administration. Encouragement of economic development by the Government has taken the form of making credit more rapidly available, the construction of a net work of high ways, the extension of irrigation and hydro-electric installations and other public works.

Much of the benefit from these measures has accrued to rapidly expanding urban manufacturing and commercial enterprises on the one hand, and to the advanced commercialized sector of agriculture on the other."

According to him, in short, Mexico's development in recent years seems to have been concentrated in certain segments of the economy, while a segment where a large fraction of the labour force is employed has undergone relatively little change. The sector that has been by-passed by development, so to speak, is the corn-raising agrarian sector that still preserves many preconquest customs including techniques of production. This sector is characterised by

small land holdings, low crop yields, dependence on single crop, illiteracy, a high proportion of persons speaking indigenous dialects, low rates of school attendance among the children, and, of course, low average incomes.

The real question is : What will we choose ? What will we do with our historical heritage and our new science ? We shall act according to our own judgments, which are determined by our religions and ideologies ; and these judgments will become political issues, translated into a myriad of decisions at all levels, such that nobody can predict the outcome in advance.

Thus people must fall back on informed opinion where they should have solid facts. These facts must be had, not simply selected facts to deny or assert some existing theory, but the facts needed to establish efficient systems of farming as rapidly as possible.

Each of us must try to see the relationships among the various parts of the problem calmly and objectively. Each can do his utmost to contribute his own ideas and his own work in ways to make the whole effective. No one can see the entire problem clearly. Many people of many skills and in many places must contribute. Not even tolerance of one another's views will be enough. We need to rise above tolerance to that higher virtue—appreciation.

The more modern science and technology are used to increase the efficiency of production, the more delicate becomes the balance among the individual resources and among social institutions. An efficient agriculture will come after farmers have learnt those practices that build up soil productivity to the optimal level, and maintain it there, also

give the most efficient production on a sustained basis. But the institutional devices needed to realise the advantages of practices on a long-term basis are more difficult to establish than the physical and biological practices themselves.

Educational programmes will be needed to reach millions of rural people, so they may learn how to use efficient methods. This learning can only occur with reasonably good living standards. Thus, abundant food and an efficient agriculture depend fully as much upon a general increase in cultural development and standards of living as the standards of living depend upon increasing food supply.

Concluding with the remarks of Charles E. Kellog, "Full use needs to be made of all

the sciences relevant to agriculture, and there needs to be a proper balance between fundamental science and applied science. Because of the popular appeal of applied science, fundamental science is often neglected. In fact, governments have been known to set up agricultural research institutes and specify that, the research shall be confined exclusively to matters of immediate practical importance. This creates an impossible situation for the research worker. Frequently the solving of some immediate practical problem depends upon intensive research for basic principles before a technical process can be worked out. Many agricultural research stations, especially in some of the under-developed areas, are severely handicapped by lack of basic research facilities and by requirements for specialization."



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

President's Republic Day Message

In course of his traditional broadcast to the nation on Republic Day, President Radhakrishnan has made certain pronouncements which would deserve to be especially underlined and taken to heart by his auditors, especially by the bosses of the present ruling party. The President was not merely reported to have described 1966 as the worst year since Independence but has also severely criticized the leadership of the ruling elite in words which are as legitimate as they are bold. "We cannot forgive", he was reported to have stated, "widespread INCOMPETENCE and the GROSS MISMANAGEMENT (emphasis all ours) of our resources" and to have further added that "Our political leaders—(and we presume he particularly referred to the leaders of the ruling party here)—should have a clear vision of the future of the country and not be content with their OWN INDIVIDUAL COMFORT AND SURVIVAL (emphasis, again, our own)."

That the ruling party has, during the long innings of power it has continued to wield and enjoy ever since the abdication, by the British, of their empire over India, have been mainly concerned with the comfort and survival of its leadership, has been something which has been so self-evident that the fact

does not need to be reiterated. Most progressive opinion within the party has been ruthlessly suborned and suppressed so that anything calculated to threaten the already well entrenched authority of its ageing leadership might be eliminated at the very root. The result has been a rather paradoxical picture of practically monolithic power on the one hand and increasing contradictions within the group which has been wielding this power.

The consequence, inevitably, has been a long series of casualties of a wide range of values and objectives. While investments under a pattern of development planning which was said to have had as its goal the emergence of a socialist economy have been mounting many times beyond the quantum of normal capital formation within the economy, developing inflationary pressures derived mainly from failures of plan implementation and mismanagement of the fiscal affairs of the nation have been increasingly eliminating the comparatively inadequate gains from increases in the gross national product. The pressures against the rupee over the last two decades and, especially, during the last quinquennium corresponding to the Third Five Year Plan have been terrific. This has reacted in almost colossal magnitude upon the consumer price structure within the economy, but its

burdens on the country's external transactions also have not been inconsiderable. A half-hearted attempt to treat the symptoms of the disease was made some time ago when it was decided to devalue the par value of the rupee which has had the effect of reducing the purchasing power of our currency abroad by as much as 57 per cent.

The measure, it has been claimed by the Government, has only been to officially accept an already existing reality ; but even so there does not appear to have been any realistic attempt to diagnose and treat the disease which had led to this unhappy situation at its roots. That the disease has been continuing to affect the economy as before will be evident from the further price-rise which has occurred since devaluation for some proportion of which, at least, the Government themselves have been directly responsible.

It was with such a background that the draft of the Fourth Plan was prepared and adopted by the National Development Council. In the present condition of the economy the size and priorities of the Fourth Plan, which continues to be mainly industry and, therefore, inflation oriented and which continues to depend, as in respect of the two earlier quinquennial Plans, heavily upon foreign exchange assistance from the Aid-India Consortium, would appear to be mainly an exercise in futility at the cost of the nation and her peoples.

It is mainly the considerations of their own individual comfort and survival which would appear to have been guiding the hands of the leadership of the Government and the ruling party in this matter. By pursuing the

Fourth Plan in the shape and the size in which it has been conceived would be calculated to serve certain vested interests which had been financing them into power during the last three general elections, although it may only have been at the expense of the nation. The attitude appears to be that so long as their own survival has been properly taken care of so far as the present leadership is concerned, the nation may go hang itself. In other words, although they may be prepared to take the utmost advantage of the apparently democratic machinery of the State, they were not the least concerned if the spirit of democracy may not survive under pressure of their policies and actions, nor if the people's lives were burdened with even greater misery and distress than heretofore.

The ensuing elections, would yield indications as to whether the democratic spirit may survive the present political and other onslaughts upon itself. It has been predicted by a number of hoary-headed old political prophets and prognosticators that although, at the Centre, the present ruling party would continue to wield a comfortable majority, though its proportions would be bound to be somewhat slashed and there would be considerably reduced strength in most State legislatures, there does not seem to be any immediate prospect of a more effective and adequate parliamentary opposition in the offing, fragmented as it is. This may only dampen the present arrogance of the ruling party somewhat and its contempt of public opinion, but may not make any fundamental difference in the management of the machinery of Government or the fiscal affairs of the nation. If that were so, prospects

during the years ahead may be very dire indeed. It has to be clearly recognized that the surface symptoms of disorder in diverse fields of our social and political life with which we have been familiar during recent times are an index of a far deeper disease within. The real remedy may lie with the people with their potentially unlimited power of choice at the polls. But ours are, mainly, a traditional people who are only vaguely familiar with the democratic machinery and aware of the obligations of positive responsibility that it imposes upon the individual. On the other hand they find themselves a grossly abused quantity by those who hold power and their ever-increasing misery and distress have been steadily pushing them towards a point of desperation and no-return. It has also to be realised that there is a large and well-organized school of opinion within the country, a school which is very active in the political and social field, who have no faith in organized social order and profess no loyalty to the democratic order of life. The masses of our people who have been ruthlessly abused by the bosses of the ruling party so far for their own "comfort and survival" and who have now been almost completely shorn of their illusions about this party may be equally used by the other party for destroying the present social order. Once that happens it will be quite impossible to re-establish the democratic order within the life-time of foreseeable generations in the future.

The President's call for a clearer vision of the future of the country, we presume is an admonition not merely to the present political party seized of the powers of

government but equally and, perhaps, even more pertinently to non-attached leaders to come forward to accept the obligations that the democratic system imposes upon every individual in the community and, more so, upon those who happen to enjoy the privileges of political and social leadership. Unless a beginning is made in this direction in the immediate future, a violent revolution and complete chaos in the not too distant future may be the only inevitable result.

Deceptive Revenue Bouyancy

The recent disclosures made by Mr. Khandelwal, the new Chief of the Indian Railway Board, regarding the present state and immediate future prospects of railway finances is dismal enough. All this, naturally enough, has been blamed upon the current state or recession in the national economy. But the alleged recession notwithstanding, the state of the general revenues, a later press report indicates, is believed to have remained comparatively bouyant. It has been stated that up to the end of the last calendar year that is until the end of December last, the accruals from income and corporation taxes have been higher, than during the corresponding period of the immediately preceding year, by the very substantial margin of around Rs. 40 crores. It is forecast that this rate of increase in revenue incomes will be maintained—and may even be marginally improved—during the remaining months of the current financial year. Some of this improvement, at least in part, may be explained by the fact that collections under these two heads mostly relate to incomes and profits earned during the

previous year and that the baneful effects of the present state of crisis in the economy can only begin to affect revenues next year. Besides, there have been additional accruals from import and export duties—especially import duties—following measures of liberalization of imports on account of the devaluation of the rupee. It may, however, be mentioned in parenthesis that the alleged expectation of improvement in export performances as a direct result of devaluation do not appear, so far, to have been realized in effect. Although, it is said, some new lines of export have been established for which the necessary openings were created by devaluation and a corresponding measure of income to the exchequer has resulted either by previously unexpected export duties or non-recoverable excise duties, exports, at least by value, of most traditional goods, which, in the aggregate, account for the bulk of our export trade, have fallen during the current year. This was a probability which should have been visualized in advance for devaluation has meant a 36 per cent reduction in export earnings bulk for bulk and, to be able even to merely maintain exports at their previous level of foreign currency values, would have to mean an increase in the volume of our exports by as much as 57.5 per cent, which would not be an easy exercise by itself.

Government have, no doubt, been doing all that was possible to secure a substantial measure of effective reduction in administrative expenditure. It is claimed that they actually did this by slashing administrative expenditure by as much as Rs. 100 crores.

This may not be considered enough so far as economy of Government expenditure is concerned and having especial regard to steep increase under this head of expenditure during the last several years. But even such as it has been, the net position has deteriorated rather than improved because most of the increase in Central revenues have been offset by unanticipated increase in expenditure and the savings referred to above have been devoured by the additional dearness allowances that Government have been compelled to provide to compensate the rise in the cost of living of their employees.

In addition, it is now disclosed, the States have been putting additional burdens upon Central resources. The admonition to States to try and live within their own unaided means and to avoid overdrafts on the Reserve Bank of India has completely failed and it has, in corresponding measure, been encumbering the budget. In the result it is now almost certain that all Government's previous pledges to avoid deficit financing as the very plague would now have to go by the board. The budget that Union Finance Minister Sachin Chaudury is now likely to present to Parliament on March 13 would inevitably have a large uncovered deficit. In other words, deficit financing, notwithstanding Government's all previous assurances to the contrary, would now be wholly unavoidable.

The only question is as to what shall be the measure of this inevitable deficit financing? It is reported that the Union Ministry of Finance on the one hand and the Planning Commission on the other are still squabbling over the size of deficit financing that would be wholly unavoidable. The

position can only clearly emerge when the revenue and expenditure figures for January and February have been in Government's hands. Some experts indicate, however, that its measure is not likely to be less than that of last year, that is Rs. 150 crores for the Centre and Rs. 300 crores for the States in the aggregate.

Whatever the measure of deficit financing that may be taken resort to in the coming two months, one question is quite crystal clear—that is, that despite the crucial decision to devalue the rupee and the inevitable hardships that such a decision involved, there will be no prospect of arresting the process of progressive distortions in the economy that has been burdening plan implementation over the years. In fact, price trends since devaluation have already been imposing increasing burdens upon our resources. With further doses of deficit financing which may even be of such substantial order as apprehended, the measure of price distortions that it may be impossible to avoid during the coming year will not merely render the hard decision to devalue the rupee valueless but will, moreover render the fourth Five Year Plan into an exercise in futility.

The situation as it has been emerging would appear to be quite paradoxical in its peculiar contents. The unavoidable decision to continue deficit financing as a means of resource gathering for the Plan would appear to being caused by the inflexible determination by both the Centre and the States to continue to pose their respective Plans on a basis which is far beyond their available resources. On the other hand to maintain the Plan size, the measure of deficit financing that is taken recourse to, as past experience has already

amply demonstrated, the inflationary pressures that would thereby be generated, would be bound to correspondingly render Plan implementation ineffective and infructuous. This has been the lesson of the immediate past, and that is no reason to hope that it is likely to be any different in the future, conditions being what they have been and are bound to be in the immediate future.

An additional factor for serious consideration in this context is that the Fourth Plan like its predecessor is heavily foreign-exchange oriented. Principally it was the consideration relating to our foreign exchange earning potentialities (as also, perhaps, that of obtaining foreign aid by way of loans and credits) that compelled the Government to devalue the rupee to establish realistic purchasing power parity of the rupees with foreign currencies in which we do our principal overseas trade. Any accentuation in price trends following further doses of deficit financing which it may not be possible to avoid—and which devaluation had been utterly unable to arrest—would be likely to cause such further distortions in the rupee's purchasing power parity with other currencies that it may, again, be impossible to avoid a further devaluation of the rupee. If that were really so, where is the process likely to end, if at all?

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Point of no Return

As we go to press, a press-report indicates that "the feeling is hardening in authoritative circles in West Bengal that the West Bengal Government's time-serving food policy is fast taking it to a point of no return." That is the manner in which events have been

shaping out vis-a-vis the West Bengal Government's so-called food policy, would be bound, eventually, to a further drastic relaxation of what remains of the restrictions on the trade and in respect of the consumption of rice.

The position in respect of food grains in the State, it is understood at present is that on account of a "marked liberalization of the levy system and withdrawal of price control in the districts during the last two months have seriously restricted supplies to the Government from internal sources. This has made it necessary for it not only to discontinue the modified rationing system, except, perhaps in a few small distress pockets, but also to reduce the rice quota under the statutorily rationed Greater Calcutta, Durgapur and Siliguri areas."

The lenient levy system, it is said, has been greatly handicapping the Food Corporation of India which has been given the responsibility of handling the procurement end. As a result they have, so far, been reported to have been able to procure only 14,000 tonnes of rice which is quite an insignificant proportion of the target set for it. Supplies from the Centre are merely on an *ad hoc* basis and generally far too inadequate for the State Government's commitments under even statutory rationing, not to say of the larger aggregate commitment it had initially made in respect of the modified rationing system. In fact, as is already quite well publicized, rice rations in the statutory ration areas had to be wholly suspended for a week some time ago, and restoration of it during the past few weeks has only been on a partial basis. Last week, as we write, rice ration allowed in the Greater Calcutta area comprised only 45 per cent of

the Government's commitments in this behalf and a further liberalization of the ration this week, we understand, would still leave short of the original weekly quota by some 25 per cent. The question now seems to be as to whether it will be possible to maintain even this reduced quota during the coming season. The answer will naturally depend upon that of availability from the Centre and the success of F. C. I's internal procurement machinery. The Centre, last year, gave West Bengal some 200,000 tonnes of rice from its Central Pool. This year, however, the Central Food Ministry does not appear to be in a position to maintain such a measure of supply to West Bengal. Imports from abroad have been severely slashed and procurement operations in surplus states had to be substantially slackened in view of the ensuing elections. With the result that stocks with the Union Food Ministry are reported to have fallen to almost floor levels. Currently prospects of increased imports seem to have brightened somewhat. Whatever the measure of improvement in this behalf, it is mostly likely to be in wheat rather than in rice (in spite of Ne Win's reported assurances to Chagla during the latter's recent visit to Burma), and the position does not seem to be clear enough to enable the Centre to make any firm commitment in this behalf. In fact, most State Governments concerned are reported to be apprehensive that chances of securing rice subventions from the Centre on the scale in which they were available last year, seem to be very slender. Therefore, it is argued, if statutory rationing commitments have to be fulfilled wherever they have been promulgated so far, at least, as rice is concerned, the internal procurement machinery will

have to be tightened and reinforced without the least delay. The snag, however, appears to be the ensuing elections for, the Government are understandably reluctant to make any further impositions upon the people at this juncture which would, they are afraid, be bound to further alienate an already not too favourable public opinion against the ruling party. But if hardening up of the procurement process is left over until after the elections have been over,—that is, for the next three to four weeks as we write—the operational season for food grains, especially rice procurement will have been almost over.

It is very likely that the period following the conclusion of the general elections may be an increasingly hard one for the people of West Bengal,—possibly even for the people of the entire country. The difficulty would be mainly in the confusion that would result from the continuance of a statutory rationing system which the Government do not appear to have either the material or the administrative resources to maintain and operate. Even as early as the time when Mr. P. C. Sen had begun to pat himself on the back with the claim that he had invented the way out of the national food crisis by offering to pioneer a rationing administration in West Bengal, we had warned in these columns, that the Government, either that of the Indian Union or that of West Bengal State did not simply appear to have had the necessary resources either in administrative equipment or rectitude, to enable a statutory rationing system to be organized and maintained without additional burdens upon and distress to the people. Mr. Sen started off on his rationing hobby with a fairly adequate

measure of material resources, but the shortfalls in his administrative resources soon began to have telling effects upon the entire system until now and it is reported to have reached a point of breakdown and no return. And, yet, Mr. Sen's rationing system has been covering, so far, only a very small proportion of the total population of the State; out of an approximate 50 million, the statutory rationing system was reported to have been covering only about 6.2 millions and modified rationing a further 17 million people.

We pointed out in these columns again and again that the rationing system in West Bengal was founded upon obviously confused concepts. There was, for instance, the statutorily rationed and cordoned off areas covering, in the aggregate, a population of 6.2 persons, adults and children, where no private trade in food grains was to be allowed. Side by side, there were the areas covered by modified rationing where certain quotas of food grains and sugar would be supplied at statutory prices from Government ration shops or fair price shops and where the people would be required to purchase the balance of their requirements from the open and free market. The rest of the State's people would have to buy their entire food grain requirements from the free market. It was, of course, argued that a very large proportion of this last category of persons are themselves producers of food grains and would cover their own consumption needs from out of their own production.

According to a Government estimate published some time ago, it appears that although very nearly 80 per cent of the

State's population belong to what are known as agricultural families, only about 19.2 millions out of the State's 50 millions are primary producers of food grains. Of these more than a good 10 per cent are landless hired labourers and are not in a position to appropriate any portion of what they produce to cover their own consumption needs. Of the balance over 30 per cent produce only enough to cover their personal consumption requirements for around 90 to 100 days in the year (the size of the holding of the category per family is estimated to be between 1.5 to 2.5. acres); a further 30 per cent are estimated to produce enough to cover their own consumption for periods varying from 3 to 8 months in the year (holding per family between 5 and 10 acres); another 20 per cent are estimated to be just marginal farmers, that is, they produce just enough to cover their annual consumption needs; and only about 10 per cent of the total food grains farming population of the State produce a real surplus. If, therefore, the aggregate production of nearly 90 per cent of the farming community is averaged out at approximately covering half a year's consumption need on the whole, very nearly 45 per cent of the entire food grains producing community of the State would be found to be net buyers from the market. In fact, barring about 55 percent of the farming community who work out at approximately 35 per cent of the total State population, the rest of the entire population of the State are not consumers of food grains from the market. In such a situation, only a partial rationing coverage was bound to create confusions and distortions which, it was

quite obvious even from the very beginning, the Government and their administrative machinery would be wholly unable to cope with.

The main trouble would be found to lie in the distorted thinking prevailing at Government levels,—both at policy making as well as administrative levels. We have all along been reiterating in these columns over the last three years and longer that the food crisis is one mainly of prices and not of availability. And this crisis has been mostly of the Government's own making and creation. One might have been charitable enough at the beginning that the Government's estimates of food grains deficit in the country were predicated upon certain bona fide mistaken notions and data. But in spite of our having demonstrated in these columns again and again—and that too on the basis of figures of production published by accredited Government agencies—that there has never been, over the last three years corresponding to the period of deepening crisis in the national food situation, any physical shortage of food grains on an estimated basis of 16 oz. daily cereal consumption by adults (that is those in the age group of above 8 years) and half that quantity for children (for those in the age group 0 years to 8 years). It was, first the zonal system which restricted the free movement of food grains from surplus to deficit markets, which began to boost the crisis; introduction of statutory rationing in small restricted pockets covering a very small portion of the population, added to this boost and created an image of shortage which has never so far been justified by facts; imposition of statutory price ceilings

further boosted black market which was already fairly flourishing; introduction of the statutory levy system put the final straw upon the proverbial camel's back and boosted up a raging black market which, so far, shows no signs of abating. But at no stage of the proceedings during the last three years has there been any evidence of shortage of supply. It was and still is possible to procure all the food grains one may want to provided he is willing and able to pay the price. One unmistakable evidence of the indisputable certitude of these contentions would be available from the fact that although the new harvest of paddy must have been finally gathered some four to six weeks ago, around the big markets in the State including the areas on the peripheries of the metropolis of Calcutta, not one grain of the new harvest has yet been brought to the market for sale. In other words, there has been enough of old paddy stocks in the hoarders' godowns to continue to feed the people for an indefinite period and that all the new paddy harvest during the current season have been stored for future profiteering in the wake of the oncoming slack season.

The question might easily arise as to why, in spite of the proven fact of there being no physical shortage of food cereals in the country, the Government should not merely go on applying all sorts of measures and expedients to deal with this supposed food crisis over the years including deployment of very substantial amounts of precious foreign exchange as of the current season for importing food grains from abroad? The reason may be the incompetence and ineptitudes of the Government or a deliberately engineered food crisis for obvious political reasons or, perhaps, an amalgum of both.

What is significant, however, is that it is not the ruling party and the Government constituted by it who are alone to be blamed; the parties in the opposition, including the Communist Party of both the left and the right, would seem to have been collusively guilty of confusing the people as regards the facts of a supposed food shortage in the country. The only difference between the Government and the parties in opposition so far as the food situation in the country is concerned would seem to be as regards the measures adopted by the former to deal with the situation; fundamentally both sides seem to be agreed that there is a chronic and a very substantial deficit in the supply of food cereals in the country. There are, no doubt regional pockets within the country where the supply of indigenously produced food cereals are in short supply, just as there are other similar regional pockets where they are in surplus, if not in abundant supply. But there is not the least doubt that on a broad national plane our cereal production, inadequate compared to potential resources as they may be, are still sufficient to cover all bona fide consumption demands. The average production of cereals over the years since the end of the Second Five Year Plan are stated to have been, according to estimates released by Government agencies, around 80 million tons a year. To feed a population of around 500 million on the basis of a 16 oz daily adult ration and half that quantity for those in the age groups below 9 years, a gross quantity of around 67 million tons would be required; if a further 20 per cent is added to this basic consumption demand to cover seed grains requirements, unavoidable wastage and market fluctuations during lean seasons, a gross quantity of just

under 80 million tons should suffice to cover all requirements ; this is a simple arithmetical truth that no political party seems to recognize.

The news report that the Government's rationing system may be impossible to maintain during the coming months on account of the dismal supply position in Government stocks, at least in West Bengal, may, indeed, be a blessing in disguise provided, of course, that Government are prepared to abrogate their pet administrative and distributive expedients as being simply beyond their means. They have already discarded their, so far, completely ineffective price control measures ; the immediate consequence has been a substantial fall in the open market price of rice which, until about four months ago, was around Rs. 2.50 per kg. (price of rice) retail ; now it has fallen to around Rs. 2.00 per kg. If, in addition, the Government were to abolish the restrictions on the movement of food grains including the abolition of the obnoxious zonal system, prices would be bound to soften further as there would be a greater mobility of movement and supply and lesser scope for abuse of privilege ; one essential is that along with the abolition of restrictions on the movement of food grains, rationing with its elaborate process of permits and quotas would also have to go. We have not the least doubt that if this were done, the food situation as a whole throughout the country would be bound to ease considerably within the next few weeks and that eventually it would be found that there were no longer any need to continue to import huge quantities of food grains from abroad at the expense of colossal quantities of precious foreign exchange.

The only snag in the adoption of such measures as have been suggested above is that such a measure would correspondingly eliminate the present unlimited scope for distribution of largesse to favoured sectors in the community on which, mainly, the ruling party seems to have been thriving. After all, everything that the Government have done during the last nineteen years of their undisputed reign over the country's fortunes, have been mainly directed to maintain the ruling party indefinitely in power, by hook or crook—and more by crook than otherwise—rather than to ensure the essential well being of the nation.

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Election Prospects

All kinds of weather prophets have been busy during the last few weeks offering learned prognostications of the prospects of the different political parties at the ensuing general elections. Most prophets seem to be agreed that the Congress will, again, regain majorities in most States and at the Centre although, they foretell, its majority will be severely slashed, especially in most State legislatures. There are, however, some among them who hope that in some of the States at least, notably Kerala, Rajasthan and, possibly also in West Bengal, the Congress may even lose its majority. What these prognostications may be worth will be proved soon enough. But if the Congress still wins a substantial majority in most State legislatures and in Parliament contrary to these prognostications to the contrary, it will shew that our people are still a long way away from that measure of social and political awareness which is one

of the essential requirements of a wholesome democratic order of society.

On a logical assessment of the situation, it would seem almost certain that the Congress will, again, win a comfortably working majority in most States and, certainly, at the Centre. For one thing, the opposition is both fragmented and without any very distinctive identity of its own: it is, mainly a heterodox melee of many different parties. Most of these small parties are merely splinters off the old parent Congress organization and have, for a foundation, merely a cleavage of personal ambition and leadership. One might cite the instance of the Bangla Congress in West Bengal or the Janata Kranti party in Bihar. The leadership of these newest splinters of the old Congress have, over many years been associated with the leadership of the ruling party in one form or another. Some of them have also been members of the Government and been wholly identified with the policies and actions of the Government and the ruling party. For one reason or another they have been pushed out of the Government or from the party leadership which became the signal for their sudden discovery that the elite of the ruling party have become corrupt, unreliable and anti-national. If they had not been so pushed out, they might still be associated with the party leadership and/or the governments constituted by it. It is impossible to believe that the people, in spite of their notorious lack of literacy and political awareness would be so naive as to be led by the sanctimonious piety of these new parties and their leadership.

But, apart from the leadership of these splinters of the old Congress, the only other party

with a distinctive identity of its own, apart from having since been divided and splintered into two warring factions, profess an ideology which is wholly anti-democratic in their essential ideologies. But even more than this one essential fact, there is another very significant fact which should need to be taken serious note of by all those in the country who may be politically aware. It is notorious that the Communist Party, whether in its right wing or the left, have definite extra-territorial loyalties which may be regarded as essentially unpatriotic. One of these factions would be likely to be guided by directives from Moscow while the other by Peking, the headquarters of a Government which has proved itself to be belligerently anti-Indian. But if these two factions of the Communist party would deserve to be rejected on this account, no less would the Congress itself deserve to be so rejected for a similar reason, that is, its own loyalties are based in reality upon what Washington or London would wish them to do.

What, then, should be the people's choice? Choice will naturally have to depend whether they would like to maintain the democratic order or not. If the people would wish the democratic order to survive and develop in this country, they would have to pitch their faith upon individuals rather than on parties, at least for the time being. Their best choice, in the circumstances, should be individuals—not party representatives—whose background, education, achievements in their past private lives would mark them out as both competent and dependable. There are a number of such individuals who have offered themselves for election at the ensuing polls

from diverse constituencies all over India for both State legislatures and the Parliament. It is not likely that the measure of their success in the aggregate, unbacked by any substantial organization and funds as they mostly are, would be very great. But even if they are able to build up a small initial nucleus at the ensuing polls it will still be a very substantial gain. They may function, then, as a small band of well informed, hard working and determined opposition which the ruling party and the Government will still be

compelled to respect in spite of their paucity in numbers and, what is of far greater moment, will be able, thereby to win an increasing measure of the people's confidence and loyalty. Eventually, at the next several successive polls they may even be able to win a working majority to enable them to form a Government. It may not be the same set of persons at these next successive polls ; it is not necessary. But it is only in this manner that the essence of the democratic spirit may survive.



TEMPLES IN CHOTANAGPUR

P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

Chotanagpur is still essentially a land of the animistic tribals and the presence of some old temples in the districts of Chotanagpur has a particular interest. Recent researches show that it is a mistake to think that Hinduism has been inducted in the districts of Chotanagpur in the course of the last few centuries. It appears that there was a core of Hinduism even when the tribals predominated in the districts. Phuni Mukut Rai, the first Maharaja of Chotanagpur had married a Rajput princess and there are more than 64 Maharajas in the accepted geneological line of the Chotanagpur Raj. All the Chotanagpur Maharajas after Phuni Mukut had married Rajput princess in pure Hindu form. It is quite possible that this was a move to cover up their commonly accepted Munda origin. If so, this is a great example of sanskritisation where a Munda Raj family upgraded itself and completely became a Nagbansi Rajput line. From the days of Phani Mukut Oriya Brahmin priests have been freely inducted from Orissa and established even in the most inaccessible parts of Chotanagpur with gifts of land. There is no wonder that we should get quite a few very old temples in Chotanagpur.

Rekha temples

Panch Pargana, the geographical region comprising Bundu, Silli, Tamar, Barainda and Rahe in Ranchi district have historically the oldest temples in Chotanagpur. This is the region where there has been a synthesis of Hinduism particularly in Vaishnava form and tribal rituals. The temples in Panch Pargana are mostly of the Orissan **Rekha** complex and some of the temples also show the influence of Bengal types. This is quite natural as Panch Pargana adjoins Bengal and it is through Panch Pargana that the old

Jagarnath road ran to Puri and thousands of pilgrims used to go to Puri and back on pilgrimages. Jainism had its great hold in Panch paragna at one time. There are still indigenous Jaina families known as Saraks or Kanthidhari Bhagats who are pure vegetarian in Panch Pargana. They have been practically lost to Jainism and have now adopted pure Hinduism. Verily, this tract of Panch Pargana has been very eclectic.

Shaiva and Jagarnath temples

Shiva Stotram mentions Jharkhand as one of the abodes of Lord Siva. The term jharkhand was loosely applied to all this jungle area of Chotanagpur and parts of Bengal adjoining Chotanagpur. Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu had travelled through Jharkhand several times to Puri and back and that is the reason why the cult of Jagarnath appears well established as is shown by a series of Jagarnath temples at Jagarnathpur, Seraikella and at other places in the interior of Chotanagpur.

The temples in Panch Pargana and Singhbhum are of the **Rekha** type so common in Orissa. This is practically in continuation of the Rekha type temples of the old Manbhum district which was once a part of Chotanagpur but now a portion has gone to West Bengal state and now forms the Purulia district. The temples on Barakar river in Dhanbad district which originally formed a part of the old Manbhum district are also of this type. The **Rekha** temples at Telkupi, and Boram now in Purulia district, temples at Icha and Kera in Singhbhum district are also of this type. There are also other specimens at Haradih, Dehuri villages in Tamar thana now a part of Ranchi district. There are two temples at Haradih which are popularly known as Buradih temples

located on a mound near Kanchi river. It is understood that there were a number of phallic images of Lord Siva in the temple precincts which have now been removed. But a few of them remain. The main image is popularly known as Mahamaya which is lion-seated. There is also a smaller image of the popular **Mahisasurmardini**. Nearabout there is another temple with a Sun god and a four-armed **Chaturvuji**. The temple of Dehuri village has a sixteen-handed **Devi** image flanked by Siva on the top, Saraswati, Lakshmi, Kartikeya and Ganesh on the sides. It is peculiar that worship in this temple is done by a Munda Pahan according to pure tribal customs accompanied by animal sacrifices for six days of the week while on the seventh day a Brahmin priest from a neighbouring village comes and worships according to Hindu rites without any sacrifice. There are in this region a number of ruined temples at Sonahatu, Palna and Dimbujarda villages. At Dimbujarda there is an image of Padmapani. Nearabout these temples are also to be seen temples of Vaishnava group of Jagarnath cult. Shyama Charan temple and Radha Rani temple in the same area are the other specimens of the complex. That different types of Hindu deities used to be freely worshipped at one time is clearly evident.

Recent temples

Some of the more recent temples are the famous Jagarnath temple at Jagarnathpur, a suburb of Ranchi city. Recurd about this small but superb temple built on a hillock in 1683 A.D. by Harinath, a guru of the Raja of Chotanagpur has grown the famous Heavy Engineering Plant commonly known as the Hatia Project. Another small but remarkable temple at Chutia, a suburb of Ranchi, was built in 1685 A.D. by Hari Bhahmachari. The Jagarnath temple at Jagarnathpur observes the famous **Ratha-**

yatra every year and is by far the largest **Ratha-yatra** after the **Ratha-yatra** at Puri. At Boreya about 5 miles from Ranchi there is another temple with two inscriptions built by Lakshmi Narayan Tiwari in 1665 A.D. The Boreya temple was dedicated to Lord Madan Mohan. The entrance to the image is through an exquisitely carved wooden frame which has now almost got lost by a thick coating of dirt. There are two inscriptions in the local Nagpuria Hindi dialect which mentioned that the temple had cost Rs.14,000 and that if a Hindu would desecrate the temple, he would commit the sin of drinking the cow's blood or of murdering a Brahmin or a spiritual guide. If a Muslim would desecrate the temple, he would commit the sin of eating pork. Three other recent temples are those of Mahamaya at Ghaghra, Jagarnath temple at Nagpheni and Basudev temple at Koramba.

Influence on the tribals

The influence that these Hindu temples had exerted on the tribals is remarkable. The various purist movements among the tribals of Chotanagpur like Safa Hor movement in Santal Parganas, Tana movement or the Birsait movement in Chotanagpur have somehow been attuned to the Hinduism propagated through these temples. The tribals not only actively participate in festivals on the Hindu auspicious days but they also share freely in the pujas on these festive occasions. It is also significant that Birsas, the stormy petrel towards the end of the 19th century went to the length of claiming that these temples were built by the Mundas and that they slipped out to the hands of the aliens. The Birsaits and the Tana Bhagats had tried to follow and particularly the latter section still follow the tenets of Hinduism to a large extent. The temples and particularly the Chutia temple are very largely visited by the Tana Bhagats.

REPRISAL IN INTERNATIONAL LAW—A REAPPRAISAL

HAREKRISHNA SAHA RAY

Certain coercive measures short of war have been recognised by international customary and conventional rules. One of them is reprisal. Reprisal is an act of self-help on the part of the injured State in order to bring the delinquent State into the line of internationally recognised rules of law. Recent reprisal by Israel on Samna, a border village in Jordan, had been strongly condemned by the Security Council on 25th November last. In view of that territorial interference of Jordan by Israel a situation has arisen to re-examine the place of reprisal in the field of international law.

It has long been established that if an offending State is unwilling to redress an act contrary to international law, the injured State might take action in the form of coercion to force the delinquent State to come to the terms. In medieval period private reprisals were often practised as a means of right to redress individual wrong of another State. But in modern time, the use of private reprisal has been discouraged by a number of international jurists. This place is now occupied by public reprisal. The basic requisites for public reprisal in international law have been laid down in the *Nautilae Incident Arbitration* (1928).¹ First of all, there must be an illegal act on the part of the offending State. Secondly, the reprisal must be preceded by a formal request on behalf of the injured State to get reparation for the illegal act of the delinquent State. Thirdly, in failure to perform that obligation by the offending State, the injured State is allowed to take reprisal measure which would not be disproportionate to the illegal act done.

So far as the second requisite is concerned, it begs questions. What kind of reparation may generally be demanded by the offending State? Will that reparation be determined by an international body or municipal authority of the offending State? To answer all these questions, one will have to fall back upon the international practices. It is generally accepted rule of international law that reparation may be of two kinds. It may be in the form of restitution which means wiping out all the consequences of the illegal act and re-establishing the situation as if the act had not been done.² Or, that reparation could be in the form of monetary damages. It was held in the *Russian Indemnity Case*³ that all breaches of international law were reparable by money. But the second question is who is going to decide the nature and extent of reparation. In this regard again, one established rule of international law is that reprisal may be adopted when there is a denial of justice by the municipal authority of the offending State. It seems quite clear that unless there has been an exhaustion of local remedy in international standard, no resort to reprisal is encouraged. Supposing that an injured State is not satisfied with the local remedy or that there is no local remedy at all to exhaust, is it possible for her to resort to reprisal against the offending State under the present international rule of law? Under the U.N. Charter all member States are under an obligation "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."⁴ In these circumstances a member State of the U.N. ought not to use any coercive measure against its counterpart as long as redress under the Charter remains open. In the *Corfu Channel Case*⁵ the International Court of Justice strongly condemned territorial intrusion as a measure of self-help. Besides, the spirit of the Charter is always against the disturbance of peace and violation of territorial integrity. So, the alternative course opened to the injured State is to find a solution under the Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter.

1. *Recueil of Decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals*, Vol. 8, 409.

2. *Chorzow Factory Case* (1928), P.C.I.J. Ser. A. No. 17.

3. (1912) P.C.A. XI, 54.

4. Art 2(4).

5. (1949) I.C.J. 4.

Again, there may arise another problem. Assuming that the Offending State is recalcitrant to come to any settlement of reparation, or that it is not a member of the U.N.O., is it possible under these circumstances to resort to reprisal? From the trend of international law use of force even short of war is discouraged. Because taking law into one's hand may at any time disturb the peace and tranquility of the world. As long as doors of the U.N. are open for settlement of international disputes, either peacefully under Chapter VI or through enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, no State as a principle ought to interfere with territorial integrity of another State.

In spite of strong dissension against coercive measures short of war in the settlement of international disputes, there is still room for reprisal against a recalcitrant State. But before adopting any measure of reprisal, sufficient warning must be given to the Offending State to rectify its dealings which are contrary to internationally recognised practices. On its persistent refusal or failure to perform international obligation, an injured State is justified to resort to reprisal in order to bring the offending State on the track of international law.

One thing must be pointed out in this connection that reprisal measure is generally adopted by powerful States against weak nations. So, there is every possibility that unless restraint is exercised, excessive measure often takes place. There is a good deal of disagreement among international jurists on the proportion of measure. Certain quarters always discourage any act not proportionate to offence committed by recalcitrant State. But others do not disapprove of any excess provided this is within bound and reasonably related to the end in view. But under no circumstances coercion is allowed to continue when the objective of reprisal is fulfilled.

Reprisal can be adopted against anything and everything belonging to the delinquent State. There are, however, certain restrictions on this power. This measure cannot be adopted against persons or property diplomatically immune from the jurisdiction of the injured State. Besides, on humanitarian ground civilian population living in the offending State ought not to be interned or subjected to inhuman treatment, punishment or killing. If they actively support or invoke dis-

ruption within the territory of the offending State in recognition of the illegal act of their parent State, they should be taken into prison and treated as hostages. The proper course is to deal with them in accordance with the municipal law of that country.

There are no formal rules of international law to be applied to a situation when reprisal flares up into continued hostilities. But in this non-war like situation, the distinct trend is to follow the laws of war. There is, however, one exception advocated in this matter. Since, there has not been any war in the legal sense, no neutrality rules are to be followed by a third State during the period of reprisal.⁶ A third State has no option but to accept inconvenience and interference.

Reprisal may take any one of these forms, such as, military occupation, pacific blockade, embargo, boycott, naval bombardment, attacks on commerce etc. But in any case from the trend of decisions and recent attitude of the Security Council one point is crystal clear that territorial intrusion as a method of reprisal is not much recognised in international law. If the effect of illegal act is indirectly felt on the injured State without any direct territorial interference on the part of the offending State, the former will not be justified in intruding into the territory of the latter and killing the innocent civilian population as a measure of reprisal. The recent condemnation of Israel by the Security Council for attacking a border village of Jordan and wounding and killing a number of civilian population as a measure of reprisal bears out the above rule. Since Jordan has not accepted the responsibility for the infiltrators of the Palestine Liberation Organisation led by Mr. Ahmed Shukairy, the Israel's intrusion into the territory of Jordan was strongly disapproved by the Security Council in spite of the fact that the intruders were engaged in various subversive activities within the territory of Israel.

One point of international importance was not clear as to whether Israel would be justified from the standpoint of international law had it made a reprisal against Lebanon or Syria, whose Prime Minister openly supported the Palestine Liberation Organisation and infiltrators into the

6. International Law Situations 56—62 (1938).

territory of Israel engaging subversive activities. If one accepts the State's responsibility objectively in international law as laid down in one classic case "The Alabama Claims Arbitration" (1872), that a State must not permit on its territory the preparation of a hostile expedition against another State, any measure of reprisal on the part of the offending State against the other from which the trouble originates seems to be justified. But under no circumstances that reprisal measure would be directed to the civilian population and their property unless there is a clear proof of evidence that the civilian population in disguise render comfort and refuge to the infiltrators. The justified course will be to destroy the base of infiltrators engaged in subversive activities. By recognition and support of any organisation in the territory, the Government of the State shoulders the ultimate responsibility for all acts of that Organisation which are not in conformity with international law. In the Trail Smelter Arbitration Case⁷ it was emphatically laid down that a State was under a duty to prevent its territory from being used as a source of economic injury to neighbouring territory. This principle of "good neighbourliness" in economic, social and commercial matters is fully recognised in Art. 74 of the United Nations Charter. By analogy similar duty may be cast on a State from the territory of which any political organisation recognised by the Government directs subversive activities against the neighbouring State. A State is under obligation to respect the territorial integrity of another State. Any attempt to support hostile expedition or subversive by an organisation against another State is denounced in international law. This view gathers support under Art. 4 of the Draft Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States prepared by the International Law Commission of the United Nations. This Article provides a duty for every State "to refrain from fomenting civil strife

in the territory of another State, and to prevent the organisation within its territory of activities calculated to foment such civil strife".

In 1946-49 Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were engaged in giving aid and support to hostile expedition against Greece based in their territory. This was criticised for being contrary to international law. Applying this principle of international law, Syria or Lebanon does not appear to be justified to give aid and comfort publicly to any organisation engaged in subversive activities against a neighbouring State. On the hand, Israel is also equally responsible to keep its hand clean if it intends international recognition for reprisal measure against a State from which the trouble flows. Whatever coercive measure is adopted against another State, it is in no way justified to direct reprisal against innocent civilian population or their property in the offending State. The basic rule of international law in this regard is to destroy the enemy base and not to wipe out innocent civil population and their property.

As a matter of fact, it is sometimes difficult to reconcile the practice of reprisal measure by the big powers on the one hand, and the international law on the other. Israel's attack on the village of Jordon and the killing of several civilians have been strongly condemned as contrary to international law. But if one accepts the view of American bombing on North Vietnam as a reprisal measure for sending infiltrators into the South, this goes uncondemned by the upholders of international law. This act is contrary to international law on two main grounds. This is too excessive to offence committed. Secondly, innumerable innocent civilian population who are firing in villages and cities are being wounded and killed. So, if it is necessary to establish international law in the esteem of civilized nations both great and small, it is time to apply it to every State irrespective of its size or power. Otherwise, international law will lose its force and be called as a body of rules and practices followed by the big powers in accordance with their own political contrivance.

7. (1941) United Nations Reports of International Arbitral Awards, Vol. III, 1905.

NAPOLEONIC—SCARE AND EAST INDIA COMPANY

S. R. BAKSHI

In the later half of the eighteenth century, when England and France were serious rivals of each other in the fields of overseas trade, commerce and Empire, the British mind remained in a perpetual state of alarm till French rivalry was finally eliminated and England's unchallenged supremacy was virtually established. Though the three Carnatic Wars had damaged French interests in India almost beyond repair, their formidable leaders such as Dupleix, Bussy and Count Lally no longer existed and the year 1763 marked the close of the most dramatic phase of Anglo-French rivalry in India, still their rivalry did not end abruptly and continued for another half of a century. During this period, the feeling of danger from France did not disappear from the British mind. With the growing French fraternisation with the anti-British potentates of India, like Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan; and the increasing activities of the individual French adventurers, the Francophobia in the minds of the British statesmen in India and England re-emerged as a tangible reality. In the post-French revolutionary era, with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to power and prominence as the greatest and the strongest enemy of England, with his dreams of Asiatic conquest and destruction of England in Europe and outside, it took a definite, articulate and alarming shape like hydra-headed leviathan.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British position in India was not too strong; and their Indian antagonists were not too weak, the Francophobia dominated the Foreign Office of England and the imagination of the British statesmen at the helm of affairs in India. There was hardly any aspect of their policies which remained uninfluenced by this gigantic and terrible phobia, determining the attitude of a fear-stricken people. The very fact that the French still possessed important island stations on the high seas which could be used as dangerous bases for implementing their cherished ambition to gain ascendancy on the Eastern Continent, had created doubts and fears in the British minds. They watched the extension of French hegemony across Europe with growing alarm. Anxiety over the progress of events was not limited to the Continent, for Napoleon's successful invasion of Egypt kindled speculation as to the possibility of a French attack on India. The British mind was overtaken by a grave apprehension of a probable combination of their Indian adversaries with their European rivals on their successful entry into the Indian sub-continent. Consequently, during the first decade of the nineteenth century, virtually all British diplomatic, commercial and military machinations in the countries to the West and North-West of India were directed towards the repulse of these dangerous anticipated threats.

Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India from May 1798 to July 1805, found himself very much preoccupied with Francophobia. He took over his office in a state peculiarly apt to be seized both with dread and with hatred for any power that was French. About three months after his arrival in India, he received an intelligence about the plan of General Malartic, the French Governor at the Island of Mauritius to render military assistance to Tipu Sultan,

the sworn enemy of the East India Company, Czar of Russia, who felt alienated from in response to an appeal made by him Britain and welcomed his terms. This scheme, through his two emissaries. To encourage however, could not materialize due to the the anti-British designs of Tipu, large body sudden death of Czar on March, 24, 1801. Had of French troops arrived at Mauritius and their scheme taken a practical shape, it waited for an opportunity to cripple the would have created difficult situation for British India in alliance with the Sultan of the British and endangered their interests Mysore. These dangerous proceedings at the in India. The knowledge of this Franco-French rendezvous on the Arabian Sea Russia collaboration naturally obsessed the Island prompted Lord Wellesley and General British mind with an acute sense of danger Harris to take speedy measures with the to their imperial and commercial interests sanction of the Home Government to meet in the Indian sub-continent through Persia. any intending crisis and to eliminate the To meet the situation and to counteract the French influence from India for good. In fear of French advance in Asia, with a pursuit of his vigorous policy, he enjoyed the sinister plan to destroy the British interests confidence and support of the British Cabinet. in the East, Lord Wellesley known for the As a first step, he planned to organize a anti-Gallican tendencies, planned to woo the formidable combination with the Nizam and Shah of Persia to a friendly alliance. A the Marathas against the anti-British nursery mission to his court under Captain Malcolm in Mysore and successfully destroyed Tipu established good understanding with his and his independent kingdom. The Nizam Government, and signed a political and was made the most subservient ally and commercial treaty on June 28, 1801. Besides was obliged to disarm and disband his French this, the Indian waters were fully guarded forces. He removed from service all French by the British navy and the French move- military adventurers and pledged never to ments from their island bases in the Arabian employ any European national hostile to Sea were closely watched. By these means, the French nightmare of invasion on India through Persia was removed for the time being.

This was not, however, the end of his anti-French endeavours in India. Fearing the probability of a French alliance with the Marathas, the other most formidable power in India, he crippled their power by war and compelled all its confederates to sign humiliating subsidiary alliances, which were principally aimed at strengthening of British hold over the contracting powers and eliminating the French military adventurers from their territories. This scheme of subsidiary alliances ably devised by him served as a powerful instrument in his hands to accomplish the ends of his forward policy. Several other states of India were entrapped into it; and his grand project was brilliantly achieved.

In spite of these successful anti-French activities in India, Napoleon did not abate his anti-British designs in the East. He found a powerful ally in the person of Paul I, the

This state of the British mind, however, did not last long. On February 15, 1803, Decaen, the French General at Pondicherry, received instructions from Napoleon advising him to establish secret contacts with the Indian Princes to secure a strong base in India; and to devise plans for any future eventuality of a war with the British without arousing their suspicion. Unfortunately for Decaen, events moved very fast in India and the British position had already been considerably strengthened on the eve of his arrival at Pondicherry. The French army under General Perron in Sindhia's service

on which he banked so much had been removed from Gwalior territories by the Treaty of Surji Arjan Gaon prior to his despatch of an emissary to him from Port

Louis. The French secret Agents in India political Treaty at Finkenstei on May 14, states had been arrested as a measure of 1807 as a consequence of which General extraordinary precaution. Their letters, Gardanne was sent to Teheran as head of a frequently intercepted by the British, enabled military mission. He concluded a military them to know which of the Indian powers and commercial convention. had to be kept under close observation. This was not the end of Napoleon's Desaeen and his colleagues were confident of political and military alliances. On June 14, large help from them not fully aware of the 1807, he brought to knees the combined precarious position to which they were armies of Prussia and Russia at Friedland recuced by the vigorous policy of Lord and compelled Czar Alexander I to sign a Wellesley. Under these changed circum- humiliating Treaty at Tilsit on July 9, 1807. stances in India, it was quite certain that the By this Treaty the two great military powers French intrigues could not have caused any of Europe lay prostrate before the military harm to the British; and any French attempt might of France; and it appeared that the at invasión of India, with a few thousand foundations of the Napoleonic Empire in troops, would have ended in disaster. Europe were firmly laid and the hero had Notwithstanding these developments in reached the meridian of his glory, ready to India in favour of the British, Napoleon embark on an Eastern adventure. It enabled suggested in his letter to Decres, the Minister the French Emperor to secure active of Marine, on January 16, 1805, a plan of pollabcration of Russia in completing and sending an expedition to India. This, enforcing rigidly the Continental System, however, was soon abandoned, when Napo- the greatest weapon in his hands to strike a leon got the full appraisal of the situation disastrous blow on the prosperity and in India from him. greatness of England without waging a war

But soon international events took such against it. Besides this, he was determined a turn that Persia, began to show more in- to annihilate the British Empire by a drive terest and leaning towards France than into her Asian possessions with the help of England. The reason for this change of the Russian Cossacks. He felt that it would relations was the refusal of England to help be easier for him to transport an army from Persia in the restitution of her territories Paris to Delhi than from Boulogne to from Russia on the unconvincing plea that Falkestone. At Tilsit, he had only one object she could not afford to spoil her good rela- in view, namely, to engage Europe at large tions with that country in conformity with in his contest a outrance against Great the Treaty of 1801. This unexpected refusal Britain. In the words of J.A.R. Marriott in from friendly England at this hour of need this context, Alexander was an important disillusioned Persia; and made her seek an asset in his diplomatic balance-sheet. The ally elsewhere at any cost in order to news of the Treaty of Tilsit had a very safeguard its own integrity. At this hour depressing effect upon the British statesmen; of turmoil in the Persian foreign policy, two and raised their alarm to their finger tips. French representatives, Romieu and Jaubert The nightmare of Francophobia was found reached Teheran in 1805 and 1806 to collect to be at its worst. The French peril to the the requisite information. Of these, the British interests appeared to be most acute former died of illness without completing and psychologically very much magnified. his mission and the latter returned to the The effect of this state of mind had powerful Imperial camp at Warsaw on February 8, influence upon the anti-French British 1807 to report his findings to Bonaparte. He decisions of that time.

was preceded by Mirza Reza Khan, with When Lord Minto took over office as whom Napoleon entered into a friendly the Governor-General of India in July 1807,

he was very much overtaken by the dreadful he felt convinced that the Persian opposition Francophobia. A couple of months after his to France would alone frustrate their arrival, he received an intelligence of designs; and this could be brought about General Gardanne's anti-British activities by convincing the Shah of Persia of the in Persia, resulting in the establishment of illusive benefits, he hoped to acquire from French predominance in the Councils of the French alliance; and the positive harm Teheran. This was highly prejudicial to the that it might bring to him and his country. British interests in the East. The arrival of Therefore, with a view to alienating Persia 300 French troops and 24 officers at Tabrez from the influence of France, he decided to on the western side of the Caspian Sea, left despatch John Malcolm in whose talents, no room for doubt in his mind that the ruler zeal and ability, he could repose confidence, of France actively meditated the extension with full powers to negotiate with Persia. of his cherished plan of invadnig India Subsequently, an intelligence was through Persia; and that he had already received by the Government of India about made considerable progress in the furtherence the disputes between the Ameers of Sind of that project. Its feasibility, however, and the Shah of Afghanistan; and despatch depended upon the nature of assistance, the of vakeels by the former to the King of French would receive from the Govern- Persia seeking his help against the King of ment of Persia and Turkey. He believed Kabul and promising to pay tributes to him that so long as France would remain on attainment of freedom from the Afghan engaged in the Continental War, she would yoke. The King of Persia accepted the pro- not be in a position to implement. her posals of the Government of Sind and intended project. But in the event of the appointed an Agent to proceed to that continued submission of the subjugated country with its vakeels as a token of his powers of Europe, the French troops would friendly gesture. The French emissaries in be free for a military venture in the East Persia took advantage of the presence of the which might not be beyond the 'scope, energy, vakeels of Sind and endeavoured to obtain ability and perseverance' of the French the consent of their Government for the Emperor. He feared that if once French admission of French ships into its ports. It troops succeeded in penetrating into the was alleged by the Government of India Persian Dominions, the way would be opened that these negotiations led to a satisfactory for their other waves to traverse them and conclusion. carry on further military incursions These diplomatic conclusions in Persia unchecked. magnified the danger of French invasion on India and transformed the fear in the Fran-

It appeared to Lord Minto that the cophobe minds of the British statesmen into primary object of the French advance into an alarm of very serious magnitude. To Persia was to occupy the port of Gombroon them, the idea of the French ships using and the islands of Armuz and Karrack, in the ports of Sind appeared to be an anathema the Persian Gulf; and to use these acqui- and potential perpetual source of danger sitions as bases for further infiltration in the to the prized British interests in India. East. The ascendancy of France, once Greatly perturbed by this probability which established in the territories of Persia and appeared to be more in imagination than in the Persian waters would enable her reality, Lord Minto immediately resolved gradually to extend her influence by con- to have a firm grip over the critical situation ciliation or by conquest towards India; and and attempt the renewal of friendly relations ultimately open a passage into the Dominions already subsisting with Sind with a view of the East India Company. In this situation, to preventing the French from taking the

alleged concession which might give a India Company. The despatch of two foothold to them on the South-West extre- emissaries, one to the Shah of Kabul and mity of India and a jumping ground for the other to the rising Sikh chief, was implementing their projected invasion of thought to be equally necessary. These two British India. The chain of French alliances powers in alliance with France would have from Persia to Sind was the most disquieting proved very dangerous to the interests of phenomena pregnant with most serious the East India Company. At any rate, the consequences to the British shipping and Governor-General did not want to leave commerce and their growing political anything to chance. By all possible means hegemony in India. To give effect to his and with all pronged diplomatic drives, he resolve, he decided to despatch a confidential wishes to keep the danger away from the envoy to the Ameers of Sind with definite British territories and to meet it, outside instructions to ascertain the real nature and their borders, if necessary. The rigid extent of negotiations between the French neutrality of his two perdecissors and a and the Government of Sind; and also purely defensive attitude appeared to him between the Government of Persia and ineffective, meaningless and unnecessarily Sind. risky, destined to lead the British in the

This, he thought, would be an effective vortex of a dilemma from where escape means of obtaining authentic information without positive damage to the British of the nature, extent and progress of the interests was improbable. Hence in the fit French designs, not only in that country, of Francophobia, but with a spirit of realism but also in the countries north of it as far despatch of missions to various princes on and as Kashmir and Kabul; and might prove an beyond the North-Western borders of additional source of intelligence respecting British India; and the creation of an effective anti-British intrigues of the French in Persia. barrier against the French inroads in the No speculative opinions about the unreality form of an inner and outer layers of states or improbability of this danger were allowed —the inner layer being Lahore and Sind to thwart the preparatory measures of and the outer layer Kabul and Persia, defence which might be adopted promptly became his well-thoughtout project.

to meet any dangerous emergency. His acts The Court of Directors and the Foreign were prompted by the supposition of the Office of England also realized the seriousness of the altered situation and concurred the 'early approach' of a French force towards the confines of Persia and the expediency of with Lord Minto in the adoption of his policy meeting the impending danger as a first of counteracting the French danger to India principle of prudence and precaution. by taking the border states into greater

The territories of Afghanistan and confidence and bringing them into a chain of Punjab were also most vulnerable. Any definite defensive alliances. At this juncture, Franco-Persian advance could be expected the Francophobia in the British mind was via this region. The Governor-General at its height and it worked as the most wanted to use these two states as buffers in powerful factor in determining foreign order to safeguard the frontiers of the East relations of the Government of India.

SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

EVIAN, FRANCE, SEPTEMBER 4-11, 1966

SANTOSH KUMAR NANDY

After an interval of four years, the International Sociological Association held its sixth Congress at Evian, France, from September 4th to 11th 1966. The five former congresses were held in Zurich (1950), Liege (1953), Amsterdam (1956), Milan-Stresa (1959), and Washington, D.C. (1962). The sixth Congress was supported by the

UNESCO and the French Government. The French Sociological Society took an active part in practical organization. The authorities of the city of Evian also assisted in making the Congress a success.

Compared with past congresses, the Sixth World Congress of Sociology was unique in certain ways. At the first congress held in Zurich in 1950, 124 delegates from 30 countries were present, and 56 papers were presented. At the Sixth Congress, as President Koenig observed at the first plenary session, the delegates numbered over 2000, which was almost double the number anticipated this time. Delegates poured in from the remotest parts of the world.

The number of papers presented exceeded 600. Furthermore, the number of themes discussed were far greater than ever before; in the first congress, for example, there were only three themes for discussion.

The first and second plenary sessions held on Monday, September 5, were enlightening; they covered a number of the most important general and special areas in contemporary sociology. The general theme of the first plenary session was "Unity and Diversity in Sociology." It was presided by Raymond Aron of Sorbonne, Paris. Addresses were delivered by F.V. Konstantinov (Moscow) on "Ideology and Sociology," by J. Piaget (Geneva) on "The Common Mechanisms in the Human Sciences," and

The following were the Working Groups (and their chairmen) related to the general theme of the first plenary session: "The Models" (J. Coleman—John Hopkins); "Ideology and Sociology" (F. Ferrarotti—Rome); "Sociology and Social Anthropology" (E. Gellner—London); "Objectivity of Methods of Research" (P. Lazarsfeld—Columbia); "Interdisciplinary Researches and Common Mechanisms" (J. Piaget—Geneva); "Image of Man and Selection of Hypotheses" (A. Schaff—Warsaw; J. Stoetzel—Paris); "Economy and Sociology" (N. Smelser—Berkeley); and "National Schools and Common Objectives" (A. Touraine—Paris).

The second plenary session was devoted to "Sociology of International Relations," and was presided by Otto Klineberg (Paris). Addresses were delivered by R.C. Angell (Michigan) on "Empirical and Experimental Studies," by P.D. Fedosseiev (Moscow) on "The Strategy of Peace in the Atomic Age," and by J. Galtung (Oslo) on "Sociological Theories of Conflict." The commentators were B. Landheer (Holland) and R. N. Saksena (India).

The Working Groups (and their chairmen) related to the general theme of the second plenary session were: "Conflict Research and Research in conflict Resolution" (R.C. Angell—Michigan); "New Nations" (G. Balandier—Paris); "Cultural or Racial

Tensions and International Relations" (P. Old Age" by H. Friis, on "Time-Budget de Bie—Louvain); "Strategic Thinking Study" by A. Szalai (Budapest); and on as a Social Process" (A. Etzioni—Columbia); "Planned Comparative Study of Nordic "The Professional Military Man and Military Social Structures" by E. Dahlstrom tarism" (M. Janowitz—Chicago); "Poverty (Goeteberg).

and International Relations" (S.M. Miller— New York); "Social Classes and International Relations" (V. Semenov—Moscow); and "Sociology of International Organizations" (M. Virally—Geneva). A number of political scientists also attended the plenary session and the working groups relating to the sociology of international relations.

A number of Round Tables were also held. They were (names of chairmen in brackets) on: "The Teaching of Sociology" (G. Germani—Harvard; R. Koenig—Cologne); "Problems of Documentation in Sociology" (L. Chall—New York; J. Meyriat—Paris); "International Researches on Time-Budgets" (A. Szalai—Budapest); and "Cross-National Research" (S. Rokkan—Bergen).

A special plenary session related to the Round Table on Cross-National Research was also held. Basic papers were presented by S. Rokkan (Bergen) on "Cross-national Sociology: Introductory Notes;" by E. Allardt (Helsinki) on "Basic Dimensions in the Comparative Study of Social Structures;" by S.N. Eisenstadt (Jerusalem) on "Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Total Societies;" by R.M. Marsh (Duke) on "Making Comparative Research Cumulative;" and E. Scheuch "Society as Context in Cross-cultural Comparison." In view of the current resurgence in the study of comparative sociology, the proceedings of the special plenary session were highly significant.

At the special plenary session, a number of reports on current programmes of comparative researches were also presented, viz., on "Family" by R. Hill (New York); on "Mass Communications" by G. Friedmann (Paris); on "Religion" by N. Birnbaum (Strasbourg); on "Law" by W.M. Evan (M.I.T.); on "Medicine" J.H. Mabry (Vermont); on "Cross-national Study of the Asian, African, and Latin American

A number of Research Committees were in operation, viz., those on "Mass Media" (G. Friedmann—Paris); "Sociology of Knowledge" (K.H. Wolff—Brandeis); "Sociology of Law" (R. Treves—Milan; A. Podogrecki—Warsaw; M.W. Evan—M.I.T.); "Sociology of Education" (A.H. Halsey—Oxford; O.G. Brim, Jr.); "Sociology of the Family" (R. Hill—New York; J. Mogey—Boston); "Leisure and Mass Culture" (J. Dumazdier—Paris; V. Athik—Paris); "Sociology of Medicine" (G. Reader—New York; E. Friedson—New York); "Political Sociology" (S.M. Lipset—Harvard; S. Rokkan—Bergen); "Psychiatric Sociology" (A. Rose—Minnesota); "Sociology of Religions" (F. Le Bras—Paris; N. Birnbaum—Strasbourg); "Sociology of Science" (R.K. Merton—Columbia); "Stratification and Social Mobility" (R. Dahrendorf—Constance); "Sociology of Work and Organization" (W.J. Scott—Stanford); and "Urban Sociology" (R. Glass—London; J.H. Westergard—London).

Special meetings were also held on Comparative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, Linguistic Sociology, Social Security, I.S.A. Research Committees, and Research Groups of the European Co-ordination and Documentation in Social Sciences, Vienna.

The Sixth World Congress of Sociology was conspicuous by an interplay of what can be called a number of broad types of sociological perspectives. In the official proceedings at the plenary sessions, working groups, research committees, and round tables four broad approaches to the sociological discipline and profession were often revealed. These could be stated as the European (excluding the U.S.S.R.), the Russian, the American, and that of some of

countries which were comparatively less of different countries together in many a prominent at the Congress. common sociological pursuit which" in turn,

This four-fold classification of types of will help promote the qualities of universality sociological perspectives at the Sixth World in sociology.

Congress of Sociology does not mean that The need for developing sociology as a sociologists hailing from these four geographical areas have been in agreement on all greater than it is now. Unlike many of the theoretical and methodological questions in other social sciences, sociology has not yet developed in a form acceptable in all countries. Among the Europeans, one could find differences between the sociologists of say, France, Germany, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, etc. Many of the concepts and propositions developed in sociology in the West are not accepted by sociologists elsewhere, especially American sociology, as revealed at the Congress, was also expressive in the Comparative less developed countries of some of its divergences. Representatives of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, of Asia, Africa, and Latin America found many of which have cultures and traditions themselves on common ground as they different from those of the countries of Europe belong to the lesser developed areas of the and North America. From the standpoint world and were poorly represented at the of sociology, the sociologists of different Congress. The Russians were perhaps the countries, with different cultural backgrounds and different social problems most united in their outlook on sociology, along with many others from Eastern and social aspirations, are bound to be Europe; a common ideological commitment different. Yet, the need for some uniformity perhaps made for this unity in the Russians' in these divergent sociologies has never been sociological outlook. greater than it is now.

The activities of the Congress showed that sociology which arose as a new discipline in western Europe and England and attained further institutionalization and professionalization in the United States is no longer a matter of interest for these countries only. Remote parts of the world have come in contact with developments in sociology and have accepted the discipline and profession as a worthwhile pursuit. Participation of sociologists from different countries in a common forum, such as the International Sociological Association, will go a long way towards bringing sociologists organization. Apart from the divergences in the broad sociological perspectives revealed at the Sixth World Congress of Sociology, one could discern differences among sociologists of different countries on matters of internal organization and future activities of the International Sociological Association. These questions will not be referred to in this paper dealing with academic questions, however vital they may be for the future of world sociology, as they involve questions of internal politics within the international organization.

FOURTH PLAN

S. K. AWASTHI

The Draft Outline of the Fourth Plan has to be studied in the background of the unsatisfactory performance of the Third Plan. The review of the achievements of the Third Plan presents a rather frustrating picture. It clearly manifests that except for the year 1964-65, agricultural production failed to show any increase and industrial production was much below the target. Increase in industrial production was slowed down on account of the lack of adequate provision of raw materials and components which was due to short fall in foreign exchange supply. One significant failure is the short fall in the increase of national income. Instead of having the gross national income of Rs. 19,000 crores, we have attained only Rs. 15,930 crores at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent instead of 5 per cent. Thus the national income increased by 12 per cent which was *only* enough to keep the per capita income the same as it was by the end of the Second Plan. There has been a continuous price spiral towards the end of the Third Plan. The prices of agricultural production rose by 48.4 per cent and that of industrial raw materials by 32 per cent. Moreover, calculation of resources are now found to have been over-optimistic. For current taxation, instead of Rs. 550 crores of revenue we find a deficit of Rs. 470 crores resulting in the loss of approximately 14 per cent of the total expected revenue. It would not be out of place to remark here that most of the industries could not work to more than 50 or 60 per cent of the installed capacity for lack of intermediate goods. The vulnerability aspect of our industrial development can be appreciated from the fact that out of the estimated imports worth Rs. 5,750 crores during the Third Plan period, imports of maintenance goods (not excluding intermediate goods) were estimated to be of the order of Rs. 3,850 crores. Also many of our calculations in the Third Plan have been belied with regard to the availability of foreign exchange. Only 5 per cent of our gross national produce were exported and our share in the international trade during these five years has gone down from 1.2 per cent to 1 per cent. Thus, there was an unexpected adverse balance of payments leading to serious foreign exchange difficulties.

The Draft Outline contains a lucid explanation

for all the failings as administrative delays, cumbersome procedures, lack of co-ordination etc. But these are certainly not new factors and as such were known to the Planning Commission when the previous plans were formulated. These factors are still with us. Therefore, no one would take the promise of the Fourth Plan seriously unless it is categorically assured that things would *now* be different. I agree that the Third Plan period was essentially abnormal but none of these abnormal occurrences could explain short fall in fields, such as fertilizer production and expansion of irrigation. There is, therefore, something deeper. The abnormal consequences of the Third Plan—high prices and high costs—have now become a built-in feature of the economy. Basically, because of all these factors and because of the inflationary pressures in the internal market, the value of money has been going down considerably both externally and internally leading to the devaluation of the rupee. In fact, devaluation has tried to remedy the abnormality in regard to international transactions.

In fact, there is not much difference between the Fourth Plan and the three previous plans with regard to their objectives, assumptions and approach. The major difference relates to the size of the Fourth Plan. The total outlay proposed in the present Plan is Rs. 23,750 crores of which Rs. 16,000 crores in the public sector is almost double the likely estimated outlay under the Third Plan in the same sector. Looking at the poverty of the masses of people in India, there appears to be a strong case for an ambitious plan because if we are not sufficiently ambitious in fixing our targets we may be compelled to face an impossible situation over the next ten years or so. On the other hand, I must say strongly, that if the targets we set cannot be attained then we are doing a job which is undoubtedly unrealistic. Therefore, when I comment that the Plan is much too ambitious, it is from the point of view of the physical and financial resources available for a Plan of such a size. The Planning Commission has been extremely slow in learning from past experiences. The fundamental defect of the previous Plans was that the targets were fixed first and then efforts were made for finding the resources to achieve these targets. When the re-

sources had proved inadequate the resources gap was *just* accepted or was justified as being a manifestation of planned economic development. The same difficulty prevails here also.

The main objectives of the Fourth Plan may be summarised as the attainment of self-reliance and stabilisation of prices. About self-reliance the Third Plan report says "The Third Plan represents the first stage of a decade or more of intensive development leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy." The Fourth and Fifth Plans will now take up this responsibility. Self-reliance as the outline also states does not mean merely doing without foreign aid but also being able to grow at a "satisfactory" rate of economic growth. What is this satisfactory rate of economic growth? The Planning Commission has not made it clear. However, it is stated that the aim should be that export earnings during the Fifth Plan cover the cost of maintenance imports plus debt servicing charges. Self-reliance is increasingly becoming a catch phrase with the politicians of the Planning Commission. If self-reliance was adopted as a policy at the Draft Outline stage, the details must be worked out from that very angle. Moreover, the acceptance of the objective of self-reliance (vague) should not preclude acceptance of foreign aid on *our* terms even during the Fifth Plan and beyond, if such aids will increase the rate of growth above the postulated rate to be achieved without this aid. For the achievement of the objective of price stabilisation the Draft clearly states that effective steps will be taken to check all inflationary factors, avoid deficit financing. For enlarging the supplies of essential mass consumption goods production of articles like sugar, textiles, kerosine will be stepped up. In fact, the general index of consumer goods prices hinges mainly on prices of food articles which have increased much more in proportion to the industrial prices. Therefore, the emphasis given on policies envisaged for reaching the targets of agricultural production ought to be considered as of fundamental importance for the attainment of price stability. Whether investment in the Fourth Plan would give rise to inflationary forces would depend on the types of investment to be made. Investments in projects which have a long gestation period would undoubtedly aggravate the inflationary pressures. The Government contended that devaluation will

not *necessarily* raise the prices of essential commodities. They proposed to entrust the tasks of distribution of essential commodities to co-operatives. Is it sound to assume that co-operatives can function as good distributing agencies despite certain managerial handicaps? This Government has been consistently giving the impression that holding of the price line is the responsibility of the consumer who is in no way responsible for the concerted action of the traders in raising the prices. Consumer vigilance may stem the rising trend of prices if the percentage of price rise is not enormous. When we take a longer view prices have risen about 80 per cent over the 1952-53 level. Under such a spell consumer vigilance alone cannot be effective. Thus, measures such as Departmental stores or consumers co-operatives are remedies which do not attack the root of the problem. Those in power are not realizing fully the rapid deterioration of public confidence in the Government's capacity to maintain the value of the rupee. The issue of prices has been baffling the Planning Commission for all these years and I am sure it would continue to baffle them for another few years. Because the steps undertaken by the Government to bring down prices were not effective, the Third Plan's progress in physical terms was much below expectation. Deficit financing or no deficit financing, in the absence of effective steps to hold the price line the same story of financial targets being unrealized and progress in physical terms being even slower than expected would be repeated with greater intensity. The avoidance of deficit financing will not avoid other causes of rising prices which will continue with greater intensity because of the larger dimensions of the Fourth Plan. The Draft Outline shows considerable anxiety about the spiralling of wages and prices. In this connection, the planners have urged that efforts should be made to reduce the scope of *automatic linkage* between price and wage increase. "Periodic stepping up of wages and salaries and dearness allowances consequent upon increases in consumer goods prices would reduce the balance available for the Plan". The Planning Commission has also made a proposal for freezing of wages and salaries in Government services and elsewhere. In fact, there cannot be a question of wage freeze without a corresponding freeze of prices and other incomes. The Commission fails

to show any awareness of the problems that would have to be tackled in a programme of wage stabilization.

The Draft outline grants a high priority to agriculture. Public investment in agriculture and Community Development is to be stepped up from Rs. 660 crores in the Third Plan to Rs. 1,575 crores. Special emphasis has also been accorded to production of such goods as fertilizers, insecticides and agricultural implements in the programme of industrial development. However, it must be pointed out here that the share of agriculture in the total investment has been brought down from 14 per cent in the Third Plan to 11.6 per cent in the Fourth Plan. This reduction is made up to some extent by building in a high priority in the industrial sector for the physical inputs needed by agriculture. Therefore, there is need that a higher allocation should be made to the agricultural sector so that the small cultivators are provided with the needed resources for absorbing the inputs thus made available. The Planning Commission should also appreciate that agricultural development involves much more than the mere provision of finance. What about the efficiency of various organisations which service agriculture? The recent upsurge in prices has loaded the economy with inflationary pressures. Therefore, the slightest retreat in the agricultural front is sure to cause an explosion in prices.

The problem of resources mobilisation is likely to be complicated in view of the fact that the Fourth Plan lacks the elastic sources of revenue like new taxation, cushion of foreign exchange reserve and deficit financing. During the First Plan the country was sure of its internal and external resources, in the Second Plan we began with a substantial sterling balance of Rs. 902 crores; in the Third Plan we had practically no such sterling balance. Therefore, we had to depend substantially on foreign aid. The same position will continue in the Fourth Plan. Here the position is such that we are not even sure about the easy availability of internal resources. Inflationary tendency and the rise in prices have brought the necessity of avoiding deficit financing. In this connection, the Commission has emphasized that "financing should be on a completely non-inflationary basis". Simultaneously the Planners

have also emphasized that "since the gross inflow of external credits will depend on actual trends in imports and exports during the Fourth Plan period as well as on the policies of the countries and institutions extending such credits, the budgetary receipts corresponding to this item will remain an uncertain magnitude." Therefore, we can conclude that it is not unlikely that deficit financing will have to be resorted to if the inflow of external credit does not come up to the expected level. The devalued rupee will reduce the total value of the Fourth Plan in as much as in the industrial sector imported machinery and raw material will play a significant part. Investment in this country has been running at 14 per cent while domestic savings are at 10.5 per cent of the national product. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that this gap is either closed or, as second best, it is not allowed to be further widened during next five years.

The task of export promotion continues to be difficult. The Planning Commission has not reviewed the export policy in the context of devaluation. The export earnings of the Fourth Plan do not envisage much improvement on the Third Plan performance of about 25 per cent increase from the Second Plan. The Government has put the maintenance imports at Rs. 5,200 crores out of the total import estimates of Rs. 7,650 crores, both on pre-devaluation exchange rate. Imports will now cost 57.5 per cent more, therefore, maintenance imports should be brought down considerable by using import substitutes. The effort to push up even existing exports by subsidies and incentives in addition to the general incentive of devaluation is indeed frustrating. This actually means multiple exchange rate and concealed devaluation, likely to lead to further open devaluation.

The most significant factor in the entire planning is public participation. The Plan is not a blue print of imaginations, dreams or visions, it has got to be a blue-print of actual achievable targets. Therefore, there should not be a wide gap between promises and performances. If there is a gap and if this gap is an increasing one, it may create disillusionment and the resulting frustration might make the people loose faith in planning itself.

Indian Periodicals

Forbidden Games

Even a child has shed all its possible illusions about the morals of the Party which has been ruling India for the last nineteen years and the complete lack of any scruples of the Government that it constitutes. Everyone in the country has been anticipating all sorts of devices and subterfuges thought up by the party and its Governments to help it through the impending general elections.

Unfortunately, however, the question of obtaining finances for the election kitty has always been an especially knotty one; especially on the present occasion when, after nineteen years of Congress Government, the value of the rupee to the poor Indian wage-earner has been successfully reduced to the almost infinitesimal proportion of about 17 paise—that is to only about 17 per cent of what it was in 1950-51, when the Government first launched out on its very ambitious and gloriously advertised game of development planning (?). And, yet, to win through the impending elections one has to finance—and, what order of finance! A Congress boss of the upper echelons boastfully told the present commentator immediately following the last general elections in 1962, that the total cost of the elections to the Congress party very nearly approximated the figure of some Rs. 69 crores.

No wonder that the country has been in the grip of a period of almost continuous and unrelieved food crisis since then! At a rough guess, the total amount of the cash gifts received by the Congress from organized industry for its election kitty does not appear to have exceeded some Rs. 6 or 7 crores. Public donations from party adherents and admirers and from those who have parti-

cular axes to grind with the help and connivance of the Congress party and Government, might have aggregated a like amount. If that were so, there would still be about another Rs. 55 crores to account for. If there has been any outstanding beneficiary of Congress rule in the country, it has been the food trade. With food grains production levels maintained at a point of amplitude to cover basic consumption and seed grains needs of the country, the Government have, nevertheless and, obviously, in collusion with the food grains trade, been publishing orrifying accounts of a mythical and continuously increasing deficit, all to the advantage and profit of this favoured trade sector in the country. Nevertheless, the food racket appears to have hit the ceiling, with hardly any more scope for additional racketeering in this direction. So the Party must find new sources of exploitation. With the Government in their control, it is a comparatively easy matter to deal with. How easy, would be evident from the editorial comments of the **NOW** in its issue dated Dec. 9 last:

There are ways and ways for arranging for money to fill the election kitty. In Calcutta, Mr. P. C. Sen tackles the problem by beckoning back private enterprise for running the city's bus transport and by allowing a hike in taxi fare. The favours, there can be no doubt, will be returned very soon, between now and February. In New Delhi this business of election-eve *quid pro quo* is accomplished on a much greater scale. What the Government did last week with cotton prices does not merely border on the scandalous but much more. *It was larceny* (italics ours) of the worst form, and yet there was no batting of eye on anybody's part. Where power is the monopoly of one political party, moral qualms become an irrelevance.

The Congress party is in big need of election money from the mill magnates and the rich cotton growers of Gujarat. It also needs the support of these sections if the challenge of the Swatantraites

is to be met. . . So that the tycoons may start feeling happy, cloth prices were increased across-the-board in September. That, however, was not enough. A great conspiracy was, therefore, launched so that the poor Peters could be robbed to pay the rich Pauls. It all began with the scarce of a bad cotton crop. The crop, as a matter of fact, has hardly been as bad as is being claimed. Production of raw cotton this year will actually exceed last year's output by $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakh bales and be of the order of 52 lakh bales. The opening stock was estimated at 22 lakh bales and imports, including the quantities in the pipeline, will add up to another 9 lakh bales. Of this total availability of 83 lakh bales, a mere pittance—certainly less than 3 lakhs—is earmarked for exports, and even allowing for enlarged demand for textiles, the requirements for domestic production for the whole year cannot, under any stretch of imagination, be more than 64 lakh bales. That should still leave a closing stock at the end of the season next year, close to 16 lakh bales, enough to cater to full three months' production.

Ordinarily, citizens may consider this order of availability of raw cotton as more than adequate. But not those *who have chicanery in mind*: The textile goods went into a huddle with the prosperous cotton growers. Carefully, almost too carefully, through October and November, the scare was spread that the cotton crop will be poor and late and that stocks were running low. The big mills bought up cotton much in excess of their needs. Suddenly—and there is no reason not to suspect that according to prior arrangement—the traders withdrew supply from the market. As a result, the weaker units, who were pre-empted from buying by their big brothers, found themselves in a precarious position.

The setting for the blackmail was now complete. At one end the traders and the big growers kept on refusing to bring out the cotton unless prices were raised by the Government. At the other end, the Indian Cotton Mills Federation went on threatening to close the mills and thus throw out of jobs several hundred thousand labourers.

The finale was reached in New Delhi last week. Mr. Manubhai Shah was only waiting in the wings and he could hustle the Union Cabinet into taking a quick decision to raise cotton prices by 5 per cent. *This 5 per cent in its entirety represents the order of corruption in the murky business.* Never mind if even total stocks available in the country are more than ample, the Congress has to provide the conventional 5 per cent to those who matter on election-eve. It is idle on the part of Government to pretend that this increase in cotton prices will not affect cloth prices. It has to and will, for the mills are not going to absorb the higher cost of the raw material. The people will have to fork out the money so that the ruling party satisfy the tycoons and, in turn, they can satisfy it.

The satisfaction, it seems, is bound to reach out to the army. For, the Congress is up to a deep game this time. What else can explain the induction of such stalwarts as General Thorat and General Vikram Singh—habitual khadi wearers and non-imbibers of alcohol all—in the ruling party's list of candidates for the Lok Sabha, And, even as the plot thickens, *poor (?) Dr. Radhakrishnan* keeps on chanting *mantrams* and condemning the recent bursts of violence allegedly on the part of the Opposition parties, so much so, that one could think that he too is running for election. Who knows, perhaps he is, for re-election.

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Chinese Friendship—India's Bitter Lesson

Below the above legend, the **LIFE** publishes extensive excerpts from Shri Patwant Singh's forthcoming book, **India And The Future of Asia**, which should be of the keenest interest to our readers. We desist from interspersing our own comments and explanatory notes which has been a customary tradition of this feature and reproduce the excerpts for our readers to form their own unaided judgment on the realities of Sino-Indian relations :

"We in India have had 2,000 years of friendship with China. We have differences of opinion and even small conflicts, but when he hearken back to that long past, something of the wisdom of that past helps us to understand each other." So said India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru on BBC in December, 1949. He was giving his reasons for recognizing the Chinese Communist regime.

Two months earlier, Peking, the other half in this friendly twosome, had expressed *its* views. "Nehru riding behind the imperialists, whose stooge he is, actually considers himself the leader of the Asian peoples. Into his slavish and bourgeois reactionary character has now been instilled the beastly ambition for aggression. . . ."

From this *love-hate* relationship India and China the most countries in the world and potentially powerful, set out forge a *friendship of convenience*. Its professed aims had wide appeal for other emergent countries : Asian resurgence, liberation from foreign domination, an opportunity to stage a dramatic entry on to the world stage. On the reverse side of this outward facade were two wary and traditionally hostile powers manouevring for positions. For the sake of convenience China temporarily cloaked her hatred of India with outward appearances of friendship. India did the same thing for China. But in the process she somehow allowed herself, as it turned out, to commit a fatal error.

Nehru's strategy of trying to cultivate China's friendship, at that time, had a purpose. The

purpose was to gain time for preparing India to face China, should such a confrontation become inevitable. *But this fact was lost sight of.* In the time gained India failed, economically, militarily and politically to gear herself to meet the growing menace of Communist China. During the heady days of the great play the countries made for each other's friendship, India began *rationalizing* each menacing move of her friend, attributing it simply to Asian resurgence. This was a *dangerous oversimplification*.

China made no such mistake. In her coldly calculating way she was in no doubt about her national interests, *or the manner in which India would further them.* In fact, as early as December, 1939, Mao Tse-tung had said : "The imperialists have taken away many Chinese dependent States and a part of her territories. Japan took Korea, Taiwan and the Ryukyu Islands, the Pescadores Islands, Port Arthur ; England seized Burma, Bhutan, Nepal and Hongkong ; France occupied Annam ; and even an insignificant country like Portugal took Macao." These ominous words left China's Asian ambitions in no doubt. They also happened to spell out the numerous areas in which China's interests overlapped with India's, though in the course of time many more claims were to be staked to other Indian territories. "The great People's Liberation Army would march to further victories until the liberation of all Asia was completed" said Chu Teh in an address to a huge gathering in Peking in 1950.

Despite these clear and unwavering aims of China, India's leaders continued to believe that the only area where her interests with China overlapped was in Tibet. At least this was the wishful thinking of India's Ambassador to Peking during the crucial years of 1948 to 1952. Though he professed no sympathy for a political system "in which individual liberty did not find a prominent place", he wished to see the Chinese united, strong and powerful so that they could "proclaim the message of Asia resurgent." He also saw it as his mission to convince Mao that a neutral position was possible.

The contradictions in the Indian envoy's thinking were evident from the outset. If he had no sympathy for a political system such as the

one which had emerged in China, he should hardly want to see it strong and powerful, since it was capable of one day posing a dangerous threat to his own country's liberal institutions. His desire to see the Chinese strong was as misplaced in an ambassador as an itch in a soldier to teach his enemy how to shoot straight. His eagerness to sell neutralism to Mao was equally unrealistic. And since ambassadors play a key role in influencing their governments' attitudes and policies toward the countries to which they are accredited, this remarkable simplification by the Indian ambassador of so complex an issue must have had some impact on Nehru.

If China's entire imperial history points to anything, it is this: China's main concern has always been with herself and with the cultural superiority of the Chinese people over all others. To them the people on the periphery of their frontiers will always be barbarians. For that matter, all those across the seas will too. There never has been any question of China's showing any interest in, or being involved with, Asian resurgence. A Chinese saying is "*vi vi chih vi*"—"Use barbarians to control barbarians." So much for China's emotional involvement with Asia or her desire to see it resurgent.

As for the hope of getting Mao to like the idea of neutralism, Mao had himself quite tersely stated his views on it in 1949: "Neutrality is a camouflage, and a third road does not exist."

Whereas the years of *panchseel* (the five principles of peaceful co-existence) were used to superb advantage by China, India did precious little in this time to weld either domestically or diplomatically her economic, military and political resources in preparation for the imminent struggle with China. While the fiction of Sino-Indian friendship kept India bemused, Tibet was annexed by China, the State of North Vietnam was established, South Vietnam was laid siege to, Indonesia turned hostile toward India, Pakistan was wooed and won, India was defeated militarily and South-east Asia was set a tremble by the might of an aggressive China. This, then, is what a "united, strong and powerful China" has meant to India.

What was India's reaction to these Chinese moves? Nothing. India could only *rationalize*. She fed her with logic of the Chinese variety and on acceptance of the Chinese annexation of Tibet. On April 29, 1954, an agreement was signed between India and China in which for the first time the phrase "*the Tibet region of China*" appeared.

China's edge over India lies in the fact that she has clear goals for which her leadership has

formulated equally clear tactics. As Mao said: "We have formed the concept for a long time that strategically we must slight all enemies and tactically we should take full account of them . . . when actually eating, we do it a mouthful at a time. It would be impossible for you to swallow the entire feast in a single mouthful. This is called the one-by-one solution. In military literature, it is called smashing the enemy one by one."

China's real strength is that her Communist system permits the massive potential of that vast land to be exploited and channeled at will. Her leaders have hammered out policies and programmes aimed at global objectives, and despite periodic internal convulsions such as the present one, the political, military, industrial and economic functions of government are controlled by a strong central authority in Peking. On the other side of the Himalayas, in India, are a people split and divided and riven by a hundred hues of religion, regionalism, caste, custom, political creeds, ideological schisms—eternally conciliating and temporizing, *rejecting absolutes, accepting equivocation almost as a moral code* and facing all dangers with eyes *blinker*ed by dated beliefs.

No wonder then that Nehru, in time, allowed his original appreciation of China to be compromised. . . .

The strange enigma presented by Nehru was that even though he sensed with uncanny perceptivity the relationship of the new China to Soviet Russia ("... it is a complete misunderstanding of the China situation to imagine that they function like a satellite state of Russia", he wrote to India's Chief Delegate to the U.N. as far back as 1950), his actions were contrary to what that awareness required of him. One example was India's refusal to recognize the South Vietnamese regime of Bao Dai, on the ground that it had colonial overtones. Peking was the first to recognize Ho Chi Minh's government in North Vietnam. That was obviously in China's national interest. But India's action furthered not her own but Peking's interests. India could have continued her show of outward friendliness toward China, but there was no reason to delay recognition of South Vietnam. Such recognition would have strengthened a regime hostile to Peking and that would have been in *India's* interest.

All of India's political actions should have had as their aim the generating of anti-Chinese lobbies in countries in which elements hostile to China could have been encouraged. In much the same way as China has generated hostility toward India in many countries—including Pakistan,

Nepal, Burma and, until recently, Indonesia and Ceylon—India's principal and paramount effort throughout should have been the exposing of China's aims in Asia. That this was not done was not so much the failure of Indian diplomacy as failure of the Indian leadership to give it direction.

One thing is clear: the major clashes between the Indian and Chinese armies in Ladakh and the North East Frontier Agency in October and November, 1962 need never have caught India napping. Chinese intentions have been obvious for over eight years, and it was only self-deception which led Indians to believe that the conflict of interests could be settled by negotiation. If the Indian armed forces had been told in unmistakable terms, when evidence of Chinese duplicity first became clear, to prepare for a show-down, the outcome of 1962 collision would have been vastly different.

When did India become China's encroachment into Indian territory? The first storm signals were up within weeks of India's playing gushing, gushing host to Chou En-lai in 1954. On July 17 the Chinese officially protested against the presence of Indian troops in Barahoti in Uttar Pradesh. They even gave Barahoti a Chinese name Wu-Je. Here was the first claim against what was indisputably Indian territory, and right after India's sentimental toasting of Sino-Indian friendship. The Indian reaction was typically uncritical. It neatly summed up by the Government of India itself in a press hand-out which said "that the claim to Barahoti was made by the Chinese in ignorance, particularly as they did not seem to be aware of its exact location." As if the calculating Chinese would do something like that out of ignorance!

This was a foretaste of what was to follow. Chinese maps around this time began telling their own extraordinary story: they showed 50,000 sq. miles of India as Chinese territory. During an official visit to China in October 1954, Nehru brought these cartographic inaccuracies to Chou En-lai's notice. He said the maps were reproductions of old Koumintang maps, and because the Peoples' Government had been rather busy it had not had time to revise them. India swallowed he story.

In April 1955, at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, while Nehru toasted Chou En-lai and introduced him to the heads of the 29 nations assembled there, China got set to bite off another chunk of India. Within weeks of a great show of amity, China made its next militant move.

In June 1955, Chinese troops established camp at Barahoti, came down 10 miles south of the Niti pass and challenged the Indian patrols there. The next year, in April 1956, they entered the Nilang area, which is also in the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. Five months later, they came into India across the Shipki Pass. India declared no national emergency, ordered no major troop movements, took no inflexible stand, did nothing to tighten up the Indian economy to meet the obvious and growing threat from the North. Instead she sent protest notes. And when Chou En-lai visited New Delhi in November 1956 and, again, in January 1957, the Indian declaration achieved a height of euphemism: "It was decided that while there were disputes regarding the border, there were certain petty problems which should be settled amicably."

Encouraged by the flabbiness of the Indian response, the Chinese got down to real business. With the conquest of Tibet complete, the next logical Chinese moves were: first, to consolidate their hold on Tibet; second, to acquire control over the mountain passes and the high ranges from where, in a militarily advantageous position, they could threaten the plans of India, infiltrate into Indian territories and begin the process of subjugating the Indian sub-continent.

To understand the physical dimensions—the scale and the topography—of the remote and desolate regions which constitute the frontiers of India and China, the first staggering fact to note is the length of the frontiers: 2,540 miles. This includes the boundaries of Sikkim and Bhutan with Tibet.... This long boundary has three divisions: the Western, Middle and Eastern sectors.

The Western sector begins at the tri-junction where the boundaries of India, China and Afghanistan meet. It ends in the region where the India States of Kashmir, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh form a common boundary with Tibet. From here starts the Middle sector, which ends at the tri-junction of Uttar Pradesh, Nepal and Tibet. Then begins Nepal's boundary with Tibet. Where it ends, at the tri-junction of Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet, the Eastern begins. This covers the the boundaries of Sikkim, Bhutan and the North East Frontier Agency with Tibet. It ends at the tri-junction of the North East Frontier Agency, Tibet and Burma.

The line which divides Tibet and the North East Frontier Agency, from its junction with

Bhutan upto the point where it meets the Burma border, is known as the McMahon Line. It was accepted by the representatives of the Governments of India, Tibet and China in a conference in Simla in 1913-14 (though China never did sign the agreement). It has a long dormant frontier which has been accepted through tradition, custom and administrative convenience by India, Tibet and China.

Direct access to Tibet is easiest from the east. But these roads run through difficult terrain and also subject to attack by Tibet's Khamba guerillas, who are even now unreconciled to Chinese rule in Tibet. They were much less reconciled in the 1950. The southern roads pass through Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal and India and are thus not available to China. The major trade-route from the north-west goes through Leh, the capital of Ladakh, and is also unsatisfactory from China's point of view, since it traverses Indian territory.

The ideal alternative for China, therefore, was to build a major highway over the Aksai-Chin plateau, in the Indian region of Ladakh. This she did. She can thus now come directly into Lhasa from the north, linking her industrial might in Sinkiang to her needy garrisons in Tibet.

The 14,000 to 16,000 sq. miles in Ladakh are vital to China for her highway into Tibet. Similarly, some 30,000 sq. miles of the North East Frontier Agency (almost all of it) are important to her as high ground from which she can dominate the rich plain of the Indian State of Assam with their oil fields, timber, tea and mineral resources. Not only Assam, but Sikkim, Bhutan, parts of Bengal and the Indian territories abutting on Burma—all become indefensible when the North East Frontier Agency is under enemy control. As far as India is concerned, NEFA in Chinese hands can spell the beginning of a process of Balkanization of the entire Indian sub-continent.

In 1961, war clouds began gathering over Ladakh and the North East Frontier Agency, in April, of that year, the Chinese intruded into Sikkim; in May into the Chusul area of Ladakh, in July into the Kameng Division of NEFA, once more in Ladakh in August and, with ever-increasing frequency, into the other Indian territories. India kept on sending notes "*in the interest of a peaceful settlement*" a phrase which, by then, had become as monotonous as it was meaningless. It was obvious that the Chinese were spoiling for a

fight so that they could legitimize what they had already secured, claim what they coveted and serve notice on the world that Communist China was a power to reckon with.

And, on October 20, 1962, the Chinese armies struck against India.

Within three days major fighting was in progress in five main areas extending from far away Ladakh in the North-west to Kibitoo at the tri-junction of India, Burma and Tibet. On October, 24, China made a peace offer in the form of a three-point proposal which, under the circumstances, displayed a somewhat macabre sense of humour: the Chinese said that the Sino-Indian border question should be settled peacefully. They talked of the sanctity of a "*line of actual control*", and suggested that the Prime Ministers of the two countries should get down to talking once again. Chou En-lai asked disarmingly: What issue is there between China and India which cannot be settled peacefully?" He added blandly: "*China doesn't want a single inch of India's territory.*"

"Some lessons India choses to learn the hard way. Among them was this: that the *boundaries of power have to extend well beyond a nation's frontier, if her national boundaries are to remain inviolate*. Britain knew this. To defend her Indian empire she created through conquest or connivance spheres of influence in Afghanistan, Tibet, Burma, Malaya and Singapore. Her aim was clear: to hold well beyond India's borders any threat to her security. As a reaction against Britain's methods, however, India refused to acknowledge even the validity of the principle. She was right in refusing the use of force, but there was nothing to stop her from establishing a community of interest with other countries or discussing regional security with them. . . .

She did sign treaties with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim on the same basis as Britain's treaties with them. In so doing she was revalidating the good precedent. But she did not go far enough afield. In neglecting to bring South-east Asia within the orbit of her concern, India allowed herself to be side-tracked by her own confused ideologies.

As the 1940s came to a close, it is doubtful if Nehru realized the inevitable: By pulling out Britain had left a power vacuum in Southeast Asia. She had no reason to explain the implications of this to India. Her aim was to continue to influence events, to shape them as if no vacuum existed, to maintain a balance of power between those dependent on her so that the trump card always remained in her hands. Whether she has

succeeded is an open question. But India, certainly, has not filled the vacuum. In the meanwhile China relentlessly drove southwards to fill the vacuum. The result is that, whatever its recent setbacks, China still has more say in the affairs of all this region than does India whose logical sphere of influence it is, . . .

India has to formulate a South-east Asian region in the midst of those conflicting pulls. She has to forget her *Afro* aspirations for a while and, instead, help find "*Asian solutions to Asian problems*." Afro-Arab countries will finally frame from their own experience a pattern of resistance to subversive Chinese methods. India's primary pre-occupation must be her own security and the security of Southeast Asia. . . .

With an army which equals the combined forces of Japan, Malayasia, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia, India's contribution to an Asian defense alliance could be considerable. The important thing is that the combined strength of all these forces would create a balance of power with China. Even more important, any defense alliance resulting from an Asian resolve to resist Chinese inroads into their territories could expect to receive equipment and other support from the United States and the Soviet Union, which individual countries might not, and should

not. It is in the national interest of these two countries to see such an alliance formed. . . .

A good deal of squeamishness is shown in India not only toward making hard decisions, but even toward discussing them. There is no equivalent in India to London's Institute of Strategic Studies or the Rand Corporation in the United States. Politico-strategic problems as extensions of national objectives are seldom discussed with the verve and vigour as a wide-awake people are expected to show who, by invidiously encouraging the belief that China will not aggress in South Asia, create suspicion and hostility toward defense pacts and even discussion of any strategic matter.

Ultimately, *the security of any country depends upon its economic base*. But that base cannot be developed unless who would destroy it are deterred. To defend their development nations and their leaders have to take a harsh decision. They have to have the stature and the strength to reject "isms" if national interests require it of them. Opposition to military and political alignment, despite the dictates of national security, can be as dangerous as the designs of an enemy across the borders. The exertion of power by an enlightened leadership has to be against the enemy and not against those who would advocate a spirited stand against him.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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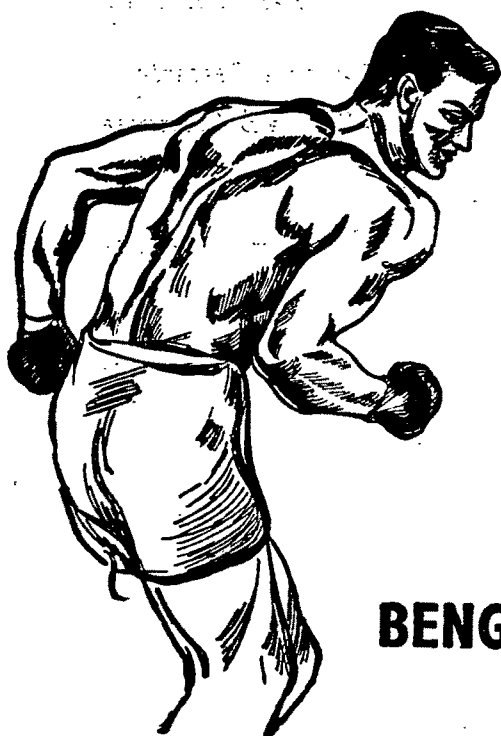
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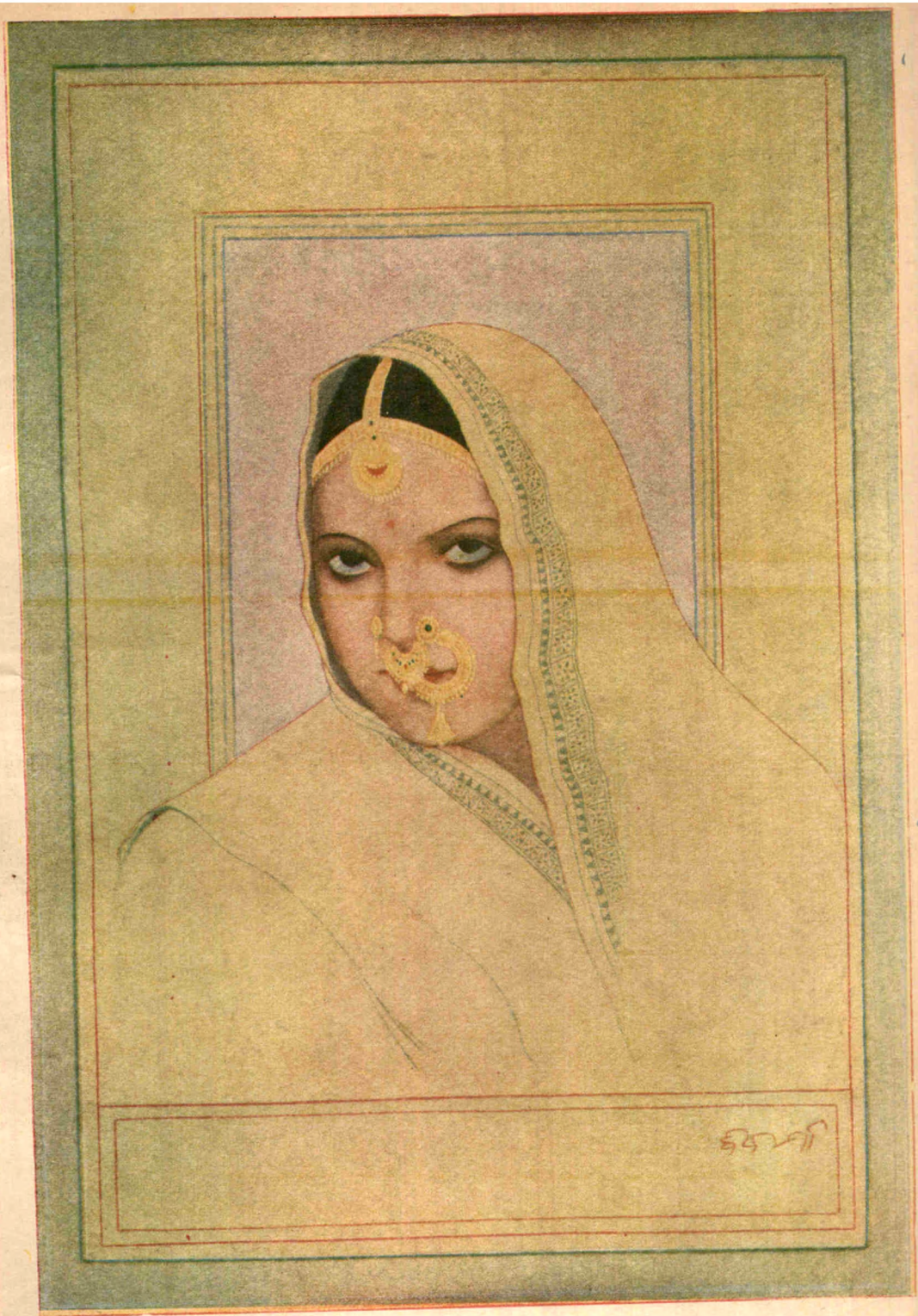
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NOTES

Elections

The basic principle of democracy is "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." Elections of the representatives of the people are held from time to time so that the people can govern themselves by their own elected representatives. If the elections are conducted in a free, fair and above-board manner, the persons elected could then be considered to be the true representatives of the people. To ensure good government the people should try to elect representatives who are honest, capable and meritorious and not merely the candidates set up by political parties. For political parties do not, generally speaking, look for talent in their nominated candidates. They rather prefer those who put the party's interests above all other considerations. Even national unity and security can assume secondary importance when party interests so require. The political parties, therefore, are not necessarily manned by persons whom the people or the nation can trust unconditionally. The party candidates can be and often are untrustworthy and generally inca-

pable of doing any useful work. But the people are not able to go deep into questions of individual merit, however important that may be for their well being, and persons set up as candidates by the political parties are customarily voted for by the people for no other reason than wide publicity, efficient canvassing and forceful propaganda. The political parties, therefore, stand in the way of proper selection of the representatives of the people by reference to their personal character and merits. The parties' nominees are considered to be good for the parties' purpose; but even that is doubtful, for bad men eventually give their parties a bad name too. There are, of course, some cunning and crafty persons in the political parties who keep things going for the advantage of the coteries and cliques controlling their organisations and these men carry on in the parties even after the public become conscious of the evil outlook of the parties. These so-called leaders are the greatest enemies of true democracy, because they try to modify the ideal of "government by the people": to "government by political parties." Even so, the basic idea of government by the elected

representatives of the people is maintained to a great extent by the elections in spite of the activities of political parties to vitiate things. The elections may not remain fully free and fair, due to unfair tactics adopted by the political parties and the people may have many undesirable candidates forced upon them by the leaders of the parties; but the elections still remain a better political system as compared to the different totalitarian systems in force in certain countries.

The unfair tactics referred to are various and quite often fantastic and farcical. The most commonly used unfair tactics are connected with voting by impersonating real voters, absentee voters, deceased voters and artificially created voters. People going to vote discover that their votes have been already cast by impersonators. People who are absent or have permanently gone away to other places, also have their votes cast for them by persons appointed by party organisers. Dead persons vote too in this manner. Then there are persons who do not exist but have got only names in the voter's lists by false representations made by party organisers, and the party candidates get these votes cast through hired impersonators. Apart from these utterly false methods there are other methods which are quite obnoxious and reprehensible. One is supplying drinks to backward peoples who vote for the candidate giving the best treats. Some votes are obtained for cash too. Cases of intimidation are not rare either. Minority groups are often intimidated and made to vote for persons supported by men in power. Other groups give votes in the hope of getting things done for their villages or town areas. These hopes quite often remain unrealised.

Another method used by dealers in votes is to plant "volunteers" in the election camps of rival candidates. These volunteers work for the rival candidates in order to find out who are supporting these candidates. They continuously give information to their real employers and help them to liquidate the support obtained by the rival candidates. On the day of voting they quite often tell the voters that the candidates of their choice have withdrawn and have requested them

to vote for so and so. They procure conveyance etc. too from the victim's camp. These various evil methods of vote collecting have made it difficult for men not connected with parties to win in elections. The parties do not seek men and women who can render real service to the community. As a result the political party based elections do not help to procure the best talent of the country for the service of the nation. The various evils referred to lower the moral standard of the country and teach young men and women to give up the higher ethical rules of conduct and to descend to falsehood, low trickery and breach of faith for a none too commendable purpose. That men and women of good families could go and cast votes in the name of other people would never be accepted as a proof of India's high moral outlook. Plying innocent villagers with drink, intimidating helpless persons or adopting other corrupt methods are all condemnable. The bigger the political parties the more guilty they are of corruption and immorality in the field of electioneering. The practice of democracy through the political parties, therefore, has lowered our national standards of morality. How this can be remedied and the elections made really and truly fair, free and clean, is a great social problem which our leaders can take up for solution. We know that the party system has been economically damaging for the nation. We have become near insolvent and destitute in the world of nations by nineteen years of party *Raj*. The moral damage has been even more widespread and intensive and we do not know how we can ever regain our lost dignity of outlook and purity of conduct.

The Elections are now over and the major political party has suffered reverses all along the line. The reason for this was well explained in the President's Republic Day message to the people of India. The party in power had been looking after themselves much too well to have any time for public work. Our Welfare State has been for long years a source of profit to party members and their nominees. Some called it a licence-permit *raj*. There is no doubt that the government of the country has been carried on in

nany spheres in a corrupt and condemnable manner. The political party men and their nominees have enjoyed special preferences and the best interests of the general public have been ignored. Profiteering and black-marketing have been permitted to become rampant. The welfare of the people had not received the attention of the government to the extent that it should have. In the circumstances popular feeling went against the ruling party and in spite of all organisation, electioneering, cunning, craft and trickery, the party lost power in Bihar, Madras, Kerala, W. Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and in one or two other states. The Lok Sabha majority of the party has been greatly reduced and generally speaking, the popular verdict has gone clearly against the ruling party.

Management of the Nation's Affairs

The Nation's affairs include great undertakings like the Railways, the Post and Telegraphs, Organisation and Operation of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, Production of armaments, managing large-scale industries, ship building, fisheries, irrigation projects, dairies, agricultural and animal husbandry establishments, maintenance, development and utilisation of forests, building and maintaining roads, bridges, public buildings, organising the law courts, the jails, registration offices and other departments of government, issuing notes and coins, controlling banks and banking services, international trade and foreign relations and a host of other things that crop up in the normal course of the organised existence of a vast population with its economic, political and social problems. The nation's affairs are therefore a super complex of human relations and action which have to be organised, controlled and managed to the best advantage of all persons concerned. The persons concerned may not be all there straight away; for future generations have to be looked after too. This great and highly complicated problem of managing an endless array of things is presented anew to the rulers of the country everytime there is change of government. The officials, of course, remain more or less the same; but that has its disadvan-

tages too. For much of the mismanagement and abuse of power rise from the desks and tables occupied by the employees of government. The top men and law makers are newly elected and they take over the powers of administration and legislation from the out-going leaders of the democracy. The success of the new government depend largely upon the ability and integrity of the newly elected representatives of the people. The question is, does the system of election permit and assure the choice of the best talent of the country for manning the ministries and the legislatures?

We have already described the defects that the system of electing the peoples' representatives have developed on account of the "middlemanship" of the political parties. The "peoples" representatives are really the party's representatives and are usually not chosen by reference to their ability and merit. So, the incoming representatives are normally no better than the outgoing persons, and the chances of better management of the nation's affairs recede to a far corner, unless, by some miracle, the new ministers are moved to greater effort in order to earn a better reputation and to reduce the suffering of the people. But, even if there is increased desire to help the people and to clean up the administrative stables, the requirement for superior ability and talent remain unfulfilled. Party members, as we have said, are enthused by their various ideals which are no substitute for techniques, skills and general administrative ability. As a matter of fact, the ideologies usually stand in the way of sound administration and encourage the growth of fads and ideosyncracies. Sanctimoniousness too can assume different garbs; but that does not improve matters either. Generally speaking therefore, we have not gained much by changing the personnel of the new governments in point of talent and ability. Whether the new incumbents will display a greater awareness about their moral obligations is a question that only time can answer. If they prove their ethical superiority over the out-going persons, that will be a great improvement. But that will involve many of the regular employees of the government departments

everywhere ; and a general clean up will be a herculean task. One can only wait and see.

Russian Criticism of Congress

Pravda, according to press reports, commented on the current elections in India in a manner which is critical of the achievements of the Indian National Congress. The remarks suggest that the Congress failed to improve the lot of the people in a proper manner and also failed to uphold the independence and sovereignty of the nation in full measure. Pravda did not say that the sovereignty of the nation was impaired by the action of foreign nations like the U. S. A. and Russia and that China was guilty of forcibly occupying large tracts of Indian territory. The Tashkent agreement, according to Pakistan's ex-foreign minister Bhutto, was imposed upon Pakistan by Russian pressure. No doubt the same pressure was also put on India. The Congress definitely 'lost face' by allowing Pakistan to retain possession of "Azad" Kashmir which was the outcome of Anglo-U. S. pressure put upon India. China was also thrust upon India by the secret machinations of the same powers, who liked to see China grow militant and arrogant. India lost prestige by allowing the rape of Tibet to go unchallenged and by engaging in camaraderie with China after she had committed that crime against humanity. The Chinese occupation of parts of Eastern India completed the picture of India's humiliation. The Congress also followed a megalomaniac policy of economic planning with borrowed money which the Congress government spent in an economically unsound manner. In this the Congress was advised by foreign experts among whom the Russian experts were not inconsiderable in number and importance. Pravda's criticism therefore puts the whole blame for non-improvement of the peoples' condition and for toleration of foreign inroads upon the Indian politicians. In fact much of the blame rests upon the false friends that India acquired in the council of Nations among whom the Americans, the Russians, the British and the Chinese predominated.

The Chinese Situation

Mao Tse-tung wanted to be a dictator of a very comprehensive type. He attempted to dictate to the 750 million Chinese about their actions as well as their thoughts and feelings. His revolutionary thoughts embraced all thought about all things. His systematised feelings could be projected, at least so he believed, upon 750 million Chinese hearts in a highly organised manner. He, of course, gave directives for all conduct and behaviour and left nothing to chance. In fact he wanted to make the body and soul of China a vastly enlarged replica of Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese could not take it. They wanted to have some thoughts and feelings of their own and some freedom to do certain things in their own way and according to their own choice. This Mao thought was ideological high treason. For Mao knew best what and how to think and feel. He also knew in a precise manner the behaviouristic implications of Mao-Marxist philosophy. He, therefore, resented free thinking, uncharted feelings and alterations in his rules of behaviour and conduct. He took up his work of enforcing discipline, first institutionwise ; but soon discovered that the urge to be free had reached almost every heart and every home in China. He could not rely on the police or the army to reach every individual in that vast country in order to reimpose Maoism in a wide and general manner. That is why the Red Guards were brought in. They were young, immature and enthusiastic. They could make a cult of Maoism and establish it ruthlessly in every home. But the Red Guards, by their overzealous activities did more harm than good to Maoism. People rightly thought that youthful hooliganism was no kind of political philosophy. Stamping teddy-boys could hardly be the heralds of a new cult. Even Chinese Communists could see the difference between a public nuisance and an ideological creation.

So, there was further intensification of anti-Mao feelings. 'Great self-governing bodies, large institutions, border territories and various other units of Mao's far flung

empire began to display signs of rebellion. The Chinese army refused to obey orders here and there. Red Guards were beaten up by workers and peasants in many places, and Mao Tse-tung had to *revise* his own thoughts, feelings and rules of conduct which had been sacrosanct up to that time. Nobody knows whether Mao has lost hold upon the Chinese people. There may be a strong movement for overthrowing Mao Tse-tung. Or again, Mao may have been able to win over the dissidents and rebels by giving in to their demands. That Mao is now willing to make settlement and compromise the basis of rehabilitating himself and his immediate followers in the political arena of the Peoples Republic is fairly obvious. How far these settlements will weaken his dictatorship cannot be gauged with any precision at the moment. But it is certain that Mao Tse-tung will come out weaker after the Red Guard and cultural revolution episodes. When it all began Mao was a prophet of a new cult. But the high priests of the cult turned out to be quite common and obnoxious. Some may have absolved the Prophet of any share in the blame ; but many have not.

The Red Guards are still making noisy and colourful propaganda against bourgeois revisionists, mainly Russians or their creatures and announcing their tremendous victories in all sorts of places. But the areas adjoining Russian territories have shown signs of breaking away from Mao's dictatorship and the General commanding Chinese forces in Tibet is clearly bargaining with Mao Tse-tung to settle the terms and conditions of recognising him as the supreme overlord of the Peoples Republic of China.

Among the numerous "victories" of the cultural revolution some were over big cities and ports which the forces of Mao Tse-tung "captured" in one way or another. The capture of Tsingtao was announced about a month ago and it was carried out in the same manner as the "capture" of Shanghai, Shansi and Kiangsi. In fact it was found that even at a much later date the Port cities and other centres were

defying Mao Tse-tung. At one stage the Red Guards tried to abolish all religions including Confucianism and were reported to have been spectacularly successful. But such "victories" lacked confirmation and might have been just uproarious demonstrations by the Red Guards without any depth or fundamental reality attached to them. About the same time Red Army units in Sinkiang were warning the Maoists to quit that region. The supporters of Mao Tse-tung could do nothing about it. Generally speaking the Red Army has not been of any great assistance to the cultural revolution. Many generals and top politicians of China have been engaged in anti-Mao activities from time to time, particularly in the distant border regions of China. Negotiations are carried on constantly with these half-rebels by the leading members of Mao's camp. The success of these negotiations have never been of any lasting value to Maoists. For the bargaining goes on, purges go on too. Top men have been sent out and those replacing them have not been found fully loyal either. There are factions in the Army, the great municipalities, the provinces and so forth. The factions are unstable and new leaderships, loyalties and alliances come into existence with great frequency. All the signs of being in the melting pot are there.

Indira Gandhi Hit by Stone

While addressing a meeting of Bhubaneswar last month Mrs. Gandhi was hit by a stone in her face which fractured her nasal spine. There are several factions in the Congress in Orissa and the stone throwing was the expression of somebody's disagreement with somebody else. Mrs. Gandhi said after being hit, "It is a disgrace to you, an insult not to me but to the country...I am agonized over your future and that of democracy." The shameless and ill-bred types who engaged in stone throwing at public meetings, no doubt failed to understand the rebuke or to feel any remorse for the low crime they had committed; but the whole country was overcome with grief and shame at the conduct of the perpetrators of this barbarous crime. In

India politics has got linked up with crime to a great extent and that is why politicians have to rub shoulders with criminals in the normal course of their political work. And if some of these criminals get out of hand from time to time one has to accept that as a normal occupational hazard of political work. The elections have shown to what wide spread extent the lower ranks of political workers engage in impersonation, false voting, lying and betrayals. The standards of morality are lower among political workers than in any other organised bodies of men and women. One may therefore meet the lowest types of criminals among those who surround the leaders of the land. Indian political workers require very badly to be rehabilitated in the moral sphere and some efforts should be made right away while people remember their doings during the elections.

The Radio in India

Radio broadcasting in India is controlled by the State and is carried out in a planned manner. Expenses are incurred in a reasonable manner and the personnel employed are well educated and are selected by reference to their merit. Yet, the quality of things broadcast cannot be accepted as anything near the best. Much inferior stuff creep into the programmes due to preference being given to so-called "modern" fads and fancies. The 1965 programmes had, for instance 20,049 hours of light vocal music. Much of this need not have been broadcast at all. The reason being the "Modern" classlessness of the music. Why the people of India must be forced to listen to the creations of utterly incompetent composers is a mystery to us. The words, the ideas and the melodies are mostly sterile from the aesthetic point of view and one finds nothing artistic in the stampede of whines that the light vocal music mainly consist of. Apart from truly classical music, India can boast of a galaxy of great popular composers whose songs can keep the masses entranced if suitable singers are procured to render the Bhajans, Kavalis, Kirtans, Bhatialis, Bauls and other varieties of songs. It is admittedly a thing of pride and glory for any nation

to have large numbers of inspired creative artists. But any person who can produce a new queerness in the sphere pseudo musical noise can hardly be called a creative artists. It is time the Ministry dealing with broadcasting became conscious of its responsibility to maintain the standards that have survived for so many centuries.

The Food Front

Out of about 500 million people who live in India approximately 100 millions would be too young, too old or too unwell to be full consumers of food. The others should require food in full measure and the diet would be mainly rice or flour based. The flour is of wheat, millets, barley, bajra, maize or jowar. People also eat gram in powder form or whole. Other food stuff commonly preferred are potatoes, vegetables, pulses, milk, fish, eggs, meat, fruits, nuts, sugar, gur, oils, tea, coffee and spices. Generally speaking all discussions of the problem of food supplies centre round the cultivation and supply of rice and the flour making grains. These totalled to about 85 million tons in 1964-65 according to the figures published by the Government. This figure appears to be faulty as the total areas sown with different crops show an impossibly low yield. The assumption is therefore that owing to faulty communications in large tracts of Indian territory correct figures are never obtained. Food procurement also is made from places with good road, rail or river connections only. Even then, working on the assumption that the average Indian needs about 16 oz of cereals and pulses per day to remain alive, the quanta appear to be sufficient for assuring such supplies. If however, the actual cultivation is carried on properly and irrigation facilities are improved with road connections provided to all villages, India can feed a population of 750 millions without any great difficulty.

Rice is grown in India in large enough quantities to feed the rice eaters fully with a little boosting by flour. The quantity can be increased by better irrigation, proper choice of seed and improved methods of cultivation. The idea that the cities and in-

dustrial areas must be fed with imported food must be given up and procurement of food from within the country stepped up by linking all villages by good roads. The various States of India must stop thinking about their own problems in an exclusive manner. If this sort of attitude were encouraged, India would break up and some of the States might even think of monopolising much of the foreign exchange resources of the country as a whole. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, for instance, can control almost all the foreign exchange earned through exports of Tea, Jute, Shellac, Mica, Iron ore and certain forest products. But surely that sort of economic organisation will soon cause total disintegration of India.

Going back to the food question if India produced food grains at the rate of ten mds. per bigha on 150 million acres of land the total of food grains produced would exceed the present yield by 100 per cent. This would enable a much larger population to be fed at a much higher rate than can be visualised now. And such an yield is quite within range of our resources. The total of all cultivable soil in India would run to nearly 350 million acres. 150 million acres out of this can be reasonably used for cultivating food grains. Whether the State should undertake to carry out the work of cultivation entirely or partially is a matter which can be discussed and settled. The state should organise and operate some collective farms as well as a few state owned farms. The latter would help to set up standards and also to find out real costs of production in different areas of India. In short the matter of food supply to a large population of 500/600 million persons need not create panic in the heart of persons of sound judgment and ability. For, the land area of India is sufficiently large and productive to make it a fully workable scheme to produce twice as much food as we now obtain in a haphazard manner.

Choice of a Prime Minister

Almost half the States of India having discarded the Congress as a ruling political party, the question of selecting a leader for

the Congress who will assume the Prime Ministership of India, has become a matter of subtle complications. For this leader must not only carry the confidence of the party members, but must also be the least cause of provocation to the non-Congress Governments of the states. Anyone who will rouse adverse feelings in Bihar, Madras, Kerala, W. Bengal, Punjab or Orissa, will not be suitable for the post of Prime Minister however popular he may be with the members of the Congress. The two most prominent contenders for the Prime Ministership are Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Morarji Desai. Indira is not disliked by anyone in the non-Congress states. Morarji, on the other hand, is disliked by many people on account of his connection with gold control and general obduracy. It will be a mistake for the Congress to back Morarji, as he is likely to destroy what little liking the people of India still retain for the Congress. Mr. Morarji Desai is comparable to those rare type of idealists who always associate self improvement with self torture. Some of these people stand on one leg for twelve years and others lie on a bed of nails in order to attain spiritual perfection. The Indian nation is seeking progress and social improvement. Mr. Desai would perhaps prescribe a process of advancement which would guarantee the greatest suffering to the greatest number. For *Krichchasadhana* is the surest way to *Moksha*. The people however prefer ways of progress that cause the minimum harassment, social disorder, public suffering and sacrifice. A programme of self-denial involving a wide variety of personal sacrifice might provide scul food for a political *yogi*, but could hardly rouse enthusiasm in the public mind. Mr. Desai is really "too good for human natures' daily food."

Admittedly vanity is an emotion which should be abjured, but vanity can be fed by wearing costly jewellery as well as by displaying oneself on the political stage. Love of political power is morally as reprehensible as love of gold ornaments, big cars, houses and money gains. Of Course one does not expect any comprehensiveness of vision from those who like to compartmentalise virtue to suit their own particular

idiosyncracies and non-virtuous desires. We do not clearly know what constitutes excellence among Congress men. Watching the candidates that the Congress put up for election, one would search in vain for any recognisable standards. Yet some Congress men are great and very few are not. In the circumstances we have nothing definite to say about Mr. Morarji Desai. We know many Congress groups like him. We also know that many members of the public do not like his way of handling the affairs of the country. An administrator should be liked by the people of the country. His general popularity rather than his eminence in the Congress camp would therefore decide whether he could be a successful ruler of men.

The Bihar Famine

Admission of one's faults is a quality of sportsmanship. It is seldom found in politicians who specialise in finding fault with others and in whitewashing their own shortcomings. The Congress rulers of Bihar have been slowly driving several million inhabitants of that province into dire distress bordering on starvation since several months. Denial of facts took up much of the Bihar Government's time and relief measures were half-hearted and very limited on account of

the technical absence of famine. The present position is quite incurably bad. It is admitted in the Centre that Bihar is facing famine conditions, but the overall shortage of food supplies is naturally hampering full scale aid to this worst affected area. The new government in Delhi may be able to do something about it, but we have no idea what they can do excepting beg for food from foreign countries. The various State Governments, Congress or otherwise, have an unavoidable part to play in this emergency. They must satisfy their own population as well as not draw upon supplies that may be required to stop starvation deaths in other places. This can be achieved only by having swift all out schemes of food growing in all parts of India. The Government Departments and the Government officials are incapable of swift movement. So that the various State Governments should form public committees of capable persons in an areawise manner to get this work done quickly. The Ministers concerned should also mobilise all personnel and resources with the help of the general public so that the schemes of food growing get going at a fast pace. There are no signs however that any such schemes are on the work tables of Ministries.

DR. RADHABINODE PAL

A Tribute

KARUNA K. NANDI

The death, last January in Calcutta, of Dr. Radhabinode Pal at the ripe old age of 88 years, has removed from our midst a most remarkable man. It was not merely his extraordinary juristic attainments nor his wide and deep scholarship that made him so remarkable; it was the man as a whole, in all his varied interests and achievements, his faiths and his loyalties, that, in their entirety, made him the very distinguished man he was.

In life we often meet talent in a variety of persons and come to respect it and the man who possesses it for what it is worth. But it is very seldom that we find a happy combination of talent and integrity. In Dr. Radhabinode Pal there was a happy marriage of extraordinary talent in a wide ranging field of endeavour and activity with an invincible integrity of character which made him the remarkable man he was. It was this happy intermingling of talent and integrity which contributed so largely to the distinctiveness of his personality.

Starting his early life in an environment of crippling indigence, Dr. Pal's early schooling passed through a series of shocks and set backs. During his early teens he even had to pay his way through school for a while by cooking for a number of merchants in a market place and then running for his class room many miles away. But for his unremitting effort against the heaviest odds and his passionate desire for a wholesome and comprehensive education, Dr. Pal's academic pursuit might easily have been cut short at a very early age. But his unconquerable determination to carry through, however heavy the odds and insuperable the obstacles, ultimately enabled him to triumph against his crippling circumstances and to rise to a measure of eminence which it is not given to many to attain in this life.

There is no doubt that his inherent intellectual brilliance enabled him, in large measure, to do so. Even as early as when he appeared at

what was then known as the Junior Scholarship Examination, he was able to bag a scholarship which, in large measure, enabled him to reject his family's wishes to put him into something which would yield him a modest living and carry on until he sat for the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. Then from the Entrance to the M.A., he attained very distinguished positions at every University Examination, earning scholarships all the way through. While studying for his M.A. degree at the Presidency College, Calcutta, Dr. Pal also completed the law degree course of the University.

But it was not until some eleven years later that Dr. Radhabinode Pal seriously thought about practising law at the bar. He took his M.A. degree in Mathematics, having stood first in the first class at the examinations and joined the City College in Mymensingh, now known as the Ananda Mohun College, as a junior lecturer in Mathematics. He continued to teach in this College with a great deal of distinction for the next eleven years.

What may have led Dr. Pal after eleven long years in the teaching profession to leave his college class rooms for the crowded and noisy court room for practising law does not appear to be very clear unless it was the fact that, in the meanwhile, he had also acquired the degree of M.L. (Master of Law) from the Calcutta University and was the second man among the University scholars to have earned this distinction. The present writer had once asked this question but was vouchsafed no clear answer. As a junior lecturer and, later, as the senior Professor of Mathematics at the Mymensingh City College, Dr. Pal was held in high esteem by his colleagues and commanded both the respect and the affection of his pupils. He was very popular and was known to have been intimately associated with most of the students' extra-curricular activities. When, therefore, he

ultimately left his college for the busy outer world, it was naturally a wrench both to himself and to those with whom he had for so long been intimately associated.

From teaching mathematics to practising law was apparently something of a sea change. Dr. Pal countered the question with a characteristic twinkle around his lips and said that law and mathematics were not so different after all. If law was systematized common sense, mathematics was only a digital expression of fundamental logic. But common sense would be reduced to utter nonsense if it was not founded upon logic.

Soon after he joined the practise of law, Dr. Pal began to give evidence of his extraordinary abilities in the field. He was not merely a very talented advocate, his powers of legal analysis were equally acute and straight forward. It was not surprising, therefore, that unlike most of his fellow practitioners at the bar, he hardly had to patiently and pain-stakingly pursue the elusive goddess of success through a long period of heart-breaking apprenticeship. Success appeared, on the contrary, to have pursued and followed him with a relentless steadfastness which was something quite unusual in the profession. Within a very short while after joining the bar, therefore, Dr. Radhabinode Pal was able to rise to the very top of the profession and begin to command a practise which was the envy of many of his already well established and senior colleagues.

Apart from his very large and lucrative practise at the bar, Dr. Pal also earned a great deal of distinction in the scholastic and the academic fields. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Law by the Calcutta University. He was also invited by the University to deliver the Tagore Law lectures not once, but on three different occasions,—the only person, so far, to have been so honoured. He contributed many very thoughtful and provocative articles to many journals and periodicals. He was appointed a consultant by the Government of India to advise them on the amendment of the laws of income tax. His was a long and distinguished chore of achievements in many fields of endeavour.

But the most distinguished item of achievement in a career of long chains of very distinctive accomplishments was to have come to him much later. When after the second world war,

the conquering Allies set up a War Crimes Commission to deal with those alleged to have been guilty of war crimes among the Axis leaders he was appointed to the panel of judges constituting the Far Eastern War Crimes Court in Tokyo. As a lawyer and jurist Dr. Pal always held that the law must always remain a dispassionate and uninvolved arbiter of facts and must dispense justice with absolute impartiality and fairness. The process of the law and the administration of justice must always be informed by absolute integrity; it cannot afford to or even superficially appear to be vindictive.

To a man with such an outlook upon the sanctity of the legal process and the administration of justice, the war trials in Europe must already have smacked of obvious vindictiveness against the fallen enemy. He could not have expected things to have been much different in their motivations and processes in the Tokyo theatre of war trials either. Dr. Pal's acceptance of his appointment to the Tokyo War Court, therefore, appeared to many who presumed to know him well, as something a little shocking. Not a few were prone to prejudge Dr. Pal that for the sake of the international glamour attaching to the appointment, he was prepared to throw by the board his basic loyalties to law and justice. Obviously they had no adequate apprehension of the mettle that went to the making of Dr. Radhabinode Pal's character.

His activities on the Tokyo bench soon enough proved that he was not the man who would agree, whatever the inducement, to give up his basic judicial impartiality and probity. He wrote a voluminous dissenting judgment on the Tokyo trials. He discussed and sifted evidence with a rare sense of responsibility and adroitness which has seldom been rivalled in legal history and proved—conclusively and convincingly—that whatever the measure of responsibility of the Japanese leaders who were being arraigned before the court, the most dastardly crime in the entire history of the war—a crime not merely against the Japanese people but really against the whole human race—was both wantonly and deliberately committed by President Truman of the U.S.A. and his team of Pentagon advisers. He proved with the help of facts before the court, and which were confirmed after the most meticulous and careful sifting, that there

could have been no pretext whatever for detonating devastating nuclear bombs over Japanese soil as a necessary deterrent to compel the end of hostilities ; it was on record that the Japanese Government had sued the Allies, through the neutral diplomatic channels maintained by Switzerland, for truce terms for the end of hostilities more than two weeks before the U.S. wantonly nuclear-bombed Nagasaki and Hiroshima ; it was further on record, as averred in Dr. Pal's dissenting judgment, that General McArthur, the U.S. Supreme Commandar in the Far Eastern theatre of war stubbornly objected to the detonation of nuclear bombs on Japanese soil as the Japanese Government's requests for truce terms had already been communicated to the Allied Governments through neutral Swiss diplomatic channels ; but Truman and his Pentagon advisers ignored these very valid objections because they wanted a testing ground for their newly developed atomic arsenal and, what better testing ground could one desire than the country of an already virtually vanquished and humbled people who had been suing for terms of an armistice !

All these Dr. Pal incorporated in his historic dissentient judgment which has since come to be accepted as the very model of judicial probity and courage. And it must have called for a great deal of courage and fearlessness to deliver a judgment of this nature. India was yet a dependency of Britain, one of the three Allies and an important participant in the War Crimes Commission. The result of Dr. Pal's judgment was, inevitably, to have held up to public ridicule the War Crimes' Commission and to expose the hollow mockery of the war trials, facts which were not likely to have pleased our the then British masters. But to a man of the late Dr. Radhabinode Pal's integrity these were wholly irrelevant considerations where the process of the law and the administration of justice according to law and with complete impartiality and fairness, were concerned.

This historic judgment which, apart from firmly establishing the image of Dr. Radhabinode Pal as a jurist of rare acumen, integrity and fearlessness on a world platform, brought him a world reputatiin as a legal talent of unusual attainment. It was soon enough that his name came up for consideration for appointment

to the International Court of Justice in the Hague. It was unanimously endorsed by all the concerned Governments and Dr. Radhabinode Pal's foot was firmly planted on the soil of international jurisprudence. In the meanwhile India had attained Independence, and questions of representation on many very important international forums and organs had to be seriously considered. One such organ was the International Law Commission ; Dr. Pal's name was proposed and sponsored by the Government of India and he was unanimously elected to this world body of noted jurists and legal luminaries. After his first term on the Commission, the Government of India did not, for reasons unknown but which can probably be quite accurately guessed, propose him for another term. Since Independence Dr. Pal had been a rather severe and relentless critic of the policies and actions of the Congress Government and, it is possible, he may have incurred their displeasure on this account. Whatever the reason, he was not proposed for a second term on the International Law Commission and the Government of India proposed, instead, the name of Sir Muhammad Zaffarulla of Pakistan in his place. But Dr. Pal's name was also proposed during the same term not by India, but by another Government and he was re-elected once again by a marginal vote. On this occasion the Law Commission elected him its chairman. He was re-elected for a third term later, the only man to have been so distinguished by the Commission so far, again having been sponsored not by India but by another Government.

After his third term on the International Law Commission had been completed, Dr. Radhabinode Pal came back home permanently and to the practise of law in the Calcutta High Court. Long absence from the country when he was unable to look after his clients had, however, caused serious erosion in the size of his practise and he found himself in comparatively straitened financial circumstances. His very large and lucrative as well as long established practise had acquired around him a very large body of dependents. Such was the character of the man that his comparatively reduced finances notwithstanding, he never for a moment thought of throwing overboard his numerous dependents most of whom had no more than a very tenuous

and illusive call upon his generosity. With a reduced income he had also to meet large accumulated arrears of his own income tax dues. What he did to reconcile these conflicting claims was, perhaps, equally characteristic of the man. He sold his very large house in North Calcutta, paid off all his debts and shifted to a rented building in the Southern suburbs of the metropolis.

As has already been noted, except for once proposing him for a seat on the International Law Commission, the Government of India did never think of according any public recognition to Dr. Pal's services to the nation. It was at the fag-end of his life that they seem to have belatedly awakened to a sense of their responsibilities in this behalf and appointed him a National Professor of Law. Unfortunately it was about this time that his health suffered a serious breakdown from which, alas, he was never again destined to fully recover. Only two months before his death he had long discussions with the present writer when he expressed his desire, when he had fully recovered his health, to work on the concept of law as the foundation of a democratic society and even promised some contributions on the subject to the columns of

The Modern Review. He conceived the rule of law—based on the fundamental ethics of social living and not merely as an instrument of administrative expediency—as the bedrock of a democratic polity and was working to present the subject to his people in its appropriate historical, ethical and social context. It might easily have been, when completed, his intellectual *magnum opus*. Unfortunately that callous but immutable arbiter of all things, *Time*, decreed that it would not be.

A great man, both intellectually and morally, Dr. Radhabinode Pal, in his personal relations was an epitome of simplicity. Vanity was as foreign to his nature as ostentation of any kind was hateful to him. To know him was both to love and respect him and he had that unusual knack of bringing himself down to the level of his auditors which at once made him their closest kinsman and friend.

It is foolish to lament his passing although it is but natural to feel that had he been spared a little longer there might have been a great deal more that he might have left behind for posterity. All that we can and should endeavour to do now is to evaluate and preserve what he has already left behind for his forbears.



SCIENCE AND RELIGION

DARBARA SINGH

For his life and living, which are important matters for him, man has had the most serious concern, and they have engaged his attention from the dawn of his consciousness. His ideas went on changing according to his information, knowledge, needs and aspirations. He has been propounding theories, establishing principles and generalising, but imperfections have always been there, and despite his stubbornness and hesitancy, gradually new theories were suggested. One cannot say that the final word will ever be said.

Man seem to have started his way of living as follows. In the beginning man was very weak and helpless. He was full of fear and timidity. His insignificance against the vast and powerful forces of nature had an effect on his mind. He conceived the supernatural and was afraid of the phenomena of fire, storm, thunder, sun, earthquake, disease, drought and famine. He started worshipping or bowing to these phenomena, begging mercy of them. This gave rise to gods whom man was to worship to appease them. He was also afraid of venomous creatures like snakes and lizards. Dead bodies and wildernesses were also the cause of fear for man and he adopted the figment of spirits. Then the noble feelings of revealing facts and helping others in adversity, and not misappropriating others possessions produced in him the idea of truth, charity and fellow feelings.

Thus in the mind of man dawned the sense divinity or spiritualism. This gave rise to tenets of noble living, as thou shalt not tell lie, steal, deceive, harm, commit adultery, and possess greed but show kindness, mercy and fellow-feelings, give charity and respect others' feelings. This formed man's religion or dharma upon which he laid emphasis.

These noble tenets of religion, coupled with the use and fear of supernaturalness gave rise to many gods and goddesses or deities. These deities regulated the life of man without the help of governmental force. Thus a man could be dissuaded from stealing and robbing and committing murder and adultery, not only by criminal laws but by inner urges too, and he could be rewarded for good actions not only by government but by gods and goddesses too.

These deities were more or less local imaginations and later on they were exalted and unified and endowed with special powers; some were given the power of creation, some of destruction, some of maintenance, some of wealth, some strength, some knowledge, and so on. Accordingly deities like the Brahma, the creator, Shiv, the destroyer, and Vishnu, the sustainer, and goddesses like Durga of power, Kali of might, Saraswati of learning, Lakshmi of wealth, Minerva of learning, etc, came to be worshipped.

The process did not stop here². A still higher power, a coordinating head, or the supreme being, the fountainhead of all qualities of the deities and gods and goddesses was conceived, and God was the result. There was to be one God, who was imagined as Eternal and Primal, the Creator the Destroyer and Omnipotent and Omnipresent. This is the culmination of man's imagination or conception and this is how God was 'discovered', and now all civilised countries and peoples believe in One God and worship him. It is this God who now guides, inspires and frightens and keeps man on the right track, without any police force. Thus to regulate his conduct man has two ways; one of compulsion and the other of inner urges. Under the former he has made laws which inflict punishment for

delinquency and to enforce them government was formed, which had force and demanded obedience. Under the latter method of inner urges an appeal had to be made in the name of God and a sense of moral duty to society as well as to individuals, and this method proved very effective. Whether imagined or discovered, God has proved a mighty force to preserve the moral tone of society and individuals. In the absence of God the law of the land alone will come, but the same cannot be so effective. It will limp and fall down. God hence should take precedence over law and is immeasurably superior to it. God means voluntary compulsion to act rightly for the sake of society as well as individuals.

This even was not considered enough. God became more powerful and beyond the reach and conception of man. He was taken as absolute truth and finality, and the arbiter of man's destiny. Man took himself too on a higher plane, thinking and wishing that, with his death all his attainments should not be lost. He considered himself as a part of that external Being, having Soul which knows no death, and after his death the Soul rejoins God from whom it had temporarily parted, at the time of his birth. This soul seeks to enable him to preserve himself though without the earthly possessions, and gives him sanctity over other forms of life.

Along side of it, with the increase of population and the number of clans and tribes God came to be worshipped in different ways and the stress was laid by great men called Avatars and Prophets who interpreted God differently and appropriated Him to themselves. Society was associated with God and different societies would worship Him in different ways, and they adopted distinctive marks as some wore Janeoo, a sacred thread, some worshipped idols, some enforced circumcision and some kept long hair and discarded clothes, some insisted on renunciation and Ahimsa and so on. This seems to have been

done with the motive of making God more personal and close to man. Another thing that happened with religion is that God became associated with knowledge and it became a part of religion to believe in natural phenomena of birth and death, creation of life, rise and fall of day, movement of planets, occurrence of eclipses and earthquakes, etc, in a particular manner. This started conflict about God and clash among religions. This resulted in deterioration of religion, religious intolerance, and persecution, and in the name of religion and God many horrible atrocities have been committed, so much so that men have been burnt alive, flayed alive, sawn and cut into mince-meat, mounted on the cross and bricked alive and done to death in several other ways, without any remorse and regret. The history is replete with examples from all countries.

II

But with the advancement of scientific knowledge realities about the natural phenomena appeared before the man, and his views changed. As scientific knowledge is common sense, any correct and verified information, though at present not the ultimate reality, man is more likely to believe it. It is difficult now to believe that the earth is flat and is resting on the horns of a bull, the sun moves around the earth, the floods, thunderstorms, earthquakes and epidemics are the result of God's wrath, God controls the destiny of men, his days are numbered and there is anything like heaven and hell, and so on. It is also difficult to believe that in the sun God's will and might work. He controls birth and death, and man's will and determination to do good or bad.

It is equally difficult to conceive that God controls the movement of earth and planets and maintains the order of the Universe and the moment His will vanishes there will be chaos.

Science has enabled man to analyse and remove his fear of fire, earthquake, eclipse, tides, etc, as he can explain them and has learnt how to control the forces of nature as disease, flood, drought, famine and so on. Admitted there is a large and a very large number of phenomena that man has as yet neither been able to explain nor master, but this is no triumph of religion or defeat of science. Scientific investigation goes on and new discoveries are made and man's understanding improves and his control over nature goes on tightening. Is it a small thing that man now can move about in the air, control the course of rivers, harness the atomic energy, listen to and see his friend even if he be far away, in no time, and find what is lying at the bosom of the sea. Science is resolving the mysteries of nature and will continue to do, and knows no limitations. But even if there be any, human mind now cannot find satisfaction in 'unknowable' and will work more and strive harder to overcome difficulties. In brief, man now is after knowledge and information which can stand the test of his reason and be verified by observation. Herein has now come the conflict between science and religion.

Science is verified information, religion is imagination and dogmatism. Science is common sense whereas religion is myth and emotion. Science is reality and finality whereas religion is stagnation and indoctrination. Science hence is a natural urge whereas religion is a mental and social compulsion. Science satisfies within a limited region, the immensely important human need for comprehension. It is therefore that science is becoming more and more important and popular whereas religion is fast losing its hold.

But the purpose of religion and its utility should not be forgotten. It has done and is capable of doing wonderful things. In purposefulness science actually fails and religion transcends. Science only wishes to know for the sake of knowledge and the

scientific discoveries may benefit the world, but the scientists do not pursue with any humanistic need. Religion on the other hand does appear to have come in for human good. Science does not attach any importance to value but stops at explanation of physical and material phenomena. Science only gives structure and never the aim and purpose of that structure. Einstein goes so far to say that some great work of literature or music matters more to us than any scientific theory. Similarly on looking at a rose you might think of the laws of osmotic pressure, surface tension, transpiration and gravity and understand it better, but will not know why all these laws operate there to give the smell and fragrance and joy of beauty. To know that you have to resort to divinity of some mysterious benevolence. Similarly the vital problems such as "what is the good life, what is the significance of suffering, what is the chief aim of life", etc, will never be authoritatively dealt with by science. For such things we have to resort to noble imagination of piety and religion. It is religion alone that satisfies deeper needs, and the problems it deals with are intrinsically very important.

Not only that, for the sake of society and individuals religion is indispensable. To individuals it gives inner satisfaction; it ennobles him. When a good action is contemplated not for any motive but for the sake of mental peace and satisfaction alone or as a duty, its efficacy is incomparable. When every morning one repeats that lying, stealing, deceiving are forbidden, and helping, serving, resisting evil and sacrificing are essential, not with any aim but in the name of God, and concentrates on these matters and prays to God, one is automatically driven towards one's duty. This is a wonderful thing. Religion, hence, is a great urge and cannot be replaced by anything else and no effort should be made to weaken it. The only thing that is needed is that religion should produce religious feelings:

it should be rational and the conflict of religions should vanish. Religion should be combined with science or it should do only with that aspect of life which does not involve any scientific knowledge. Religion must become only conduct of life and should have no concern with the phenomena of earth, moon, earthquake, birth, death, and so on, and unless this is done there is a great danger to the institution of religion and to the orderly working of society and the ethical sense of mankind.

This means that the area of religion has to be recalculated as many things hitherto included in its area no longer convince man. The conception of God and His infinite greatness and might and the idea of soul, as a part of Universal, All-pervading Omnipotent God, and the promise of future comforts Heaven etc, the things that have formed the basis of religion have to be modified as they no longer convince an unsophisticated and probing mind. As to, how this is to be done evidently is a great

challenge to religion and the solution has to be found, otherwise religion will soon vanish and man is sure to become a brute selfish being, recognising only punitive force and selfish interest. Without religion society will disintegrate and along with it the nobility of man, and his life will become a mechanical thing and lose all interest

Summing up, man's horizon is expanding and mere myths and dogmas no longer convince him. But his life and living should not be selfish as it involves danger to humanity itself. What is required is helpful neighbourly habits and these qualities can best be enforced by inner urges which should rise spontaneously in him, and for this the impelling force of religion has the greatest utility. But religion should not dogmatise, it should convince; it should not be infliction but absolute necessity. With the growth of science religion also should grow and its necessity should be more imperative and this alone can ensure better human living.



ADMINISTRATION AND BEHAVIOURAL RESEARCH

A Transactional Model

BISHWA B. CHATTERJEE

Professor S. Dedijer (1964), of the University of Lund, Sweden, in his talk on "Research Politics" to the Indian Parliamentary and Scientific Committee, on April 25, had drawn attention to certain emerging trends in the field of scientific research vis-a-vis administration and political behaviour in India. Prof. Dedijer states that effective political action is likely to be handicapped due to "dearth of accurate information on the current state and the problems of growth of Indian Scientific Research". Then he goes on to say that effective research by individuals and organisations may be hampered due to "research politics"—struggle for control of resources which are scarce—made more intense due to lack of a developed research community and of scientific tradition. The present author does not share Professor Dedijer's categorical assessment, in absolute terms, of the lack of developed research community and scientific tradition in modern India—which, however, is not germane here. Professor Dedijer's prescription for curbing these "political diseases" is "to improve by systematic effort the administrative know-how and know-why of their leaders". The requisite qualifications for the effective leader of scientific research organisations include, according to Prof. Dedijer, "administrative ability". While noting that leaders of organisation rarely do research themselves if the organisation has more than half a dozen researchers, Prof. Dedijer, heartily recommends this practice, saying that they (leaders of scientific organisations) "*spend and should spend most of their time in administrative matters*". (Italics added). This type of allocation of the leader scientist's available time between administrative and research work, is, in view of Prof. Dedijer, an example of "a developed research policy".

The main thesis of this article is that for a developing democratic country like India, which is wedded to the policy of planned social change, a policy which fosters the deployment of best available scientific talents for administrative work is not only unhealthy but is responsible for

many of the shortcomings and failures of science itself. Instead of taking the valuable time of the scientist away from research and teaching to administrative functions, conditions should be made, where he is not bothered with irksome administrative details, which is non-productive, non-creative and tantamounts to under-employment of specialist and rare talents which the country can ill-afford to fritter away. What, then, are the alternatives to the policy of inducing and alluring top-class scientists to become top-class administrators so that they practically abandon active, fruitful research activities for routine administrative function? These are: (1) Evolving a class of administrator—scientists—"technocrats"—who, will bring to bear upon administration their total impact of scientific orientation and outlook, equipped as they are with high level scientific background and competence.

Space will not permit us to show that the extent of the ushering in of "technocracy"—at least in integrating research and administration is a function of the overall technological advancement of a country. Underdeveloped countries cannot throw up sufficient number of "technocrats"—if at all that were possible against all canons of political behaviour will only result in drastic impoverishment of the quality and volume of scientific research which will supply the technocrats themselves. (2) Evolving an atmosphere with the proper machinery and procedures for greater representation of top-scientists on policy-making bodies at various levels. To the extent this also entails taking away valuable time of the scientist from his teaching, research and application, to non-research, non-productive, (immediately, but might be productive on a long term basis) routine activity, actually a balance has to be struck as to the extent that such practice should be fostered. The case of the Indian scientist sitting as an expert on more than 73 committees is not just a joke—but a painful fact. (3) Lastly, conscious and deliberate creation of an ethos encompassing both the administrative as well as the research set-

ups which will call for substantial degree of cooperation and integration between the activities and decisions of the two types of personnel—administrative and scientific. This implies a far greater drawing in and involvement of the administration towards all that science and research stand for and at the same time, a tremendous reduction of the distance separating the scientist, the researcher and practitioner, and administrator. One characteristic of this two-way communication between scientific and administration is that the two types of personnel are brought closer together in a functional sense. Yet the scientist does not have to give up his own role of a teacher, researcher or inventor preference to the role of an administrator—and the same applies to the administrator—he does not have to give up his own administrative role for that of the scientist. The transactional model that is being developed here ensures greater and fuller and more effective appreciation of reciprocal roles of scientists and administrators, without anyone being required to give up his own specialized roles. The model is calculated to conserve scientific talents and efforts—for scientific ends;—and at the same time ensuring that administrative decisions lean more and more heavily upon the findings of scientific research, and scientific research itself is geared—when needed to furthering correct and efficient administrative behaviour. The remaining part of this article is devoted to an analysis of the factors conducive to the building of this ethos—which will maximize transaction between scientific research and administration—which is the first step before political decisions can partake the benefit of science more fully than at present, not only in India, but even in many “advanced” countries. This article will give relatively great attention to behavioral research than physical or biological research—because its fuller and interrelationship with administrative behaviour have not been fully spelled out—and the possibilities not fully appreciated yet.

Some basic concepts

The concepts of administration is wide in scope and coverage. Boiled down to its essential it consists of prescribed processes for arriving at decisions at higher levels and their carrying

out at lower levels with efficiency. Simin (1958) has clearly demonstrated this two-fold aspect of administrative process—one of reaching correct decisions, and the other of ensuring efficient execution of the decisions taken. Administration will then also include the organisation that ensure correct decision-making as well as its effective execution.

An analysis of the taxonomy of scientific research behaviour will also show a few similarities with administrative behaviour. Research starts with a question or problem to which an answer is sought—which will be more acceptable than other alternatives. The conditions that are associated with the issue under consideration systematically studied, shifted, classified, and manipulated, following clearly spelled-out designs, and utilising standardized instruments for collection of data. The data so collected are also systematically analysed to assess the inter-relationships between the different sets of variables—either deliberately manipulated by the experimenter, or varied by natural processes, which finally point out the most acceptable answer to the question with which the research originated. Thus decision making as to the design of the experiment, the procedure adopted for manipulating variables, the instruments to be used for recording data, and the type of analysis to be used for the data collection, is important in scientific research also, just as their execution (experimentation, sources, observation etc.) follows from them, within the rules of organisational set-up. Despite this similarity between administrative process and scientific research process there are some glaring difference too :

(1) The assumptions, design, instruments and method of analysis—the whole gamut of decision making in science tries to avoid arbitrariness and secrecy. Everything is public and replicable at least in principle—one decision following the other logically, with the minimum of the arbitrary and personal element in decision making.

(2) Process of communication between hierarchical levels within the scientific organisation is far more efficient, precise and logically prescribed (less “noisy”, using communication theory terminology) than in the administrative set-up. This results in greater congruence between scientific decision making (deciding upon the design, procedures, instrumentation, and methods of data

analysis) and execution (experimental manipulation of independent variables, gathering of information, analysing obtained data, and acceptance or rejection of hypotheses set up from the experimental design) than is found in any administrative set up of comparable complexity and sophistication.

(2) Acceptance or rejection of hypothesis, and action—alternatives following from them, partake of a quality of “tentativeness” entirely lacking in the administrative decisions, which are characterised with a quality of finality. Any “finality” discernible in scientific conclusions still in here in the acceptance of “contingencies” and “correlations”, and statistical “expectations”—if conditions a, b, and c occur in such proportion, we can expect the occurrence of p, (along with q and x) and the chance of getting the same is 1 in a million or in a hundred and so on.

The three major divisions of science illustrate a very interesting aspect of the degree of precision by which we can state the contingent relationships holding between the independent and dependent variables. In physics, chemistry and astronomy the accuracy of prediction has reached a very high degree of precision; it is only somewhat less so in the biological field of sciences like botany, zoology, agriculture, bio-chemistry and so on. It is far less so in the behavioural sciences like economics, psychology, sociology and politics etc. In fact, in the popular mind some of these disciplines are not accepted as science. So long contingent relationships are not stateable in exact quantifiable equations a discipline does not get to be accepted as a science. We know that other disciplines as they draw more and more upon the methods of experiment and observations followed by mathematical analysis of observed data as in done by physical and biological sciences, they begin to be included in the family of sciences. In fact, the time may not be far off when subjects which go by the name of humanities like poetry, literature, philosophy etc., will also be included within the fold of science. One good example is “symbolic logic”, a branch of philosophy, and at the same time also a branch of mathematics—“the science of all sciences”. Semantics and linguistics are in the border land between science and humanities.

Overwhelming use of science in administrative functions

Being submerged within the main stream of modern governmental functions we may lose sight of the fact that both the service and regulatory functions of the State lean heavily upon knowledge of science and scientific research. The more developed the State, the greater is the reliance of its governmental machinery on science.

Large scale hydro-electric projects, nuclear power reactors, modern town planning, fast methods of transport and communication, modern methods of medical treatment and modern methods of production of food and mineral products are examples of the heavy dependence of the State machinery upon scientific know-how and how utilisation of the latest knowledge thrown up by research is ensured at every state.

Just as in development functions, the ‘regulatory’ and ‘service’ functions of the state also rely upon research in science for effective implementation. Robson (1956) has aptly pointed out how the regulatory functions like traffic laws and controls civil aviation, building byelaws etc., draw heavily upon research. Similarly, one has to consider the working of the railway system, or of a modern hospital to realise how results of scientific research are deliberately sought to be incorporated in existing administrative routine. Most of the administrative departments are staffed by technically trained persons at various levels, so that decision-making is influenced by scientific considerations. To the extent science occupies an expanding sphere in all forms of governmental function, the influence of scientific research on governmental decisions will become increasingly felt.

Some problems of administrative decisions

Bard (1953) has brilliantly analysed the differences in the orientation of the administrator (specially the public administrator) and the scientist, (specially the behavioural scientist). He emphasises that the behavioural scientist, say, an economist, is in the position of an “observer”, and concerned in studying and analysing the “economic” conduct of large masses of human beings—like movement of prices, wages, exchange rates, export-import balance etc.,—which, in term, depends upon policies formulated elsewhere. But he

is not an "operator",—of say railways, of factories, or of schools or of shipping agencies. An administrator, is similar to an engineer, in that he is concerned with the achievement of specified human goals and targets by the deliberate manipulation of human beings in relation to material. Thus, whereas, the behavioural scientist, at the observation stage will not concern himself with the course of events in their natural, unconscious, automatic unfolding, the administrator is engrossed in formulating human purposes and goals, and applying himself to the manipulation and control of events in such a way that they ensure the achievement of the goals set.

Thus the administrator is interested in spelling out the "deterministic sequences"—to lay down working principles from which we may predict "what action is prescribed with which body of events to lead to what type of expected consequences". Advancement of the science of administration, has to follow the same course, which has achieved spectacular results with physical sciences and biological sciences, and only moderate success with behavioral sciences. The successful administrator handling a large and complex organisation, where constantly changing circumstances are changing the situations frequently, has to inculcate the spirit of researcher in addition to that of a planner, in order that he may grasp the contingencies between antecedents and consequents which will be reflected in his decision makings.

At this stage we may point out that the administrator, in his effort to grasp the contingencies between different sequences of events following the administrative decisions has to realise that in addition to the non-material aspects of the situations, the human elements involved in the actions that follow from the decisions are also of great importance. This takes up into the field of human behaviour.

Implications of behavioral research

In a brilliant and original article Likert (1957) has developed the thesis that results of behavioral research, can and should be utilised as guide to effective action, and naturally, administrative decisions. He points out that many important problems of modern times are concerned with human behaviour—arising out of the variety of ways in which people—individuals, groups,

organisations, and larger conglomerates—behave in relation to one another. Upon the creation of effective and adequate personal relations depend the achievement of many basic satisfactions, like spiritual enjoyment, enjoyment from reacting with others at the interpersonal level, and material prosperity and contentment. Whereas effective interpersonal association is a source of many basic satisfactions conflict may cause a good deal of personal distress and jeopardy. But the problems of human behaviour transcend the individual, or the group, and involve the structure of organisations, of their policies, and modes of operation, for attaining ends and needs of the very same individuals and groups. Likert cites some basic questions which set out the class inter-relation between behavioral problems and administrative organisation :

- (1) How do we set up organisations which will be able to achieve their objectives?
- (2) How can the needs and purposes of individuals be integrated with those of the organisations ?
- (3) How can we incorporate flexibility in the organisation so that it can change its *modus operandi* with minimum stress and strain, when such change is indicated ?

There is a need for a deeper understanding of the fact that major social problems are traceable to human factors, other than to material, non-human factors—like economic prosperity, resolution of conflicts between organisation, groups and nations, and cooperation and competitions at all levels. The understanding of complex human and social phenomenon is becoming an increasingly challenging task with the increasing complexity in the modern society—in its structure, roles and functions, and organisations set up for achieving social ends.

Science has made spectacular progress by making available methods for controlling the vast physical and biological resources for the use of the mankind, but how such resources will be used depends upon human cooperation, and establishment of appropriate social organisations and also laying down procedures for the working of these organisations. Just to give one spectacular example: how nuclear energy can be harnessed for the benefit of the mankind, or for wiping out human activitization depends upon, to quote Likert

(1957) : "the capacity of human beings to co-operate effectively with each other in developing *social machinery* for the control and use of nuclear energy". The emphasis here is on "*human cooperation*" and "developing adequate social machinery" which supply us with the bridge between behavioristics and administration.

Inadequacy of interest in behavioral research

Leaders in Government, business, labour, industry, education and community life, still have not yet evinced much interest in understanding the importance of research possibilities in the solution of human behavioral problems, for the overall betterment of human life. Likert (1957) attributes the lack of interest and consequent hurdles in initiating research programmes in behavioral sciences by releasing funds for them, to the failure of key people in power to comprehend the potential power, value and utility of this type of research. There are no dearth of funds which can be channelized to behavioral research—in view of the fact that huge amount of money is diverted to advanced investigations in space science, military science, prospecting for natural resources, and advertisement and propaganda. Besides, resources are also available, in terms of fully trained personnel and investigators, advanced methods suited for treating behavioral research data, and an adequate body of theoretical-methodological knowledge for providing overall guidance for such research, if funds are available.

How research data can be used and by whom

The first break through for generating interest and understanding in the vast scope for optimum utilization of behavioral research results is by showing what sort of people, at differing levels in organizational hierarchies, can draw upon behavioral research findings for raising the level of their own specific functions. Following the scheme provided by Likert (1957) it may be seen that there are three major classes of people who stand to benefit substantially by their increasing dependence upon accurate breakdown of facts concerning the phenomenon or operations of their concern—obtainable from accurate behavioral research surveys or experi-

mentations. These three classes of people are :

- (1) The Social planners
- (2) The Executives
- (3) The Legislators

(a) Any planner, trying to manipulate human mass behaviour, depends heavily upon the breakdown of survey data so that action programmes are tailored to the varying needs of different sections of the community for whom new measures are envisaged. Planning becomes accurate and precise to the extent that it takes into consideration as many of the contingencies and inter-relationships between specific variables operating in the group. As distinct from "reporting" where there is a tendency to deal with summary indexes, aggregate figures, and overall tendencies the planner stands to gain in precision and efficiency by going to the breakdown of the aggregate data, for which detailed research reports are indispensable, based upon vigorous methodology.

(b) Persons in executive positions, who are concerned with the efficiency methods of obtaining desired results, have also to make innumerable decisions, involving choosing one alternative out of many. For evaluating the (1) relative acceptability of different alternatives, (2) the relative ease or difficulty of acceptance of proposed alternative actions and (3) the relative merits of particular ways of initiating actions to ensure maximum cooperation and support, the executive may do well to fall back upon the detailed information obtainable from behavioral research data.

The executive faces different types of problems depending upon whether his concern is for the smooth initiation of a new programme, or for the maintenance of an on-going programme at an efficient level. In the former case, according to Likert, such features of the programme as its soundness, its ability to meet the needs of the people involved, how easily its implications are understood by the community, ease of communications and the correct timing of implementation of decisions are important. In the latter case, such features as the continuous evaluation and appraisal of the programme, its scope for further improvement, available steps for detecting errors and snags and adopting corrective measures assume great importance. Additionally, the executive should be able to assess reactions,

support and opposition to different aspects of a program by different sections of the community, so that such depth information about group structures and dynamics can be utilised for ensuring greater community participation in the program. It is easy to see how each of the concerns with regard to the execution of a program stand to gain by being based on research results on cognate problems.

(c) It is accepted that legislators are primarily concerned with broad policies at national, regional and state levels. The complex interactions of different pressures, influences and politicking behaviour concerning issues felt and made important to the community that result in the election of a person to the legislature do not bear a clear deterministic relation with the specific wants, wishes and inclinations of different sections of people with regard to specific issues. The leader—legislator may rely upon gross, and global and frequently one sided estimates for assessing public opinion, such as newspapers reports, meeting faction leaders, and receiving deputations. But information gathered from these sources are likely to be inaccurate, and basing action upon such erroneous information tantamounts to weakening of the legislator's role. Increasing reliance and utilization of research results can strengthen the function of legislators—so that instead of merely following public opinion, they can mould and lead public opinion. Genuine leaders of the community have to act as an unbiased clearing house of information to the public on important issues, by dispassionately discussing and evaluating various aspects of different administrative measures, which affect the life of the people. Equipped with detailed breakdown data about relevant social—economic phenomena, he can discuss merits and demerits of legislative measures so far as they meet people's wishes and needs; he can try to ensure greater participation of the people in new policies and programs initiated and proposed by the government; he can give special attention to weaker sections of the community by way of imparting greater information, by way of inducing greater involvement, and by way of ensuring equitable benefit from development programs demanding toil and sacrifice from them. The theoretical equipment gained from research studies helps make the legislator a better commu-

nicator, a better organiser of public opinion and a clearer thinker in his ultimate functions of codifying rules and procedures calculated to affect the lives of the people of his constituency.

Taxonomy of non-utilization of research findings

The extent of utilization of research findings, from behavioral sciences by social-economic planners, legislators and executives is hardly commensurate with the numerous advantages that may accrue from such use, due to many obstacles, some related to the consumers of research data, and some raised by the behavioral scientists themselves. Hayes (1957) has given an exhaustive list of the causes for the failure of the fullest use of behavioral research findings which is summarised below :

From the consumer's side, one class of causes for failure to utilize research findings is concerned with certain of his attitudes such as complacency, a state of satisfaction with maintenance of status quo, lack of desire to have an objective, scientific study of the problems, lack of sympathy for the qualifications and safeguards that scientists attach to his conclusions, general impatience to obtain quick results, and overall disbelief of and reluctance to try out action—alternatives suggested by behavioral research. The other class of obstacles to fuller utilisation of research findings is related to communication and information factors, such as his lack of knowledge of relevant research findings, unfamiliarity with behavioral research methods, ignorance of and unwillingness to gain acquaintance with language, concepts, terminology and the methodological bases of scientific research, and inability to formulate problems in a language amenable to scientific treatment.

Hayes also goes over the types of obstacles that the behavioral scientists themselves raise in the way of fuller utilization of the results of his research findings: some are attitudinal and some related to communication difficulties. The comparative isolation of the academic or university settings of the behavioral scientist, his preference for theoretical over "practical problems", his inclination to go in for abstractions—away from concrete, operational conclusions, and his general insensitivity to understand and compromise when required to cooperate

coming with different backgrounds and objectives than his own are largely built-in attitudinal factors of the social scientists. His inability to translate and communicate his findings shorn of scientific jargons, in simple operational terms, and reluctance to give any value to intuition, field experience, hunches and inspirations of the operative, are mainly communicational barriers.

Barriers discussed above, according to Hayes, reduce the "demand" for scientific behavioral research. Another major reason for non-utilisation of research finding is related to the inadequacy of the development of suitable techniques for their satisfactory utilisation. Despite tremendous growth in the invention of newer techniques, there is considerable scope for refining the methodology of behavioral research. Then only the weak areas with respect to problem of sensing, and defining organisational issues, problem of measuring, assessing, quantifying and evaluating research finds and results of development projects, problems of evolving adequate procedural measures for initiating actions indicated by research findings, and problems of planning research operating therein, can be strengthened. Translating decisions emanating from behavioral research may entail organisational change, both technological, and interpersonal which due to its complexity, may slow down the effective adoption of action alternatives indicated by research.

Lastly, another class of hurdles to fuller utilization of social research results is related to inadequacy of means—such as lack of budgetary provisions, lack of trained personnel at the exploratory as well as the operative level, and developing adequate machinery—technological and human—who can handle newer techniques and operations indicated by modern scientific research.

Methods of greater utilization—the Transactional Model

The above analysis has pointed out that the situation can be improved by evolving a three-pronged attack; (i) Set up proper organisational principles to guide research as well as its communication to consumers. (ii) Remove barriers to fuller utilization of research, by different types of people on the two sides of the camp—the producer, i.e. the behavioral scientist

working within his own organisations, and the consumer—consisting of the planner, the legislator and the executive. (iii) Set into motion actions calculated to improve the technical aspects—both of the research formulation, conduct, and analysis, and proper methods of utilisation of the findings of research studies.

The transactional model of intimate cooperation between the behavioral scientist and the consumer of research tries to lay down principles which take care of the three-pronged attack detailed above, and is essentially a synthesis of the views advocated by Likert (1957) and Hayes (1957) in their lucid analysis of this subject. The essence of this model lies in an intimate partnership and cooperation between the behavioral scientist and the administrator at every stage from the inception of a study following a felt need and its formulation, to the execution of actions indicated by the research, including a feedback to the scientist—consumer *consortium* as to the outcomes of the actions taken. The different aspects of the setting up of a cooperative consortium between the scientist the planner, the legislator, and the executive, are discussed below.

(a) Organisational aspects :

An organisation is called for within which scientist's and administrators, or more correctly research—consumers ("operators", according to Hayes, 1957) may fully cooperate as a team, to discover, define and formulate the critical problems, sift the essential evidence from the non-essential, and spell out research plans at the beginnings, and action plans at the end. Carrying out of the research project takes place within the full knowledge of the administrators. The consortium of the scientist—administrator will thus have a common aim—that of improving operations through administrative decisions and actions within the frame-work of the existing organisations set up for the purpose or by means of evolving newer organisations fit to carry out complex and novel functions indicated by the research. Such improvement of existing modes of operation involves changes, which, usually encounters resistance. Orders and fiat are not as effective in modifying organisational functions as participation induced and fostered by coopera-

tion and involvement with new ideas, which have been articulated, by the contribution of the administrators themselves. Understanding recognition and appreciation of the very idiom of scientific research can be fostered by this immersion of the administrator in the grammar of science.

The working partnership between behavioral scientists and the personnel of operating organisations will capitalize upon the advantage that follows from the establishment of vertical, direct and close contacts and communications with different echelons and groups involved in research and research—consumption; this is in addition to the horizontal, formalised channels of communication existing at different hierarchical levels of the same organisation. There has to be an implicit emphasis on the logic of research, involving principles and processes, and underplaying of the role played by office orders, directions, and controls. The supervisory, sanctioning, and penalizing aspects of organisational actions will tend to diminish in this cooperative atmosphere, where actions are seen as logical outcomes of relevant findings, as against arbitrary decisions emanating from the higher administrative levels.

We can visualize how the cooperation between participants behavioral scientists, planners, legislators and executives, drawn from different bodies, through small group discussions, replace the existing communication mode relying mostly on reports, letters and notes. The whole approach is problem or issue oriented, discussion starting from actual operating problems, which provide the base for spelling out the research—in which at all stages, all the participants contribute.

(b) *Attitudinal aspect—Lowering of resistance to innovations and new ideas :*

One tangible benefit following from the frank and open discussions between persons who have been involved in solving a common problem is an overall lessening of resistance and increasing acceptance of new findings, decisions and action plans, beginning from the very inception and formulation of a problem, through carrying out of the study and statement of its findings to the actual execution of indicated actions. Realistic expectations are created in place of uncalled for optimism or pessimism and defensive attitude due to realization of the actual

limitations within which action-systems operate. Because of increasing participation between the researcher and the operator, personal involvement is increased, resulting in lessened barrier to understanding, appreciation, and fullest use of data thrown up by the research. Another added advantage is that the group motivation generated at the beginning of a study is always available to add to its own momentum.

Likert is quite explicit in pointing out the advantage of the proper timing for involving all the partners in any cyclic organisation of research-action-research project: there are three distinct phases where deliberate and conscious involvement of the research consumer is essential :

(i) When decision is being taken about the formulation and spelling out of the terms of reference of the research problem to be undertaken. Likert sees in this step a safeguard against high-pressure selling of ideas and views by either party. Not only the felt needs and difficulties can be carefully analysed, but also the administrator gets acquainted with the entire field and its ramifications as previous, related studies are reviewed and critically examined for useful leads and suggestions. The clarification of thinking which results from this initial cooperative yet critical and pragmatically oriented discussion helps to set realistic limits to the proposed research study to indicate what is feasible, within the boundaries of available resources—of funds, time, personnel, technological assistance, and scope of the work undertaken.

(ii) The administrator may be brought in the picture during the planning stage of the study, and also for review of progress as each stage of the research is completed. The level of interest of the entire team is maintained at a high level, with a concurrent enrichment of the way that results are looked at, the researcher is enabled to see the practical, pragmatic aspects of his findings; and the administrator is enabled to see clearly the theoretical underpinnings of how logical conclusions follow from stipulated premises, and how the results can be interpreted.

(iii) The association of the administrator at the terminal phase of the study, when action alternatives are formulated, is very important. His association with the project from the beginning not only maintains his interest and involve

ment, but graduated acquaintance with the facilitate assimilation, and reduce the chances of creating an insular or rigid attitude, and emotional resistance. But the major advantage is—that action-programmes logically following from the findings of a study are made realistic, workable and programmatically justifiable. This condition is ensured to a still greater extent if the hierarchy of management organisation is brought in close contact with the research study—the higher the level of management personnel involved in the research-cum-action programme, the greater is the chance of concrete action following from the results of the study. After all, without concurrence of the top-level administration, no action plans, however, sound and impartial, can be effective. But top level administration has to be enabled to see clearly the inexorable logic behind the impartial and accurate results of research studies so that the process of acceptance is facilitated, akin to a growth of a belief system, and not as an imposition from outside.

(c) *Operational and Technical Aspects :*

The transactional model developed above ensures a certain amount of sophistication and two-way training of both scientists and administrators when cooperation is established for a length of time over several studies; we can expect improvements in certain technical skills, as well as acquisition of newer abilities among all participants. The growth in sensitivity and competence in evaluation of research findings, with regard to their relevance, applicability, methodological adequacy, general and specific implications, limitations of applications and pointing to future projected research can take place in the entire team.

Another benefit, which is autocatalytic in nature, may become apparent only after a period of cooperative action: finding financial support for research projects as a consequence of increasing appreciation by persons in key positions who hold the purse strings, of the value and potentiality of good behavioral research in which they themselves are partners at all stages of the operation. Such support will ultimately redound upon the efficiency of administrative functions, thus maintaining the autocatalytic effect of the cooperation between research and administration. The changes that may follow in organised re-

search as well in the administrative organisation will be gradual but planned and calculated to meet the changing needs of the community.

Research and Planning in the context of administrative functions :

Despite certain similarities in approach and method, research and planning as administrative and operative functions are not exactly identical, as made clear in the analysis of Person (1953). He shows that planning initially involves defining the objectives of an enterprise or a programme. This leads to formulation of policies calculated for its achievement, which in turn necessitates designing a system of procedures, whereby the objective is achieved efficiently, i.e. precisely and with least wastage. Thus beginning from the initial definition to the directions given to executives and operators at all levels, the sequential ordering of procedures ("priorities") are clearly spelled out in planning the whole thing partaking the character of a "process"—with a start, or progress, and an end. Research may then be considered as a superordinate system, which indicates the feasibility and utility of the streams of decisions and acts of the administration through which the planning finds expression. Thus research, as Millet (1954) advocates, is indispensable for planning, providing the information and knowledge on which planning can proceed. Millet goes on to show that the accumulation of a vast amount of knowledge about various subjects by research methods is not synonymous to planning which entails preparing a sequence of ordered administrative actions to achieve specific goals. Research is thus not planning, but contributes to planning, assisting in estimating the feasibility and worth of the alternative, sequential procedures that planning tries to evolve.

Good planning provides the framework of procedures to meet long term needs as well as immediate, emergency needs requiring crash actions—programmes, such as meet famine conditions, build up a dam, repair a road bridge, remission of taccavi loan, starting transition camps for influx of displaced persons, formulating rehabilitation programmes etc. While the administrator is interested to meet emergent needs by actions prescribed by law, the assessment of relative merits of alternative actions is a func-

tion of continuous behavioral research. The motivation of the administrator is more or less unambiguous: he seeks to operate as intelligently and efficiently as possible, taking those steps which guarantee:

- (1) Relative certainty of accomplishment;
- (2) Desirability of the result with no untoward residual effect,
- (3) Quick results within the resources at his command.

Planners, according to Millet's (1954) analysis, are the mediating agent between researchers and administrators, the last being primarily concerned with current decisions and programmes of action.

It is not difficult to see that planning and research are closely allied in conception and organisational arrangements. At the same time, the super-ordinate, parametric character of research is appreciated when it is realised that research can be utilized, for evaluating planning, for evaluating administrative effectiveness, as well as, a research itself. This built in evaluative function of research is what bestows the prestige and power that it enjoys in modern civilization. The close inter-relationship between planning and research has been succinctly summarized by Pate (1954) and is worth quoting; "Planning is not action except in a subjective sense. Planning without research has no foundation: Research without planning loses its imagination and incentive. Both, without the support of the politician and administrator, have no future".

There is very little research today worth its name which proceeds without any "planning". One does not know whether we can state the converse to be true about socio-economic planning by states and governmental agencies—that research results are universally used as the base for planning and administrative decisions.

Future of Behavioral Research

With closer cooperation between research, planning and administration, the design and atmosphere of behavioral research may also undergo certain modifications. Research meant for use by planners and administrators will tend to overlook superficial symptoms and minutiae of administrative issues and its concern for finding specific solutions to specific issues in isolation of the broad matrix of complex influences operating in large governmental or social systems. There will thus be a move away from "more and more of less and less" which characterize much of modern academic research in behavioral sciences, but there will be an increasing concern for tackling broad issues in such a way that the results can find application in a large number of allied situations, and can be easily generalized and projected. The most judicious use of theory is made in research formulation and design for determining which variables should be measured and what sort of relationships between variables should be explored.

Summary

The tendency for utilisation of scientific personnel for administrative purposes, which has been advocated by some as a sound research and administrative policy, does not appear to recommend itself for a developing country like India, which cannot afford to permit further inroads into its limited resources of scientific talent and competence. Instead, a tripartite, transactional model of organisation and function is envisaged in which researcher, planners and administrators will be functioning as working partners. The implications of such a transactional model have been considered in which increasing use of behavioral research findings by planners and administrators is contemplated.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

The fourth General Elections

The fourth general elections in India, just concluded, would appear to have yielded, by their results, certain lessons which the ruling *coterie* in the country were too vain and too conceited to anticipate. Even a rudimentary knowledge of the lessons of history, however, should have warned them long in advance of the outcome of their callous abuse of power and their increasing measures of privilege hunting. Unfortunately, the present leadership of the Congress hardly includes anyone with the necessary educational equipment to realise the relevance of historical precedents.

What would appear to be even more amazing is that the ruling Party appeared to have been completely unaware of the upsurge of popular feeling against their very nearly two decades of misgovernment; of what the President of India described as their concern for only their personal comfort and survival. Possibly the Congress leadership banked too heavily upon the helplessness of a large, unorganized and, virtually, amorphous electorate to give any positive expression of its will. Universal adult franchise, apparently an expression of very advanced democratic thinking, was, in the especial context of Indian conditions, a very handy and effective instrument in the hands of the country's ruling *coterie* to maintain itself in the seat of power in perpetuity. Unfortunately, they did not seem to have imagination enough to realise the value of the educative influence of en-

vironmental factors even upon an otherwise unlettered people and perhaps, even more importantly, of the increasing pressures of distress for the benefit of the ruling *elite* and their pay masters.

In the result, however surprising the effect of the presently concluded general elections may appear to be on the surface, they are really the logical outcome of the processes of current Indian history. The fact that the Congress Party has not been even more abjectly routed than it actually has owes nothing to the credit of the ruling party but more to the bewildering state of fragmentation of the opposition parties. Had there been a more cohesive union among the left parties, as for instance in Kerala, the rout of the Congress in most States and perhaps, even at the Centre would have been far more devastating.

It is a lesson which those left parties in certain States where a union among them has enabled them to constitute non-Congress Governments, should do well to take seriously to heart. The people—perhaps quite unwittingly—would appear to have awakened to a positive sense of their own powers and, Congress or non-Congress, it would be unlikely to have any patience with any Government which fails to take its responsibilities to them seriously and are unable to fulfill its minimum commitments to them. These united parties' coalition Governments would, therefore, do well to pull together cohesively

as well as do all within their power to discharge their responsibilities to the people as adequately, honestly and wholesomely as circumstances may permit or they are likely to have short shrift. They must realise that the people would not be circumscribed in their action by the bounds of constitutional propriety if they find that their confidence in the opposition parties has in any way been misplaced and once they kick over the traces the country will inevitably have been thrown onto the point of no-return with inevitably chaos and disorder following in its wake.

Non-Congress Coalition Governments

As the result of the just concluded general elections, the ruling Congress Party has lost its absolute majority in 8 out of 16 States as also in the Councils of the Delhi Administrative authority. In one other State also the Congress has forfeited its majority by a very short margin. As we go to press, in several States the former opposition parties have been able to get together to form coalitions with a view to constitute Governments, in some States such opposition coalitions having already assumed the responsibilities of government.

In Parliament the Congress has an absolute majority again in the Lok Sabha, but its proportions have been so severely curtailed that in the event of a constitutional emergency, the Party will most definitely not be able to muster the two third majority for any needed amendment of the Constitution. The situation created by the recent Supreme Court judgment—although its effect by a fiat of the bench delivering the judgment would only be *prospective* and not *retrospective*—that in accordance with certain Articles of

the Constitution the fundamental rights assured to the citizen were inviolate and Parliament had no authority to abridge them, might easily restrict necessary further legislation for ensuring certain necessary and progressive measures. It is understood that the Congress High Command have been seriously disturbed over this judgment and have been considering the need to further amend the Constitution to eliminate the effect of this recent judgment. But with its present majority the Congress would not be able to carry through any amendment of the Constitution unless it is able to successfully canvas the support of a sizeable chunk of the opposition.

But to revert to the matter of non-Congress Governments in the States where the Congress has been unable to win a majority in the last general elections: In West Bengal and Kerala and Madras the necessary *rapprochement* among the former opposition parties have already been effected to ensure a non-Congress Government in each of these States; it is almost equally certain that in Bihar and Orissa and, possibly, in Uttar Pradesh also, non-Congress coalitions will be enabled to form Governments. The united opposition majority in the reconstituted Punjab State appears to be only marginal and strenuous efforts are being made by the preceding ruling party to reinforce its own strength in the legislature by enticements to some so-called independents. The position as we go to press was as yet fluid. In Rajasthan also the majority margin was comparatively marginal and the Governor who was reported to being reluctant to include some 8 independents among the united non-Congress opposition which would have the effect of reducing the opposition's majority to a marginal minority.

If the Governor uses this pretext eventually to deny the opposition its legitimate opportunity to form a Government he could not possibly be absolved of the charge of partiality in favour of the Congress. This would reduce the office of the Governor, which should be above all political affiliations and leanings, to the corruptions of party intrigue.

There may be either of three constitutional ways out of this impasse open to the United Front. First, the Governor's powers to choose a Government from among the elected representatives of the people is not absolute; they are delegated to him by the President and his discretion, therefore, would, by implication, be limited to already established precedents and conventions. An appeal, if the exercise of his discretionary powers in this behalf appears to favour certain party or parties in the legislature without any established majority of their own in the legislature, would seem to lie to the President for his intervention. If the President also fails to act without partiality, the opposition may still unseat such a Government by refusing to vote any of its money bills or by a straight forward motion of no-confidence. They may also, perhaps, go for an interpretation of the limits of the Governor's discretion in this behalf before the Supreme Court of India.

The States where non-Congress Coalition Governments are in the process of being established, the new Governments must realise that they will have to act as veritable *Cæsar's wives*. They must be above all reproach in their personal, political, and administrative actions or else they will forfeit the people's confidence quite as abjectly as the Congress would seem to have now lost it. This fear

of the people's wrath should hold these non-Congress state Governments together in spite of the wide divergence in the political ideologies of the constituent units of the coalition Governments. The people, they must clearly realise, are not overmuch concerned with political ideologies. Their main and absorbing concern is the question of their bread and water,—it hardly can run to butter in the foreseeable future with the overwhelming majority of our people—housing, cloth, education of their children and last, but not least, jobs for the vast multitudes of the jobless. The dividing line between constitutional Government and an ordered society and chaos and violence in the present temper and state of impatience of the people is only a very thin and tenuous one and very little further frustration may well goad them to kick over the traces to a point of no return. It is this fearsome prospect ahead that should keep the Governments not merely on the proverbially *straight and narrow path* and should, moreover, keep them relentlessly trying to fulfill their pledges to the people. There is no ground for complacency and this our prospective non-Congress State Governments should have no illusions about.

* * *

The Centre and Non-Congress States

In the present rather confused state of our immediate political future there is naturally a considerable volume of speculation as regards the precise state of relationship between the Congress dominated Central Government and the non-Congress State Governments that would be likely to develop. During the years the area of concurrent

Central powers in the States have considerably widened. Even apart from this, there are other quite large and vital areas where State Governments are very substantially dependent upon Central authority and discretion. To cite only one instance in the matter of food grains and sugar supplies: State Governments are very much dependent upon Central discretion; for instance, it is only the Central Government who can decide as to whether the present *Food Zones* should be abolished or their boundaries redefined; equally it is also at the sole discretion of the Centre to regulate the import and distribution of food grains from abroad. The States which are naturally deficit producers of food grains are crippling dependent upon Central discretion in these vital areas. There are other equally vital areas where State Governments have neither any authority nor the resources to take autonomous decisions or initiate measures to implement them.

So to what extent non-Congress State Governments may expect to depend upon the impartial and wholesome support and cooperation of the Congress-ruled Central Government is a question which would naturally agitate the mind of the former. One is reminded of the Communist dominated Kerala Government after the 1957 general elections. On a dispassionate judgment of events, the particular Kerala Government measure, their Education Act, which sparked off the Congress-sponsored and instigated violent demonstrations against itself and which was eventually made the pretext for its replacement by Presidential rule, would appear to have been both a logical, legitimate,

modern and progressive measure and this was the stick which the local Congress clique took hold of in collusion with the reactionary Catholic missionaries of the region to let loose a regime of state-wide violence and mobocracy, so that this might be used as a pretext for throwing out of office the legitimately constituted Government of the State.

That something similar may not again be attempted is an apprehension which is not quite so remote as it may appear to be at the present moment. It must be realised that although the Congress has lost its absolute majority in the States where non-Congress Governments are likely to be constituted, it is still, barring only one State, the largest single majority party in the legislatures and it is not unlikely that greed for reannexation of lost power may not induce them to employ such questionable means to regain it.

If however the Congress leadership were foolish enough to try to recapture power in this manner the prospect of a complete breakdown of the entire constitutional machinery of the State is not quite a remote consequence. This is a possibility, perhaps even a probability, about which the Congress leadership should beware and which should act as an effective deterrent against any possible hanky-panky in this direction. Unfortunately, however, our present Congress leadership are not notorious for their imaginative qualities nor of a sense of history.

* * *

West Bengal's Food Crisis

The new West Bengal non-Congress Government appear to have got off to an auspicious start on the note of a stupendous

public ovation and approbation. It is well that the new Government have been careful enough to have been very moderate in their promises and pledges to the people, and not to have held out any extravagant hopes and expectations of immediate relief from their many causes of distress and misery.

Nevertheless it would be realistic for the new Government to realise that the people's verdict at the polls has been more an index of their impatience with and intolerance of the misgovernment and abuse of power and privilege by the unseated Congress Government, rather than a positive expression of confidence in the new Government. There was, indeed, no legitimate ground for such a positive expression of confidence. The new Government consists of a Coalition of several former opposition parties. Their election manifestoes did not hold out any expectation of a possible alternative non-Congress Government nor did they contain any statement of policy or programme, in the event of their coming into power either singly or jointly together. Their election manifestoes, by and large, contained criticisms of the policies and incompetences of the Government then seized of power.

The verdict of the polls, it would be legitimate to acknowledge, was as much a surprise to the leadership of the parties now elevated to power in the States, as much as to the party now ejected from their long occupied seat of power. It has been intelligent for the new Government to have taken the people frankly into confidence and to have apprised them of the many problems that will have to be dealt with before any general change for the better could be ex-

pected. It would, however, be a mistake for the new Government to expect the people to hold their patience for an indefinite period in the future. They will have to be prompt in their assessment of problems as well as in devising measures for their solution. The people, it must be realised, are in a fighting mood; they have suddenly become aware of the tremendous potential of power in their own so long helpless hands. This new awareness of power is both a source of strength to the new Government and may at the same time, be a source of very great danger to their own existence if they are unable to carry the responsibilities they have assumed with appropriate competence and integrity.

One of the principal problems which must engage the immediate attention of the Government is the present food crisis in the State; a fact which has already been publicly acknowledged by representatives of the new Government. It is necessary to arrive, as one of the essential conditions precedent to a realistic assessment of the situation, at a proper evaluation of the actual consumption needs of the people of the State. The West Bengal State has been under a variety of statutory controls including statutory rationing in Calcutta and certain industrial areas, and modified rationing elsewhere for over the last two years. Under statutory rationing where people are debarred from procuring any supplementary quantities from elsewhere, the gross food grains rations allowed to an adult was just under 10.oz daily. The new West Bengal Food & Agriculture Minister, former Chief Minister P. C. Ghosh, is reported to have stated that

the quantity was not enough and that an adult should have at least 12oz per day to maintain a minimum nutritional pattern. The present population of the State is assessed around 49,000,000 millions, say around 50,000,000. Of these those in the age group 0-8 years comprise 36.6% of the total or 18,300,000 persons and the rest, comprising 31,700,000 persons belong to the age group above 8 years. Allowing a daily 12oz cereal ration to 31,700,000 persons and half that quantity to the former 18,300,000, the actual consumption/offtake in the State would amount to 4.9 million tons per annum; adding 10% for unavoidable wastage and seed grains, the gross requirement aggregates 5.39 million tons. If, however, the allocation were to be increased to 16oz daily to adults and half that quantity to babies and children under 8 years of age, the quantum of requirement for actual consumption would correspondingly increase to 6.07 million tons, with requirements of wastage and seed grains added to which the aggregate required would be 7.37 million tons.

Against this, the production of rice in the state was assessed at 5.4 million tons in 1964-65 which was claimed to have dropped to 4.4 million tons next year and is estimated to have improved to an increased yield of 4.8 million tons during the current harvest season. In addition, the *Aus* rice crop is estimated to have provided an average annual yield of 400,000 tons over the last three years. Further, the State Government was claimed to have procured further additional annual average quantities of around 300,000 tons from outside the State and from the Central Government pool. The average annual import of wheat into the

State from the Central Pool and on private trade account was estimated to have aggregated an average annual quantum of 700,000 tons. The average supply position in the State over the last three years would therefore appear to be ;

Rice ; Production in the State

Aman—4.80 million tons

Aus—'4 million tons

Import from outside '3 million tons ;

Wheat Import from outside '7 million tons ;

Total Supply 6.20 million tons.

It would, therefore, seem that at the level of a 12oz daily adult allocation, the cereal resources of the State should be quite adequate to fully meet all bona fide consumption demands and still leave over enough to meet unforeseen and infructuous market fluctuations and pressures. At 16oz daily, however, further augmentation of supplies by about just over a million tons per annum would be required. But the actual State of supplies and prices have remained in a seriously precarious and critical condition over the past three years. For much of this crisis the wrong policies and actions of both the State and Central Governments have been responsible. The Centre has failed, so far, to spell out a healthy national food policy. Stop gap expedients, most of which have had the effect of further complicating an already critical situation have been adopted and the supply, prices and even storage and movements of food grains have been hedged in by such a spate of irksome and unrealistic controls and restrictions that crises in supply and prices have been endemic making the country more and more dependent upon increasing quantities of imports from abroad.

The situation would seem to be extraordinary in view of the rather surprising

but indisputable fact that, nationally, inspite of her halting agricultural production, there is really no physical shortage or deficit in the supply of food grains in the country. The gross average annual production of food cereals in the country over the last 3 years has been of the order of 80.5 million tons. The average quantum of imports of food grains during the same period has averaged at just over 7.4 million tons per annum. With the population at 500 million, 320 millions belonging to the age group above 8 years and those below aggregating 180 millions, at a daily adult allocation of 12oz, the actual consumption demand of the population should aggregate 49.9 million tons; at 16oz daily adult allocation, it works out at 67.00 million tons. With 10% added to cover unavoidable wastage and seed grains supply, the aggregate should work out to 54.89 and 73.7 million tons respectfully at these different levels of consumption; adding a farther 10% to cover unusual market fluctuations and unforeseeable demands, the aggregate supply requirements would work out to roughly 59.88, say 60 million tons and 80.4, say 80 million tons at these two levels of consumption. During the last 3 years our average annual aggregate supplies including both home production and imports have averaged 87.4 million tons. There should have been an aggregate accumulated stock of around 22 million tons over the last 3 years, even if possible carry-overs from previous years accounts were to be wholly ignored. There is not the least occasion for doubt that there is actually this much or possibly even larger quantities in accumulated stocks of food grains in the country

although they are neither stored in State godowns nor in the consumers' kitchen; they are in the hoarders' and profiteers' godowns.

That this must be so is proved by some very extraordinary facts which do not seem to have attracted adequate attention and analysis. In the month of Aswin this year corresponding to October last year of the English calendar, rice prices in West Bengal begun to tumble down in the open market; in about 10 days they dropped by an average of very nearly 33% in the State. This was extraordinary and unprecedented. Even during normal times prices harden at this pre-harvest period, supplies being at their lowest ebb during this season. Last October prices instead of further hardening as they could be normally expected to do begun to tumble and rather steeply, with the new harvest still six to eight weeks away. This could mean only one thing that the hoarders had their godowns so chock full of stocks that they were willy nilly compelled to unload some stock on the market even at the cost of accepting a reduced profit margin to enable them to make room for taking in the new harvest. Secondly, currently with the Bengalee month of *Falgun* approaching its end the daily increasing supplies of rice in the market all over West Bengal do not include a single grain of rice from the newly harvested paddy. These are evidences of the fact that there are ample hoarders' stocks in the market; if only the Government were able to locate and seize them, they would be able to comfortably tide over the immediate crisis.

A long term and enduring solution of the food problem, however, will have to depend upon a variety of measures which

must have for their pivotal centre piece projects for augmentation of production. There are unfortunately many and insuperable obstacles in the way. West Bengal's truncated territorial resources have been further heavily burdened by nearly 10 million unfortunate displaced persons from East Bengal. Her unexploited agricultural production potentials are, therefore, not too high. In addition in the interest of maintaining India's largest single export commodity fully supplied, very nearly a third of the State's available acreage under agriculture had to be diverted from paddy to jute cultivation. Easy accessibility over the surplus of other States has been denied to West Bengal by the Zonal and other restrictions imposed by the Centre. The racketeering that has been fostered and encouraged by the Centre under the guise of a so-called national food policy, the only foundation of which would seem to repose on ever increasing imports and a variety of obnoxious restrictions and irksome controls, has placed the bona fide consumer in a most distressing position.

The new West Bengal Government should make it unequivocally plain to the Centre that unless West Bengal's food deficits are fully made up by appropriate Central subventions and by removing the present zonal restrictions enabling her to freely buy at competitive prices in outside surplus markets, she would be compelled to take her own unilateral measures to fill the gap and which may even have to include the redirection of land wholly or partly from jute to paddy cultivation. This would not merely affect, very substantially, an already dismal national export potential, but would moreover affect the jute

industry adversely including some 350,000 people directly employed in the industry and a further nearly 150,000 engaged in ancillary occupations, an overwhelming proportion of whom are natives of other Indian States. If the new Government are able to do this, beneficial results will be bound to follow soon enough.

But to adequately deal with the supply situation in the food grains market, a decision will have to be immediately taken rescinding all the existing restrictions and controls including the very courageous step of derationing. This will have to mean virtual abolition of West Bengal Government's vast, unweidly and thoroughly unreliable and racket-ridden food and procurement department and consequent loss of employment to their personnel. But the whole organization has been so corrupt and full of racketeering that hardly anyone will have a morsel of sympathy for them. To take such a step will call for a great deal of courage and imagination. But to plagiarise the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the situation could not possibly be any worse than it already is and one can only hope that our new Government will have the imagination and the courage to foresee the vast potentiality for good of such a decision.

* * *

West Bengal's Public Sectors Projects

Another source of illimitable corruption, nepotism and even worse, are many of West Bengal Government's public sector projects. The Calcutta State Transport Corporation may be cited as an example in point. Another is the Animal Husbandry and Milk supply project of the Government.

There may also be other similar Government undertakings which would bear a close looking into.

What we feel should be done is to appoint a permanent Commission authorized to investigate the working of these projects and the causes why they are perpetually incurring losses and other allied matters. The Commission should be headed by a jurist of considerable administrative experience and ability and whose personal integrity is above all suspicion and shadow of reproach. We present this suggestion to our new Government for what it may be worth.

New Look at Planning ?

Now that the Fourth General Elections appear to have ushered in a fresh outlook on the country's political future, it would be equally welcome if fresh thinking were brought to bear upon the country's economic future in the especial context of planning. During the short few weeks that have so far elapsed since the results of the elections have been announced and the changed textures of party dominances have become more or less clearly defined, there does not appear, however, to have been much thought bestowed upon this very important matter, neither at States' levels nor by the Central leadership.

During the years following the mid-term reappraisal of the Third Five Year Plan and, especially, during the very difficult few months following upon the crucial decision to devalue the par value of the rupee, there appeared to have been almost complete unanimity among all critics of the Government and the ruling Congress Party that for

much of the current and ever distressingly developing economic evils and hazards that have affected the life of the common man in India, planning in the manner it was conceived and was being implemented, was directly responsible. In this unanimity, however, approaches have been diverse and almost heterogeneously confusing. While the Communist critics of planning have ascribed its failures and incongruities to the inadequate socialization of the resources and machineries of production, the Swatantra experts have read into the causes of such failure the elimination of competitive economic endeavour by the imposition of what the Government have been describing as a mixed economy but which really has for its basic foundation a system of controls and restrictions which have the effect of reducing the entire national economy to a virtual State monopoly, killing all initiative and incentive.

These criticisms, in our view, do not seem to go right down to first causes. There appears to us to be prevailing, both among those responsible for drawing up the Plans as well as among their critics, complete confusion of thinking both as regards the reasons for launching upon a process of planned economic development, as well as its objectives. In broad terms, of course, it has been laid down that the reason for launching upon development planning is that it is necessary to initiate a process of acceleration in the economy in order that it may, by the injection of artificial stimuli such as increasing investments to rapidly lay down a sound foundation of infra-structures etc, be pushed up to a stage of self-generating

development with a view to ensure to the people of the country an improved and more wholesome standard of living. There should, ordinarily, be no quarrel with such statements of objectives and reasons, but in framing the Plans, it became evident that those who were invested with the responsibility of the job, have been suffering from alien and, so far as the basic problems of the Indian economy and the obstacles in the way of its growth was concerned, wholly irrelevant orientations. Unfortunately that is the one and, perhaps, the most crucial aspect of the matter, which does not seem to have, so far, received much attention from the critics of planning.

What?—in the simplest and most obvious terms, are the basic problems of our national economy? The first and the most basic among these problem would appear to be the huge and constantly growing burden upon our not illimitable and primarily mideaval agricultural resources. In spite of the rapid and rather haphazardly accelerating trends of urbanization over the last three quinquennia latest studies by official agencies appear to indicate that of our rural households comprising roughly 82 per cent of the national population, all but 10 per cent belong to the category of agricultural households. Data as regards the per capita distribution of arable land are not immediately to hand as we write, but by simply dividing the total arable acreage by the population comprised by agricultural households, its measure should be around '8 acres per capita. This is a burden that agriculture in the country has never been able to adequately sustain. The inevitable consequences are

reflected in a continuous process of fragmentation of holdings, expropriation, accumulating debts and, as a result, continuously dwindling production.

The remedy, obviously, would seem to be to relieve the burden on agricultural resources. The answer would seem to follow that only a process of rapid industrialization could provide the necessary resources for diverting some of the present burdens upon agriculture by providing alternative employment in industry.

But what kind of industry? Must they be of the highly mechanized, even automated kind as in the U. S. A. or in the E. E. C. countries or should we elect in favour of Mahatma Gandhi's concept of cottage industries? In the event of choosing the former, we should have to realise that the employment potential of such industries is extremely limited, almost infinitesimal in comparison but, what is perhaps, of even more serious moment, is that the measure of capital intensification in the investment structure of such industries is extremely heavy, far beyond the potential of accelerated measures of normal capital formation that this country is likely to achieve at the earlier stages of self-generating growth.

It has to be both clearly realised and spelt out that economic growth as merely represented by a rise in the measure of G N P is not and cannot be accepted as an index of national progress and prosperity, nor can it be an end in itself. It has also to be equally clearly realised that progress and growth in the context of India can only be indexed by a wholesome and consistently spread-over growth in both the

area and content of *effective demand*. One of the acceptable indices that such a type of growth has been achieved would be by the measure of full employment that has been achieved at the same time. The failure of planning would be obvious from the increasing measure of unemployment in the country. According to a recent study (not, so far, controverted by any authoritative Government agency), approximately a third of the total able-bodied population are fully unemployed and another third only partially employed.

Besides, industrialization of the type mentioned above inevitably cause urbanization of the population directly and indirectly employed by industry. But urbanization causes more problems, social and economic and even hygienic, than industry is able to solve. A look at the huge cities and industrial complexes will be amply convincing. Their ever-expanding and wholly intractable slums remain a chronic festering sore of fearsome potentiality; the more the money and other resources that are poured in with a view to clearing them, the more rapidly new slums spring up and mushroom out all over the place. On a long-term reckoning, it is feared by many well-known experts, that it would be found that the problems directly springing from this type of industrialization absorb a great deal more in money and resources than they are able to yield in monetary and social dividends.

Secondly, this shift has visibly been causing increasing deficits in agricultural production. There are, no doubt, other ancillary causes; but one of the prime causes is the wide divergence of incentives between

employment in industry and agriculture. Even in some of the most advanced countries also this remains a nagging problem defying any adequate and long term solution. At the same time, a look at the economic history of most industrially advanced and progressive countries will demonstrate that no country has so far been able to achieve rapid industrial growth except on a prior base of well developed surplus agriculture. Only recently one such country, whose economy suffered complete devastation by the last world war, attempted a process of simultaneous growth in agriculture and industry. To eliminate or at least, to effectively play down the differential in incentives as between the two occupations, agricultural incentives were boosted up to conform with those in industry resulting in the growth of a very *high cost economy*. For a while results were very encouraging and a great era of progress appeared to have been firmly established. But then the stresses and strains of such a *high cost* society proved to be so heavy upon the affected economy that it has been recently showing unmistakable signs of cracking up under the strain.

This particular example would appear to have provided another very important object lesson at the same time. It is that the rate of economic growth must be determined by the foundational strength of the economy upon which the process of rapid growth has to be superimposed and maintained. Its was a shattered economy; it had to be built up a new from the very foundations upwards; its foundational strength enabling it to absorb the shocks of extraordinary stresses and shocks could not have been very great. Similarly India's has long

been a moribund economy, weak in its foundational strengths, the sudden jerks and stresses imposed upon it by the thoughtless endeavour to initiate too rapid a process of growth has caused unavoidable rifts and cracks in the understructure and instead of growth retrogression has been the result.

Let us, then, reduce our needs to the simplest and most ordinarily intelligible terms. We need enough to eat within our limited, very limited means; we want employment for those who need work, not in the slummy environs of modern industrial complexes, but in the clean rural atmosphere to which we have always been accustomed and in adjustment with our inherited agrarian orientations and tradition; we also want clothing enough to decently cover our

bodies and to protect them from the rigours of the seasons; we also want education for ourselves and our children; and treatment and sanitation. When these elementary and primal needs have been satisfied we shall begin to think as to where then we want to go from there.

If our Government and their experts were able to begin to think in these simple terms and had the courage to reconcile themselves to the acceptance of the basic fact that India *even under planned development* will have to and prefer to remain *essentially Indian* and would not bear being converted into a New York or a Bonn, planning could be made more purposive and far less and needlessly painful than it has so far proved to be.



McDOUGALL'S ANALYSIS OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

Prof. PRANAB KUMAR DE

If you visit a reputed mental hospital, you will most probably be surprised to find a peculiar class of patients who, when asked any simple question will offer you a vacant look and a meaningless face. If your curiosity is aggravated by the sorrowful picture of these unfortunate creatures and, if you approach mental doctors for further information, they will give you to understand that the disease which these patients suffer from is the most acute form of psychosis known as Dementia Praecox or Schizophrenia.

The word "Dementia" generally means acquired mental deficiency. The patients who suffer from dementia originally possessed a normal and healthy mind, but this has undergone a process of decay. The prototype of this process is to be found in the gradual failure of intelligence in ripe old age.

"Last Scene of all,

That end this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans
everything".

This is known as Senile Dementia.

But in the case of "Emotional Dementia", the patient loses all interest in life; expresses no desires or ambitions and sits from day to day in the same corner, inert and lethargic.

Schizophrenia—Meaning and symptoms

Schizophrenia is the most disastrous form of psychogenetic disorder. But it is very difficult to define schizophrenia. There is no unanimity among psychologists and medical

men as to the question whether it is one disease or a group of disease, or a system of bad habits. The main features of Schizophrenia are :

Unco operativeness; hallucinations (especially of hearing and sight), incoherent associations, poor judgement, deterioration of feeling and emotion with an apparent apathy, disorder in the process of thought, etc. All these symptoms may not be simultaneously present in every case of Schizophrenia. But one feature is generally found to be common to all Schizophrenic patients, namely, "emotional apathy and indifference." Some of the patients seem extremely apathetic, while others show much emotional excitement and even the seemingly apathetic patients sometimes break out with violent emotional outbursts.

Schizophrenia may be aptly described as a dream state, a prolonged half-waking dream. The Schizophrenic patient interprets all sense experiences in terms of the imaginative pre-occupations of the moment.

Is Schizophrenia curable ?

Some authorities are of the opinion that the disorder is primarily an organic, degenerative disease and is essentially incurable. W. McDougall, however, does not belong to this group.

Some others hold that some at least of the cases can be cured, if skilfully dealt with at an early stage. The great champions of the Psycho-Analytic School have lent their sup-

port to this opinion. McDougall does not accept this opinion in toto.

Again, some cases of Schizophrenia are found to develop in the absence of any adverse circumstances. These cases are believed to be due to a degenerative change due to hereditary defect of constitution. But certain other cases of this disorder seem to be produced by prolonged struggle with adverse circumstances. These cases can be cured by skilful treatment.

Cases of Schizophrenia

The following two cases of Schizophrenia arranged in order of increasing severity will help to bring out the nature of this mysterious malady.

Case—(1) Dr. Milton Harrington has reported this case.

A youngman "rather silently became moody and depressed, and gave up work to spend his time in bed or lounging about the house. He indulged in violent outbursts, during which he talked incoherently and behaved in an irrational manner, his condition finally becoming so serious that it was necessary to commit him to a hospital."

Close investigation of this case revealed that the youngman was the youngest of a large family and was taught to avoid difficulties rather than face and overcome them. But this man was ambitious. Sometime before the breakdown, this youngman was promoted from an inferior post to one of considerable responsibility demanding more ability than he possessed. Consequently the affairs of which he was in charge had fallen into disorder. His vanity prevented him from seeking help from others and he became

"more anxious and depressed". Conditions gradually worsened and the youngman resigned from his post and went home to hide himself. After some few weeks of this life, his condition worsened further and he began to exhibit emotional outbursts. This was just a device to convince his relatives that he was really sick and needed rest. But this made matters worse and he was admitted in a mental hospital where he gradually improved and was discharged after six weeks.

Case—(2) The second case is more severe. A youngman aged twenty-three years was admitted to a mental hospital as a case of Schizophrenia of catatonic type.

This youngman was over-indulged by a fond widowed mother and was timid, indolent and yielding before all difficulties. He was unsuccessful in all the jobs that he took and very often indulged in drinking and self-abuse.

Two years before he became a victim of Schizophrenia, he was engaged in a prolonged flirtation with a young married woman who was a friend of the family. This affair constantly provoked his sexual impulse and made him almost mad with sexual temptations. But as he was mentally very weak, he strongly repressed his impulse for fear of consequences. He was terribly afraid that he might be accused of having raped the woman. This dread made him restless, quarrelsome and fearful. Sometime later his fear of being accused arose in connection with other women. Three weeks before admission to mental hospital, he began to hear imaginary voices which accused him of rape, and clearly pointed out his wretched condition. Five days before admission, he refused to speak,

to take food and held his urine as long as possible.

He remained in this condition for eight months. After eight months he improved a little and smiled when spoken to, but still refused to speak. Later, this youngman said that while he lay in bed indifferent and dumb, he was keenly alert and noticed everything around him. During the first few months, he continued to hear voices. These voices condemned him as a wretched creature who had before him nothing but all-enveloping darkness. He also said later that he was so much overpowered with fear that he was afraid even to move, eat or urinate. He suffered from the idea that he might lose control of himself and commit a sexual assault upon some woman.

W. McDougall thinks that this patient, a poor victim of "Emotional Dementia" was dominated by the conflicting impulses of sex and of fear. There was also the unsatisfactory working of the sentiment of self-regard, indicated by the habitual shame, secrecy and yielding before all difficulties.

The chief symptoms of the second patient are: lack of interest in other persons, emotional apathy dullness and indifference, hallucinations of hearing etc. But, what are these due to? McDougall thinks that this is due to the conflict of two dominant impulses—the impulses of sex and of fear. This mental conflict gave rise to the perpetual preoccupation with self and lack of interest in other persons. All the available mental energy of the patient is absorbed in the construction of pleasant phantasies. The patient has lost all interest in life and is terribly afraid. This is why the patient has refused to speak and to move. The negativism of the patient is simply a manifestation of the incapacity to

take judicious decision. The Schizophrenic's sentiment of self-regard being in the deadlock of impulses, cannot take quick decisions.

But, with the continence month after month of this self-absorbed brooding, which never finds free outward-expression in effective action, but revolves always in the circle of incomplete inward activity, the mental powers in general atrophy, the life of rich fantasy gives place to an increasing dementia, until the patient "glimmers dimly in corner of the asylum, dull-witted as a cow" (W. McDougall).

Liability to Schizophrenia

But the question still remains what type of men are particularly liable to Schizophrenia? W. McDougall seems to accept the analysis of Kretschmer. According to Kretschmer, Schizophrenia is a disorder to which persons of the Schizophymic or schizoid type are particularly liable, persons of the schizothmic type are characterised by a tendency to a life inside one's self, to the construction of a narrowly defined individual zone, or an inner world of dreams against things as they really are, of an apposition of 'I' and the 'world'—a tendency to a sensitive withdrawal from one's fellow men. Among these are to be found eccentrics, egoists, idlers as well as Idealist hostile to the world.

William McDougall, however, thinks that excessive introversion is not alone sufficient for explaining Schizophrenia. It involves intolerable mental conflict and complete indifference. This indifference or irresponsiveness of the Schizophrenic mind distinguishes Schizophrenia from Neurasthenia, Hysteria and Manic Depressive psychosis.

McDougall adds that the "splitting's" are not an expression of dissociation. They are the expression of "the essential integration of the whole system of mental functions".

'ASURYAMPAS YA' IN PANINI

Dr. APARNA CHATTERJEE

The term 'Asuryampasya' in Panini offers a good scope for the study of Purda system in ancient India. The society in Panini does not anywhere contain any reference, implied or direct, to Purda. Freedom of women in choosing their husbands, no restriction on young maidens rather their full freedom to be wooed freely by young men (as the term Varya III, 1.101. means), this freedom defined in the term, 'anirrodha' (III. 101), the existence of female teachers (IV. I. 49), female mendicants (II. 1.70) and female students who lived in girls' hostels (Chatri-sala, VI.2.86), late marriage of girls and existence of life-long maidens in society¹, nowhere contemplate purda.

If we accept the period of Panini as some-time between 500 and 300 B.C., the contemporary Buddhist or Jaina sources will not provide any instance of purda either among the commoners or among the aristocrats in society. Nor in the following period of the Mauryas we find purda in society; neither the Greeks noticed or recorded it nor Kautilya provides any reference to it; rather both the sources picture good amount of female freedom in society. The term 'avarodhana' (orodhana)* in Asokan inscriptions, in reference to the female quarters of his brothers, cannot mean purda in the true sense as it lacks corroborative data in other sources. The practice of keeping the private apart-

ments of the king and the members of the royal family under strict guard and the practice of the king to live in seclusion away from the gaze of the public were noticed by Megasthenes and he gives us details about it in describing the life of the king who appeared before the public only on three occasions and lived rest of the time in inner apartments surrounded with female guards². Since the king lived in seclusion, naturally greatest precaution and care was taken of his nearest female relations, the ladies of his palace. In absence of corroborative data for the custom of purda for royal ladies the logical conclusion, particularly in view of the unsafe political conditions of the time, is that the term 'orodhana' in Asokan inscriptions simply means private royal apartments, kept under strict vigilance. Association of the inmates of the royal apartments with outsiders and particularly with male outsiders was unimaginable in Mauryan days when the king himself lived in great fear for his life and changed his bed-room every night³. The instance of the last Sisunaga king being killed by the paramour of his queen,⁴ was before the first Maurya whose position in the beginning was quite unsafe and precarious. We find great details of keeping the palace under strict guard in Kautilya⁵. His precautionary measures against the ever-present chance of the King being poisoned, explain very well the uncertain political condition of the day.

Secondly, the term 'avarodhana' which

1. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Panini*, pp. 89—92.

* Though both Dr. Bhandaryar (*Asoka*, Hindi Tans. p. 157) and Dr. Agrawala (*India as Known to Panini*, p. 407) have interpreted orodhana of Asoka's brothers as denoting prevalence of purda in ancient India.

2. *Megasthenes*, XXVII, 15.

3. *Strabo*, XV, 55.

4. McCrindh, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222.

5. *Arthasastra*, Book I, Ch. 20, and 21.

may mean restricted and secluded life of royal ladies cannot very well explain the term 'asuryampasya' which literally means one not seen by the Sun and which is better explained if a lady wears a veil of black or of some deep-coloured cloth. Even in restricted quarters sunshine will fall on a face but the sun is apparently not permitted to see the face hidden behind a veil. We have no evidence in support of the fact that Indian ladies in Asokan days wore veil on their faces.

Since purda was generally absent in society in the days of Panini, in *Kasika* a commentary of Panini (of the time between 300—600 A.D.)⁶ the term 'asuryampasya' is explained that it was a term meant for royal ladies; so it is said 'asuryampasya rajadarah'. But as we have seen above, we have no positive data to hold that royal ladies lived behind curtains in the days of Panini. Even in the period of *Kasika*, purda for royal ladies or ordinary women was not actually established in society. But of course, by this time we noticed stray references to veil for respectable women. In the *Mrcchakatika*, in *Sakuntala* (Act V. 13) in *Lalitavistara* (a work of early Christian era) in *Harsacarita*,⁷ wearing veil is noticed as a mark of respectability for women though general picture of society contradicts the fact that veil was worn by respectable women. Still the idea that wearing veil was a mark of respectability for women was gaining recognition during this period. Thus while in the *Mahabharata*⁸ *Sakuntala*, in all her womanly dignity and majesty, gives a long and fiery harangue to her timid royal husband in the very court of the king, for disowning her as a wife and for disowning her son as his own legitimate son, in *Kalidasa* she is a frail feminine figure with a veil hiding her face.

In the *Lalita-vistara*, Gopa after her betrothal to the Buddha, is given a veil to wear but she strongly refuses to do so. In the last act of *Mrcchakatika*, the point becomes more clear. The courtesan-concubine as soon as she gains the status of the wife, is given a veil as a mark of respectability for her newly acquired dignity and status of a wife. It is to be noted however, that even in *Kalidasa*, excepting the veil worn by *Sakuntala* when she went to her royal husband's court, no other reference to purda, either throughout *Sakuntala* or in other works, is noticed. In *Harsacarita* veil is noted only once. In the rest of the work *Rajyasri* is always without any veil and as *Hsuan Tsang* tells us, throughout her widowhood *Rajyasri* in her public or court appearances is without any kind of purda. In *Bana's Kadambari*, purda is not noticed. *Hsuan Tsang* nowhere refers to the practice of purda in India. In the *Ramayana*, the references to veil are few⁹ and in the major part of the epic the ladies do not observe any purda. So the literary references to veil are not only stray, they are incongruous with the general picture of society in which no purda is noticed.

As we have noted veil given to a betrothed or a newly married girl or to a bride (as we find *Rajasri* wearing a lovely red veil on the eve of her marriage, meeting *Grahavarman*), it was a sign of wifely status. Neither the *Rgveda* nor the *Dharma-sutras* or *Dharmasastras* show that veil denoted wifely dignity. How then did this idea come into Indian society and where can we trace its origin?

In Assyrian civilization a married woman wore veil. Her daughters also wore

6. P. V. Kane, *Dharmasastra Ka Itihasa*, Vol. I, p. 15.

7. *Harsacarita*, Ch. IV.

8. *Mahabharata*, *Adiparva*, Ch. 74.

9. The couple of verses in the *Ramayana* referring to purda (VI, 116, 28. II, 33, 8.) are totally inconsistent with the absence of purda throughout the epic. It has been suggested that those are later interpolations. A.S. Altekar: *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 198—99.

head-dresses prescribed by the custom. A concubine ('esirtu') was not entitled to wear a veil; if her keeper wished to raise her to the position of a wife, he had to veil her in the presence of five or six witnesses and declare "This is my wife". The married respectable women wore veil; by this means they were distinguished from temple prostitutes, harlots and slaves¹⁰.

The Persian princesses wore veil as being Fire-born they were not supposed to be seen by ordinary people. In Persia the seclusion of women had become quite common before the beginning of the Christian era¹¹. In Athens in 500 B.C. association of women with male guests was not permitted¹², and no bride was seen by her husband before marriage, according to prevailing social conditions¹³. In Sparta female apartments were separate from those of males and no woman could attend banquets.

So Panini who probably belonged to 500 B.C. and was a man of the North-West most probably used the word 'asuryampasya' in reference to the veiled ladies of Assyria. It is quite possible that North Western India because of its proximity to Central Asia was affected by Central Asiatic ideas and practices and probably in those parts of India wearing veil was a practice adopted by Indian women. A veiled face is certainly not seen by the Sun.

The fact that in the early centuries of Christian era veiling the face by married or betrothed girls of high status was becoming a practice or at least gaining recognition in Indian society, is attested by Lalita-vistara, Mrcchakatika and Kalidasa's Sakuntala and also in references to veil in epics. It is possible that during the centuries following the disruption of the Sunga empire, India saw waves of foreign invaders, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Greeks. The invaders settled in India but they, particularly the Sakas and the Parthians, being Central-Asiatic nomads must have brought with them Central Asiatic notions of feminine respectability. And thus while the general picture of society shows absence of purda, we notice its references here and there, in literature and commentaries. As regards the Bactrian Greeks who ruled and settled in the North Western India, they had no need to stop the spreading of this idea of purda as in their own society too restrictions on women in movement and association obtained and the Greeks in North Western India must have also contributed to the spread of the custom of purda in India. Thus it has been pointed out by an eminent scholar that a character in one of the plays of Menander says, "A free woman should be bounded by the street door"¹⁴.

The term 'asuryampasya' in Panini has nothing much to do with the general social condition of contemporary India nor it has any connection with the 'avarodhanas' of the brothers of Asoka Maurya.

10. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia*, p. 283.

11. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 209.

12. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. V, p. 735.

13. -do-

Vol. VIII, p. 445.

14. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, P. 209.

THE SHALIVAHAN KINGS AND THE SHAKA ERA

A LAWYER

The Shalivahan Shaka of Southern Kingdom. The copper-plates of gifts and India commences in the Christian year A.D. 78. It will be completing its 2000 years in the next century. Though it is now called Shalivahan Shaka, it was not so cited for over a thousand of its earlier years. It was merely referred to as "Shake" i.e. in the year of the Scythians. It is first traceable in A.D. 1262 as being cited "Shalivahan Shake". If the Shalivahan Kings had introduced this era, their name should be found associated with it from the very beginning. Jinaprabhasuri, the author who referred to it in A.D. 1262 as Shalivahan Shaka could hardly have had, after a lapse of a thousand years or more, any special source of information that it was the era of those Kings.

Upon looking closely into this matter, however, it appears that the late association of the Shalivahan name with the Shaka era may not have been the result of mere national pride. According to tradition it was King Hal Shatavahan, the reputed author of Gatha Saptashati, who introduced this era. This also appears to be not necessarily a mere fiction. In the last analysis, the matter remains inconclusive no doubt, but the probabilities do not altogether exclude a Shalivahan claim to the authorship of the era.

We will consider these probabilities so far as they emerge from the rock-inscriptions in the caves on a hill called the Pandava Lena hill, about five miles south of Nasik and at an equal distance from a village called Gangapur, which is three miles west of Nasik. In ancient times the name of this village was Govardhan. It was in those days a big town and also the western military outpost of the Shalivahan

Kingdom. The copper-plates of gifts and charities which were handed over to recluses at this town by the Shalivahan Kings were later on inscribed on rock-face in the caves on this Pandava Lena hill. These are to be found in cave no. 3. In cave no. 10, there are the inscriptions of Ushavadata, a Shaka, who was the son-in-law of the Satrap Nahapan. These are the parties primarily concerned, and we have their writings on the wall as evidence for our conclusions. We have to see if we can get any cue from these inscriptions in resolving the questions about the authorship of the Shaka era.

There have been many Shalivahan Kings in Andhra and Maharashtra in the earlier centuries of the first millenium A.D., some celebrated and some obscure. We have first to get ourselves sufficiently acquainted with the particular dynasty of the Shalivahans which includes or should include the author of their era. The Shalivahans called themselves Shatavahans which is their real name. They were originally of the Anga nation in Bihar. They first migrated to Orissa and then to Andhra, near the mouth of the rivers Krishna and Godavari. Eventually they moved westward, and established their capital at Paithan in Maharashtra. The founder of this kingdom at Paithan was Shimuka Shatavahan. His grandson Vedashri Shatakarni caused the images of his family members inscribed on a rock-face together with names over them in the Naneghat pass near Junnar in Poona District. The images are in the following order—(1) Raya Simuka Satavahano Sirimato, the founder of the dynasty, (2) Satakarni, son of no. 1, (3) Nayanika wife of no. 2, (4) Bhaya, brother of no. 1, (5)

Vedasiri Satakani, son of no. 2 who inscribed these images, (6) name illegible but probably wife of no. 5, (7) Maharatha agrianko Yiro, probably a relative or commander of no. 5, (8) Kumar Hakusiri son of no. 5, and (9) Kumar Satakani, son of no. 5.

Bhagavanlal Indraj, who inspected the cave inscriptions referred to above gives the following probable years and periods of the Kings of this dynasty.

1 Shimuka Shatavahana	B.C.	130
2 Krishna (Bhaya) brother of No. 1.	"	110
3 Shatakarni son of no. 1	"	98
4 Vedashri Shatakarni son of No. 3.	"	90
5 Hakushri, son of no. 4	"	70
6 to 9		

These generations, if any, are not traceable in the inscriptions.

Most probably the paithan—Kingdom was subjugated by the Shaka Satrap Nahapan at this time.

10 Gautamiputra Shatakarni, son of Balshri Gautami	B.C.	40 to 5
11 Vasisthiputra Pulumayi to son of No. 10	"	5
12 Chatarpan, brother of no. 11	A.D.	17
Yajnyashri Shatakarni, son of no. 10	"	30
	"	50

These years and periods are all based on the mention of the year 42 by Ushavadata in one of his inscriptions. This year given by him is taken to have been cited in the Vikrama era, which begins in B.C. 56. The date of Ushavadata therefore would be around B.C. 14. We find from the inscriptions that Gautamiputra was a contemporary of this Ushavadata.

As the Shaka era begins in A.D. 78 and that year is not reached in this list, it is manifest that none of these kings could have introduced that era. The only kings from this list who could be expected to

introduce such an era for posterity would be Gautamiputra Shatakarni, the great conqueror of the Sakas, or his still more celebrated son, Pulumayi. They precede the year A.D. 17. There were two more kings in this dynasty after Yajnyashri (A.D. 50) of whom the last was King Hal Shatavahan, the reputed author of the Shaka era. His date comes somewhere near A.D. 78 because he and his predecessor could, after Yajnyashri, make up 28 years of their rule. If King Hal did in fact rule in the year A.D. 78 and did introduce the Shaka era, he may have done it either on his own account, or he may have done it in commemoration of the victories of his illustrious ancestors Gautamiputra or Pulumayi. In the latter case, he may have counted the first year of the era to be the same in which those victories were actually obtained. If so the periods given in the list should all be placed 60 years late. The Shalivahan dynasty of Shimuka came to an end with King Hal as its last ruler. If it was brought to an end by the Shaka Satraps about A.D. 78 the other possibility also emerges that the Shaka era was introduced by the Shakas to mark this event.

The periods given by Bhagawanlal Indraj are based with reference to the year 42 of Ushavadata. But other scholars put these periods much later. Bhagwanlal Indraj himself has mentioned an objection to his conclusions but overruled it with a reason. The objection is this. Ptolemy the Greek Geographer makes this statement in his work—"Ujjaini is the capital of Chashtan and Paithan is the capital of Pulumayi". This is a reference to two contemporary persons. Pulumayi would therefore be on the throne in the days of Ptolemy (A.D. 126). The objection is overruled on the ground that the report which Ptolemy received about the ruler of paithan would rather be about its most celebrated ruler even though he might have been succeeded by relatively unimportant rulers. If we

admit the objection as correct and regard Pulumayi as Ptolemy's contemporary at some point of his long reign, then his father, King Gautamiputra comes somewhere more near to A.D. 78. He and his son ruled for not less than forty years taken together, and that places the year of accession to the throne of Gautamiputra close to that year. In preferring between the years of Ushavadata and of Ptolemy we have to reconcile the statements as far as possible.

In choosing between the view of Bhagwanlal Indraji who has fixed the periods of the Shalivahan kings given in the list above and the views of other scholars who regard their period to be later even by a century or more, we have to give due weight to the circumstance that all these kings used their own respective year of accession as the starting point in citing the year of their own inscriptions. This would ordinarily mean that no era had been introduced before their time in A.D. 78. If it had been, they would have cited the year of their inscriptions with A.D. 78 as the starting point. This should mean that they lived and ruled before A.D. 78, and therefore the view of Bhagwanlal Indraji would be preferable.

Shaka is an ethnic word. The expression "Shake" conveys the meaning of "in the year of the Scythians". Its use, in the literary way, may be compared with such ancient expressions as "Dasharajne" or "Shambare" or "Bharate" which all mean "in the year of victory over or war with—". Shaka should therefore mean "in the year of victory over the Scythians or war with them". Such a name would be given to the era by the victors, which in this particular case happens to be Gautamiputra Shatakarni. On the contrary a plain meaning of the word 'Shake' would also be "in the year of the Scythians," implying a point of time at which the Shakas subjugated the territories in which the era was brought into vogue by them.

Now, who were these Shakas and how did they come to give their name to a national era in South India? After Alexander's return from the Punjab the Greeks were pushed back into Afghanistan for some time. But soon after the time of Emperor Asoka, bands of Asiatic recruits led by soldiers of fortune and brigands were ravaging northern and western India. They soon established their kingdom in Punjab, Sind, Sourashtra, Malwa and Uttar Konkan. This wave of invasion reached Paithan from where Vedashri ruled over his kingdom. It appears that he was overwhelmed and his kingdom made a vassal state of the Shaka Satrap Nahapan. These invaders of India were a promiscuous rabble of Ionians, Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, Persians, Pehlavas and others. The Indians classed them all together with the barbarous Huns, Berbers, Khashirs, Combojas, Balhiks etc., as Mlechehas. It was a time of a vast chaos on the northern side of the Indian sub-continent. As the invaders began to domicile in Indian territories and mix up into the native population, the Brahmins and their social order of castes and communities were mortally threatened. The whole country was rapidly passing into the Buddhist fold. The Hindu epics and some Puranas were then only recently composed but the Manusmriti and other works were yet to come. It was upon this back-ground that the Shaka-Shalivahan strife took place. Gautamiputra who overthrew the Scythian Yoke is praised in an inscription as one "who stopped the mingling of races". However, the invaders soon mixed up into the local population, adopted their manners and customs, their language, religion and names. The invaders, in their own generation bore such foreign names as Vononese, Artayoy, Dapghasad, Spalahor, Sooda etc, but very soon their descendents bore the names Rudradaman, Vishvasena and so on.

The chieftain who subjugated Sou-

rushtra, Malwa and Uttar Konkan was the Satrap Nahapan. He called himself Kshaharat which means, he was a Parthian (Charaosta) and Kshatrapa which means he was a Satrap i.e. owing allegiance to some overlord. His daughter Dakshamitra was married to his lieutenant Ushavadata, son of Deenika, a Shaka, as he calls himself. This Ushavadata directed his master's military affairs during the latter's old age. He was a pious man and has recorded some of his munificent gifts in the tenth cave at the Pandava Lena hill. Side by side on the same rock-face at cave no. 3, the Shalivahan kings have recorded their own gifts within less than half a century. In both cases, the gifts were royal grants with tax immunities. The territory in which they were made was part of the Shalivahan kingdom. Ushavadata therefore could not have made royal grants in this territory with tax immunities unless he or his master were the rulers there. The Shalivahan is the first known kingdom of Maharashtra historically and the dynasty of Shimuka is the first known royal house that is known to its history. This family had only recently migrated to Maharashtra from the east and that was an event in the wake of Alexander's invasion. Concurrently from the west came the Scythians in continuation of that same invasion. They overthrew the royal house of Shimuka within two or three generations and took over the kingdom of Maharashtra. What is the evidence for these sweeping assertions? Luckily we have these inscriptions, and it is for us to extract as much information from them as is possible.

Before considering the inscriptions of the parties concerned, in these two caves it is suitable to take into account an earlier inscription in cave no. 18. It reads: "This chapel is made on the Trirashmi hill by the royal minister Arhalaya and by (his wife) Sataria who is the daughter of Lisilnaka, and who is also the storekeeper of the royal

minister Agiyatanaka and who is also the mother of Kapanaka, and who is also the guardian of person or foster-mother (Raya-bhat Palika) of the great king Hakushri".

We have seen that Vedashri Shatakarni had had inscribed the images of his family members in Naneghat in which his son Kumar Hakushri ranks at no. 8. In the list of kings, there is a gap in the dynasty after Hakushri, and the kingdom had come to an end. The cave of Ushavadata comes between the caves of Hakushri and Gautamiputra. The caves are numbered west-east while their seniority in age broadly goes east-west. Ushavadata or his master is therefore the person who fills this gap in the line of kings as this evidence in stone shows.

Similarly, we find the boy-king Kumar Hakushri to be in the care or tutelege of ministers and guardians whose names betray their nationality. Those names have a foreign look. It is a futile exercise in nomenclature now to try to equate their Sanskritised forms with their originals.

But Arhalaya looks like Aurelius, Agiyatanaka like Agathonikos, Lisilanaka like Lycinus or Lukaonios, Kapanaka like Capenus, Sataria like Satuoria or Soteria. These names have a decisive foreign ring. They may be contrasted with the names of ministers of the later Kings found in the same inscriptions, such as Vishupalita, Shivagupta, Bhavagopa, Shivaskandil, Samaka and Medhuna in Cave no. 3. If these names of Hakushri's ministers are really Shaka or Yavana names, that fact by itself yields the conclusion that Paithan was a vassal State of the Scythian Satras, that the boy king was merely their puppet, and that after him the kingdom was liquidated, until it was revived by Gautamiputra who "utterly exterminated the Scythians, Ionians, and the Pehlavas".

In placing so much weight upon so slight a circumstance as the mere look of names and extracting so ponderous a conclusion therefrom, we might err easily. The

look at names, even if it is certain, should be regarded as a minor and merely corroborative evidence. Yet it is worthwhile to examine a few more names in order to make the best of an evidence that is available. Shimuka, the founder of the Shalivahan dynasty named his second son as Chatarpan which resembles the name of Nahapan. This leads to a guess that he might have had a Scythian lady as his wife. The name of his daughter-in-law was Nayanika. There is another name Shakanika traced in the inscriptions. These resemble the Macedonian names like Stratoniike, Andronike, Berynike. Damachika, who calls himself a Shaka, is obviously Deimachos. Dattamitriyaka, who calls himself a Yavana, if read in the reverse, give Mithridates. Ramanaka, Kapanaka, Velidata and Mrigu may have their equivalents in like manner. Ushavadata who calls himself a Shaka, is referred to in the inscription of Gautamiputra as Ushavadata. The Sanskrit form of this name is therefore taken to be Rishabhadata. It may, however be Oxo—or Aesop—followed by the well-known suffix—data, which appears in the name Mithridates. Nahapan is regarded by some to be Vononese. We may even add that Shatavahana itself looks like Scythianos. The question for us is limited to the two names of the royal ministers of Hakushri at Paithan, Arhalaya and Agiyatanuka. Though these are to be included in the broad classification of being Shakas, that expression itself includes all sorts of Ionians, Parthians, Macedonians, Baktrians and others who recruited themselves in the armies of the Seleucids in Asia and soon formed a sort of a promiscuous mingled nation of their own. If Arhalaya is Aurelius, the latter is a Roman name. But we know that in the first century after Christ, there were too many Roman recruits available around the kingdom of Mithridates from where the Shakas primarily came.

As this direct evidence for the gap

between Hakushri and Gautamiputra and the temporary disappearance of the Shalivahan kingdom depends so much on the question of these names of the two ministers of Hakushri, we may pile up such evidence by pursuing the point a little further. The names of the invaders were foreign. We must look for their originals in Greco-Latin and Scythian-Parthian records rather than to their Sanskritised forms. Take the case of Spalahor, the name of a Satrap mentioned earlier. Spaluria is traced to be an Etrusean name. As the Etruseans had no letter in their alphabet corresponding to the letter O they used the letter U for that letter also. We can therefore read Spaluria as Spalor-ia, which includes the common suffix—ia. Spalor and Spalahor have a complete phonetic identity. It may or may not be connected with the Greek word psile which, (like our own word Shile-dar) means a light-armed soldier. It may also be compared with the Latin word Shplior, Spoliator, one of the meanings of which words could be, a soldier whose duty it was to strip the arms and armour of a defeated enemy. Proper names ordinarily defy etymology. We need not rely on it. But if sound resemblance is any guide in this case and we accept it as completely reliable, what is the full implication of this resemblance? The implication is that a person of Etruscan-Roman nationality must have gone east and that he or his descendant recruited himself in the Seleucid armies of Asia, and that eventually the said soldier of fortune had risen to a Satrapy in India. This is not at all surprising. After all, what other people do we expect to find in those armies? Now take the case of the three other names in those particular inscriptions. Kapanaka corresponds with the Latin name Capenius. Rammanaka points to a comparison with Rimmon, the name of a Syrian God. Velidata includes the usual suffix—data preceded by Veli—. Now Veli—is found to be a familiar beginning in Roman names.

In fact Vel—or Aule was prefixed to so many Etruscan names.

Assuming that the Shakas had in fact subjugated the kingdom of Paithan in the days of the boy king Hakushri, we can guess from what side they had invaded. The regions of the Shalivahana kingdom which were probably in their actual possession were the western parts of the Poona and Nasik districts. West of these regions lies the strip of the low-land of Uttar-Konkan which was ruled by Ushavadata. He called it the "Kapoor" district and ruled it from his military camp at Dahanu, north of Bombay. Straight from Dahanu to the east lies Paithan at a distance of about two hundred miles. It could be reached by ascending the Naneghat pass and then traversing the Poona and Nagar districts. Very soon after Vedashri put up the images of his family members on the rock in Naneghat, the Scythians marched through that pass and took over his kingdom in his own life-time. There is another pass to the north of the Naneghat, in Nasik district, called the Harsul Ghat. The upper end of this pass lies only a very few miles from Govardhan and the Pandava Lena hill, places which Ushavadata frequented. Gautamiputra had a permanent military out-post of his kingdom here at Govardhana. It was at this military camp that he disposed of the personal land of Ushavadata after defeating him. It appears that the overthrow of the Shakas by him probably took place in some of the battles fought in these regions particularly around Govardhan.

From the inscriptions of Ushavadata in cave No. 10 we can gather that he was moving about in these Shalivahan territories as an overlord and ruler rather than as a pious and charitable merchant. He was the son-in-law and general of the man whose dynasty Gautamiputra annihilated so that "no traces of it could even be found". In one of the inscriptions of his gifts he

introduces himself as follows—".....Shaka Ushavadata, son-in-law of Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapana....." and in another, as the son of Deenika and husband of Dakshamitra. As to the date or year we have only this statement:—".....in the year 42, in the month of Vaishakha he invested 3000 Karshapans at interest with the weavers and oilmen's guilds at Govardhana for the benefit of certain mendicants". He continues that "the gift of 70,000 Karshapans declared in the year 41 would be fulfilled by the year 45." This mention of the years is the only cue to his time. If this year 42 is of the Vikrama era it is the most precious information about the chronology of the Shaka-Shalivahan period. As regards his gifts, he records that he gifted away three hundred thousand cows, fed hundreds of thousands of Brahmins at Prabhas, (provided there were so many Brahmins there) made the rivers Iba Parada Tapi Kerbena and Dahanooka fordable, built flights of steps for them, with resting places, bestowed 32000 coconut trees at Nangol on the Charaka priesthood, and gave other like gifts at Shorparaka Govardhana etc, etc. Then he says—"At the command of Bhattaraka (Nahapan) I went in the rainy season to the release of the Uttambhadra Kshatriyas who were besieged by the Malawas. Those Malawas fled at the very report of my arrival and I made them dependents of those Kshatriyas. Thence I went to Pushkar and bathed, and gifted 3,00,000 cows and a village". After this follows this important information in small letters—"I also gave a field having bought it through the Brahmin Ashwabhooti, son of Varahi paying the full price of 4000 Karshapans. It is situated to the north-west of the city (Govardhana). From it will come the food for the mendicant priesthood living in this my cave." (No. 10). The mention of this land becomes an important circumstance historically because Gautamiputra disposed of his very land to

others by virtue of conquest, as we can see from his inscription.

The Shalivahan inscriptions are in cave no. 3. The earliest reads:—"From Benakataka in Govardhana, which is the camp of victory of the Vaijayanti army, the illustrious Gautamiputra Shatakarni commands the minister Vishnupalita at Govardhana that whereas there is a field in the village Apar-Kakhadi, till this day in the usufruct of Ushabhadata measuring 200 Nivartans, this our field we give to the Tekirasi ascetics of this hill. This document is ordered by the minister Shivagupta and is touched by the great Lord (Gautamiputra). The plate which was kept given on the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year 18 for the use of the recluses".

In the year 24 of Pulumayi, Jeevasuta the queen dowager of Gautamiputra, commanded the minister Samaka in Govardhana to give 100 nivartans of the royal field on the confines of the city to certain recluses. This was because, says the grant, the field formerly given at the village Kakhadi ceased to be cultivated as the village was deserted. It can be shown that this village was adjacent to Govardhana.

It thus appears that the Shakas were expelled from Shalivahana territories sometime between the year 42 cited by Ushavadata and the year 18 cited by Gautamiputra as his own. The land purchased by Ushavadata lapsed to Gautamiputra by virtue of conquest. The two of them were contemporaries because the latter refers to the former as in possession of the land "until this day". The victory may have just preceded the date of the forfeit.

Pulumayi's inscription is significant as to dates as between him and his father. It begins: "The new lord of men (Nava-Naraswami), the illustrious Pulumayi son of Vasisthi, commands the minister Shivakhadil in Govardhana in the year 19....." and ends with: "This document has been

ordered by the great commander-in-chief Medhuna Shatakarni, and touched by the king (Pulumayi) in Binikata-vasaka, and (actually) handed over in the year 22".

Gautamiputra's grant was made in the year 18, Pulumayi's in the year 19. The latter calls himself as "the new lord of men". The question is whether Gautamiputra retired in favour of his son in the year 18, and Pulumayi continued the citation of the years of his father or started a new count of his own. After this inscription was completed with the usual statement of the handing over of the plate, there follows in it the following:—"The description of the lord (King) has been given by Vishnupal for importing pleasure to the Shatakarni inhabitants of Govardhana". This is with reference to the "new lord of men", intimating the fact of Pulumayi's accession to the throne. We cannot know if there was any faction at Govardhana waiting for such an event, and demanding a change of rulers.

On the same day on which Pulumayi granted a village to the Dhanakata ascetics through his minister Shivakhadil in the year 19 as the new king, his grand-mother Gautami Balshri caused to be inscribed in the same cave the most important of all the inscriptions of this hill. It is of precious historical value. It purports to be a eulogy in commemoration of her sons' glorious career and victories, followed by a minor grant. The writing is in the usual pedantic classic language with ornamental expressions, very much in the style of a much later work, Bana's Kadambari. It is, in substance, a one-sentence eulogy with long-swinging compounds covering two pages of matter. It says: "on the 13th day of the second fortnight of the summer months, of the year 19 of the illustrious king Pulumayi, son of Vasisthi, a dwelling cave was caused to be made by the great queen Gautami Balashri with the consent of Jeevasuta, wife of the royal sage

(Gautamiputra)" etc. Then follow the classic epithets in praise of his virtues and exploits. For our purpose we may note that he is said to be the ruler of "Asika, Susaka, Malaka, Surashtra, Kukkur, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akar-avanti" and these and other territories of his include the mountains "Vindhya, Rikshavan Pariyatra Sahya Krishnagiri, Mancha Shristhan Malava and Mahendra. He was "the exterminator of the Shakas Yavanas and the Palawas" and who "utterly annihilated the Kshtrapa Vansha (Nahapan's family or tribe) until no remnants survived". He "stopped the promiscuous mingling of races", and that his son Pulumayi was the lord of the Dakshinapatha "from father to son".

These statements imply that he had subjugated the whole of south India and also the regions of Uttar Konkan Gujarata Kathewad, Malava, Rajputana, Berar upto Orissa and probably Sind, (Asika i.e. Arshika—Arsascidi Satraps of Sind). This covers the whole of India except the Gangetic and the Indus basins. It was much more than the regions held by the Mahrattas in about A.D. 1780. This should not be taken to mean that it was a total take-over of physical possession and the establishment of Shalivahan administration in those lands. It only means, so far as northern India is concerned, that because Satrap Nahapan was vanquished and had surrendered or had been killed, all his territories passed to the victor. This would apply to the other Satraps also who allied themselves with him. Nahapan was the ruler of Malva, Saurashtra and Uttar-Konkan. If the remaining northern territories also fell to the victor, we can infer that Nahapan held them either directly or as an over-lord.

We have observed that Gautamiputra disposed of the field of Ushavadata "as his own" in the year 18 of his own reign. He must have been a very old man at this time

because in that very year he retired from the throne in favour of his son Pulumayi. He must have completed the conquests of territories during these eighteen years if the eulogy is true. The question then is why and how did the field of Ushavadata continue to be in his (Ushavadata's) possession "till this day" i.e. the year 18? Why was it not disposed of earlier if the defeat of the Scythians had taken place earlier? The grant was made at the military camp near the flag-staff of victory. The whole atmosphere of the grant seems to be that of an immediately preceding battle and victory. If Gautamiputra had conquered the whole of India south of the Chambal and the Mahanadi, during a reign of 18 years, how could it be that Ushavadata was expropriated in the very last year of that career? The explanations can easily be given, that the Ushavadata mentioned by him might have been a different person, or that he had permitted the field to remain with the Scythian as it was a trivial matter or that the year 18 was not his last year at all, and that his battles had only just begun.

This last probability has to be noted carefully. The grant of Gautamiputra is of the year 18 and of Pulumayi of the year 19. This latter year may either be a continuation of the former or it may be a fresh count from the accession of Pulumayi. "The new lord of men" may have come to the throne nineteen years after the grant of Gautamiputra, and the latter may have retired or died at this time. There are two other inscriptions in other caves of the hill, which give the years 2 and 6 of the reign of Pulumayi which fact implies a new count. One of these is given by an agriculturist, Dhaman. The other is illegible except for the mention of the year. Pulumayi himself does not mention the year 19 in his grant as his own but on the same day his grand mother mentions that same year as "the year of Pulumayi" in her grant. Our

main purpose is to see whether it is probable that the Shalivahan kings could have introduced the Shaka era. The circumstances discussed above amply show that two of those kings were mighty great, and, had a right to do it. During the Shaka invasions, the natives of India had become race-conscious. Their castes and their social order were in jeopardy. It was almost a super-human task for the long-domiciled Indian populations to resist or repel these stormy invasions by the uprooted nomadic swarms of humanity from Central Asia. It could therefore be reasonably said that the prince who repelled or mitigated this menace, achieved an epoch-making exploit. It was but appropriate that he should commemorate it by introducing a new era. The real difficulty is about determining as to who did it in the year 78 A.D. The evidence available for determining this is all meagre, confusing and inconclusive as we have so far seen.

The view that the year 42 mentioned by Ushavadata should be taken to have been cited in the Vikrama Samvat is supported by Bhagvanlal Indraji on the ground that the first Vikrama year i.e. 56 B.C. corresponds with the beginning of the era of the Satraps themselves, which means that the Vikrama era itself is a Shaka era introduced by some Kshatrapa or another. That is so because it (B.C. 56) happens to be the difference between 223 which is the beginning of the Gupta era according to Kshatrapa date and 167 which is the approximate beginning of the Gupta era in the Christian date. The year 223 is taken to be the beginning of the Gupta era because Chandragupta conquered Malva and Sourashtra in the year 90 of the Kshatrapa date, while the last Kshatrapa date of their year is 315. These are all controversial statements. We have always to keep our mind open to the claim that the Vikrama and Shalivahan-Shaka eras were both initiated by these Kshatrapa invaders.

There are various chronological factors and cross-factors which easily upset such conclusions. We may illustrate this by one such factor. King Kharvala of Orissa says in his inscription: "In the second year (of his rule) Shatakarni (Gautamiputra) of the West sent much wealth by elephants, chariots, horses and men....." and about his thirteenth year he says "In the year 165 of the Mauryan era (Raj-Maurya-Kale) after 164 years had passed etc.....". This would place Gautamiputra as far back as B.C. 95, if B.C. 260, the year of the installation of Emperor Asoka is taken as the beginning of the Mauryan era. That would be far distant from A.D. 78.

We have so far considered the question of the Shaka era on the footing that it was instituted in commemoration of victories and exterminations. It is however possible that it may have been done for altogether different reasons. Greek astronomers had brought their science into India in the wake of Alexander's invasion, and Greek Astronomy soon came to be universally adopted here. Prior to this, the Indian calendar was based on the Nakshatras right from the Vedic times. Names of months and days of the week were not in vogue. The duration of the year was, counted by the seasons. Muhurtas were mentioned not with reference to this but with reference to Nakshatras. This was all changed and the entire Indian calendar switched over to the Greek method based on Rasis. Months and days were named and months were taken to end with the Pournima day. In the days of Gautamiputra and Pulumayi however this was taking place only in North India where the Vikrama era had been introduced. There is a remarkable difference in the citation of time by Ushavadata in his inscriptions on the one hand and the citation by the Shalivahan kings on the other. Ushavadata cites the time of his gifts as "In the year 42 (Varshe) of the Vaishakh month.....in the 41st year on

the 15th day of the right half of Kartikaetc". In contrast the Shalivahan kings cite it by the seasons only, as "On the 13th day of the second fortnight of the summer period in the 19th year of Pulumayi" or "on the 15th day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the 18th year of Gautamiputra", or "on the 1st day of the third fortnight of the winter period of Yajnyashri". Remarkably enough Ushavadata refers to years as Varsha while the Shalivahans refer to it as Samvatsar. We now have the northern citation in the south. It must have been commenced by some one at some time or another.

This may have happened slowly and imperceptibly through the generations until it came into full vogue, or it may have been decreed by some ruler or another as a piece of calendar reform in the respective years B.C. 56 and A.D. 78 in the north and in the south. The two eras might have been

the outcome of deliberations of astronomers supported by kings. Ujjaini had become the cradle of astronomy. The adoption of Greek astronomy in India postulates discussions, sessions, conferences and agreements. In both cases, the royal patronage in the two relevant years points rather to the Shaka and Yavana rulers rather than to Vikrama and Hal. In the case of the Shaka era, we know from these inscriptions, that till the day of the very last of the Shalivahans, namely, Yajnyashri, the year of each has been cited with reference to his own accession and on a new count. So till then no such era had been introduced by any one of them. If at all any one from amongst them did in fact introduce it, it can only be King Hal Shatavahan, on whom tradition bestows its authorship. And in all probability he may have promulgated it by way of officially adopting the Shaka calendar i.e. the new northern Greek calendar for the whole of his Kingdom.

ACUPUNCTURE A Bronze Age Medical Practice

TARUN CHATTERJEE

"One of the arrows shot from our bows sometimes strikes a hunter, wounding him. The strange thing is that an arrow striking certain parts of the body suddenly cures some maladies. For example, an arrow striking the bridge of the nose cures headaches, one striking the upper lip near the nose cures a disease in which short bouts of fever occur periodically, ending in profuse sweating" (Malaria).

This sentence appears in a book published in China titled: "Methods of Treatment by Puncture Applied by Men in the Bronze Age." It focusses light on the substance of the traditional Oriental Medical practice known as Acupuncture, claiming a history of some 4000 years. It was widely applied in China, Korea, may be in India too.

All the sciences were born empirical. Medicine was no exception. Throughout the orient thousands of years ago there was regular exchange of knowledge among travellers and visiting scholars from different countries which shaped the traditional medicine in those countries along parallel channels and gave them some basic common characteristics. Take for instance our Ayurveda. The Ayurvedic practitioners learnt by empirical methods to locate the roots of all ailments in **internal** and **external** environments of the organism. The internal factors rooted in the nervous system are emotions like joy, anger, worry, grief, fear etc while the external ones are wind (Bayu), cold (koff) bile etc. By observing the patient and asking him questions the Ayushastries traced the origin of the disease and diagnosed it by feeling the pulse. To them the pulse was the real index of all ailments. Empirical

experience through the ages taught them how particular internal and external causes and their permutations and combinations effect particular variations of the pulse. The point is that this traditional method of medicine was not a monopoly of India, but prevalent in other oriental countries like China, Korea etc. So was the method of treatment known as Acupuncture which means "to prick with a needle" (**Acus** means needle and **Puncture** means to prick). What is rather unfortunate is that we in India, while paying lip service to the necessity of reviving on a new thoroughly modern scientific basis, the ancient Ayurveda, are in practice allowing it to embrace a slow death, countries like Japan, Korea and China, are redeeming their ancient methods of treatment, are conducting vigorous research with the aim of replacing their empirical base by a thoroughly established, tried and tested scientific foundation. This laudable effort has recently culminated in a great medical discovery in Korea which will be described later in this article.

That some sort of needle treatment was known in India too, is proved by the following quotation from Sri Satish Chandra Dasgupta, the noted disciple of Gandhiji:

"The site (of nerve or neuralgic pains) may be pricked deep with ordinary sewing needles after sterilisation. This is.....an effective method of curing long standing sciatic pain....." (Home and Village Doctor).

Origin and Development

Keith Brayant a British practitioner, circumscribed the globe to study the

origin and development of Acupuncture. When he visited Taipeh, the capital of Taiwan, Dr. Lavier of the local Acupuncture clinic related to him how the method of treatment was born empirically. The doctor said that in ancient China it was found that soldiers wounded by arrows were suddenly found to be automatically cured of some ailments they had. The traditional Chinese Ayurvedists studied the cases and came to the conclusion that some diseases could be cured by pricking particular parts of the body. They tried the method on guinea-pigs with success.

Though the English word Acupuncture was coined in China in the 17th century by the Jesuit Order in Peking, its written history dates back to 4000 years when the Chinese "Canon of Internal Medicine" (like our 'Charak') was compiled during the reign of the Yellow Emperor. This written history based on an experience of 4000 years reflects an empirical healing art based on the theory that health and disease are functional bodily **harmony** or **disharmony** between the two forces, **positive** and **negative**. It mentions 9 different kinds of needles made of stone and metal. Along with Acupuncture, the book refers to another method known in English as Moxibustion which means heating of the punctured points of the skin by burning a roll of leaves of the Chinese wormwood (*Artemesia moxa*). A case is mentioned from 581 B.C. when a patient under coma was cured by pricking a point on the top of his head with a needle. From 256 to 907 A.D. the two methods were greatly developed. In the 10th century China, two life sized statues were created in bronze, drilled with more than 800 holes—nodal points for Acupuncture and Moxibustion. They were built for teaching the art to medical students. One of them is now in Japan, while the other is lost. One more built in the 15th century exists. The holes in the statue are not of equal depth. Each one is as much deep as the particular insertion requires. The

method in China suffered a set back when the emperors of the Ching dynasty prohibited the needling of bodies of the Royalty. As in India after British occupation, so in China too, introduction of western medicine led to the gradual ousting of the native traditional medicine. Add with this fact the tendency in both the countries among the old Ayurvedists to closely guard their professional secrets against popularisation (these secrets passed from father to son only), and you get the picture complete. The difference between the two countries now is that while China has been taking pains to revive this old art and transform it into a science, India has allowed herself to neglect her own precious heritage.

New Scientific Basis

Dr. Chen, the authority on Acupuncture in the U.S. Public Health Department states: ".....internal organs and different body parts are intimately related and work in harmony for maintenance of health.... when the needles puncture and stimulate different tissues and organs at various depths, they cause physiological reactions and thus produce healing results.....The hypothesis is that stimulation from punctures is conducted from peripheral nerves to the brain cortex and suppresses pathological irritation of the brain. Such an explanation seems to be in harmony with the Pavlovian theory of **conditioned reflex**."

From the above it follows that the body is an organic unity. Illness is caused by imbalances between different organs and cure consists in restoring balance and harmony. This is done by relaxing 'antagonisms' or 'contradictions'. A disease is caused when one organ or a set of organs has been overworked, overstimulated, injured or otherwise disturbed. The doctor's task is to remove the antagonism or congestion. Dr. Tsu, another authority on the subject explains that emotions like anger may cause organic pain elsewhere. Whereas

western medicine looks for only medical symptoms and medical history, an Acupuncturist looks upon the patient as a unity subject to both outside and inside stimuli. He wants to know (more or less like Homoeopaths) about his family life, how his work goes on, what his personal resentments are, where disharmony exists in his life. In short Acupuncture in modern times has found itself installed on the plinth of dialectics which regards the organism in unity with external and internal environments as well as in opposition to them.

A New Discovery

The British journal 'Observer' on 22.10.61 featured an article by Aldous Huxley wherein the noted author wrote:

"International Congresses of Acupuncture are now convened (the last was at the University of Clermont—Ferrand)" and "several hundred European doctors are trying to 'combine the science and art of Western medicine with the ancient science and art of Chinese Acupuncture....."

".....In the normally healthy organism there is a continuous circulation of energy. Illness is at once a cause and a result of a derangement of this circulation....Acupuncture redirects and normalises the flow of energy....."

".....The limbs, trunk and head are lined with invisible 'meridians' related in some way to the various organs of the body. On these meridians are located specially sensitive points.....By pricking a number of judiciously selected points the skilled Acupuncturist re-establishes the normal circulation of energy.....Experimenters have been able by means of delicate electrical measuring instruments, to trace the course of the meridians and when a strategic point is pricked.....relatively large changes of electrical state (bio-electrical—T.C.) can be recorded".

Huxley wrote this in October 1961 on the basis of an epoch making discovery (it

was only a hypothesis earlier) in August of the same year by Prof Kim Bong Han of the Korean Peoples' Democratic Republic. By research and experiments he brought the hypothetical independent 'meridians' into the realm of scientific substantiation. He proved the existence in the body of an independent integrated anatomico—histological system quite different from the nervous, vascular and lymphatic systems. It was a discovery of another secret of living nature which focussed new light on the biochemical basis of the living substance revealing new secrets of the function and role of nucleic acids in metabolism, hereditary phenomena, tumour etc. which had not been encompassed by the knowledge about the Nervous system and humoral factors including hormones.

This system of meridians known in the Korean language as the 'Kungrack' composed of corpuscles connected by tubular ducts are distributed not only in the superficial layers of the dermis but also in and around the deep subcutaneous tissues in the blood and lymphatic vessels and internal organs. These Bonghan corpuscles and ducts having bio-electric features, are excitable and as such react differently to various external and internal stimuli and are correlated with certain internal organs. Prof. Kim Bong Han found by biochemical, bioelectric, histo-chemical and radio-isotopic methods that the Bonghan fluid circulating in the ducts along a definite course contains nucleic acids, particularly large quantity of DNA and some of RNA the carriers of heredity. This has necessitated a revision of the idea held so far that the DNA is a denizen only of the nucleus and cytoplasm.

The ducts (extravascular and intravascular) are made of striated ductules 30 to 50 microns in diameter. Injection of acridine orange brings about a fluorescence in the fluid. A special basophilic substance has been found in the corpuscles. These two phenomena induced the Korean

scientists to further histochemical research which ultimately established the existence of the DNA in the duct.

The Bonghan corpuscles separated from the body of organisms (i.e. connections with the central Nervous system cut off) continued to show bioelectric changes. Application of some chemicals like pilocarpine or acetylcholine first numbs the activity of the corpuscle and then invigorates it and the reaction is recorded in waves by electrograms. Calcium chloride, acetic acid and novocaine (used in Acupuncture) produce various fluctuations in the electric graph.

Stimulus of a particular intensity given to a corpuscle is conducted through the ducts to others at a speed of 3 mm per second, from one to the next. The speed of stimulus conduction is much slower than that in the nervous system. Very weak or very strong stimuli are not thus conducted (something like supersound which one can not hear).

The discovery of the Bonghan system has led to a new theory on self renewal of the organism. Prof. Kim Bong Han has proved that the Bonghan fluid starts from the ducts in the tissue cells and flows back to them. These circuits exist in, outside and around the vessels and nerves, in the viscera. It is a multiple circuit, not a mono-circuit like the vascular system. The Bonghan fluid contains particular granules known as Bonghan Sanals, globular and oval in shape with diameters ranging between 2'4 and 0'8 microns. Each granule has a nucleus called sanalosom and the cytoplasm called sanaloplasm, the whole unit covered by a sanal membrane. The sanalosom contains a great quantity of DNA and the Sanaloplasm some RNA. Like formation of cells by cell-division, there is cellulisation of sanals and senalisation of cells. The sanals which are much smaller than ordinary tissue cells are the smallest units giving rise to cells uninterruptedly. In fact the cell which so long was regarded as the

smallest unit, is no longer regarded so. According to the Sanal theory, the cell is a particular phase of the circulation and movement of sanals. Thus the self renewal process of the organism is maintained by the sanal system.

Pricking the Bonghan

The question now is, how Acupuncture is connected with the Bonghan system. Dr. Kim has found that even if nerves were cut off, a stimulus given to Bonghan system is promptly transmitted. From this it follows that Acupuncture of nodal points does not send stimuli through the nerves as asserted so far by many western medical men. In fact the punctures provide stimulus to the granules which are transmitted along the duct, independent of the nervous, vascular and lymphatic systems. (No Schwann cells or lymphocytes have been found within the ducts.) When a stimulus is given to a granule connected with say, the colon, the movement of the latter becomes strengthened, a phenomenon which does not take place when the surrounding tissues are stimulated.

Pricking definite points by needle and subsequent heating of the points top downwards even upto scorching the skin, provide the stimuli necessary for curing particular ailments by restoring the lost balance. The Acupuncturists divide the viscera in two parts, one containing five solid organs, heart, liver, spleen, lungs and kidney, the other having seven hollow ones, stomach, large intestine, small intestine, gall bladder, urinary bladder, a combination of some other organs and pericardium. They are connected by the meridians i.e. the Bonghan ducts and ductule network. Altogether there are fourteen channels on which are located all the points for puncture and moxibustion. After diagnosis the doctor decides the points to be dealt with. The result of the treatment absolutely depends on the correct selection of the

points. Next in importance is the specific method of manipulation of the needles required for a particular ailment. For instance, imbalance caused by subnormal activity are restored by simple stimulation whereas those caused by abnormal activity are restored by relaxing the tension. Instances of the former are gastric hypoacidity, motor paralysis, sensory paralysis etc and those of the latter are hyperacidity, spasms, pains etc.

Which Diseases can be Cured ?

Diseases so far difficult to cure by Western medicine, like rheumatism, sciatic neuralgia, trigeminal neuralgia are quickly cured by Acupuncture and Moxibustion. Spectacular results are obtained in cases of illness of nervous system like, facial paralysis, oculomotor paralysis all sorts of complications arising out of rheumatism (pain, cold, numbness, formication), radicular neuritis, hysteria, diaphragmatic spasm, neurastheric headache, dizziness, insomnia, epileptic fits, reactive psychosis, schizophrenia and arthrites.

As regards diseases of internal organs, contagious, gynaecological and pediatric diseases, ailments of ear, nose, throat, mouth and skin as well as surgical ones. Acupuncture and Moxibustion have proved their worth. Many cases of cure have been recorded for bronchitis, chronic asthma, pulmonary tuberculosis, cirrhosis of liver sinusitis (a Calcutta doctor himself was cured of this disease), acute appendicitis, colitis, gastro-enteritis, gastro-spasm, high frequency heart beats, Basedow's disease, diabetes, tetanus, irregular scanty and painful menstruation, eclampsia, subinvolution of uterus, paralysis after abortion, polio, acute conjunctivitis of the eye, optic atrophy, night blindness, tonsillitis, pharyngitis, stomatosis, toothache, dermatitis, eczema, urticaria etc.

Acute appendicitis is cured by Acupuncture without any surgical operation.

Edgar Snow the noted U.S. author himself saw such a patient cured in Hankow. There at the chest hospital, he saw a child patient with a right ventricular hypertrophy, pulmonary stenosis, inter-ventricular septal defect and overriding aorta, cured gradually by Acupuncture with prolonged use of artificial heart and lungs. It is worth mention here that in China traditional Chinese medicine is combined with Western practice. Since 1958 all Western trained doctors have been required to devote not less than six months to the study of traditional Chinese medical methods. This gives wonderful results.

Spectacular results have been obtained in cases of acute rheumatic arthritis within 5 days. If applied a few hours before an attack of malarial fever the plasmodia gradually disappear. Polio cases may be cured in 4 months if Acupuncture treatment is started within 6 months of occurrence. Acute conjunctivitis is cured within a few days. Common ailments like pharyngitis, tonsillitis etc react immediately to Acupuncture. These are but a very few instances.

The theory and practice of Acupuncture and Moxibustion now rests on the foundation of Bonghan system. Its discovery was hailed by the West German paper 'Bauern Ruf' as a world-stirring event in medicine. The AFP on 23.2.62 put the discovery on par with the British scientist William Harvey's discovery of blood circulation in the 17th century. Referring to it the UPI on 31.1.62, underlined that it offered new explanations to basic problems of biology.

In the West outside the orbit of the communist camp, where it is now widely practised, Acupuncture is probably most conspicuous by its presence in France as a part of the National Health Service. Among those which come next are West Germany, Switzerland and the U.S.A. The noted French osteopath Paul Geny, has opened an Acupuncture clinic in Paris and treats with great success, lumbago, Sciatica,

arthritis, spinal ailments, all kinds of rheumatism, asthma sinusitis etc. He is of the opinion that unlike tranquilisers, Acupuncture has neither any side effects nor any risk of addiction. Dr. Geny started with treating himself. Another French Acupuncturist Dr. Andre Pugnaire has had spectacular success in readjusting irregular menstrual cycles.

In spite of the proved value of Acupuncture, the British General Medical Council struck the name of Sir Harbert Barker from the register of the General Medical Council because he was practising Acupuncture—so conservative is Britain. But when Dr Barker successfully treated the Duke of Kent, Lord Nuffield, Lord Morrison and

H. G. Wells and as a result knighted, he regained recognition. Michael Gutstein, a German refugee rheumatologist in Britain started practising Acupuncture there and the British therapist Association ultimately accepted his theory. It was mainly his practice which evoked interest in the subject in the U.S.A. which led to the treatment by the same method of President Kennedy by Dr. Travel, a U.S. woman physician. Now in Britain too an Acupuncture Society has been formed.

And last but not the least is the fact that in this city of Calcutta one Bengali Acupuncturist has not only been treating his patients with success but is training some young medical men in the art.

Musalman and Sanskrit

"It is a great pity that a Musalman graduate who wanted to attend the Calcutta University lectures in Sanskrit to enable him to appear at the M. A. examination has been driven away from the lecture-room by the orthodox Hindu professors. And the university, a non-sectarian institution, has supported them! Of course, the Pandits have every right to stick to their orthodox ideas, but this they are entitled to only in their own private schools. They cannot take the money of the university and at the same time exclude non-Hindus from their lectures. But what shall we say to them, when enlightened westernised men support their action on the ground of expediency?"

Ramananda Chatterjee

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CEYLON—THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

In times past Ceylon rarely failed to cast a spell on the newcomer. Historians and travellers furnish abundant evidence of this fascination. Onesicritus, the pilot of the fleet of Alexander the Great, carried home fabulous tales of its size and beauty, and Sindbad the Sailor did not weary of relating stories about what he had seen in the "Island of Rubies" to the Caliph (Arab King)—the good Haround Al-reschid. "From Seyllan to Paradise is a distance of forty Italian miles," wrote John de Marignalli of Italy in 1347.

Even today Ceylon entices the traveller because it is a little India. It is not only a geographic appendage but one ethnic, linguistic and spiritual unit with India. Nevertheless it is a completely independent nation. Whether the traveller is interested in Hindu-Buddhist philosophy or art, Dravidian or Indo-Aryan culture, or even Islamic culture and art, all these racial and cultural patterns of the Indian sub-continent are present in the island in as authentic a form as in India.

Ceylon has more names bestowed on it than any other island. The most ancient is "Lanka," as the island was called in the pre-historic epics. The Indians called it "Singhaladwipa," meaning the land of the lion race. Arab seamen who used the island's harbours in their trade with China called the island "Serendib". The great philosopher, Aristotle, mentions Taprobane, a name by which Ceylon was known to the Macedonians. It means, "The pond covered with red lotus." Greeks called it Simuda, and Tenarisim or "the island of delights," which was the name given by the Moors.

The pear-shaped island has its mountain range in the center and the plains surround it all the way round to the sea.

The people of Ceylon are collectively called the Ceylonese, but there are several races professing many faiths, their color varying from olive to brown. Ceylonese women wear bright-colored sarees, as in India, draped artistically round the waist and over the shoulder. The men wear the sarong and a shirt except the English-educated elite, who wear European dress.

The authentic history of Ceylon begins with the landing of the Aryans from North India in the 6th Century, B.C. This Aryan invasion of the island was headed by Prince Vijaya who was the founder of the Singhalese dynasty. The Singhalese of today, who form two-thirds of the island's population, are of Aryan descent and their culture is akin to that of the North Indians.

Tamils make 22 per cent of the population. They are ethnically the same as the South Indians. They belong to India's Dravidian civilization and speak the Tamil language in perhaps a purer form than it is spoken in South India. Some of the Arabs, who came to Ceylon from the 9th to the 16th Century A.D. for trade, settled in Ceylon and today three per-cent of the population are Arab-descended Moors who zealously uphold Islamic traditions.

The visitor to Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, can hardly fail to realize that the island has had great and pious rulers. Successors to Vijaya (already referred to as the founder of the Singhalese race), built great irrigation works at Anuradhapura in 504 B.C., showing that the first Singhalese settlers brought with them from India an advanced type of civilization.

The history of Ceylon, up to comparatively modern times, is largely one of efforts to preserve and propagate the Buddhist

religion after its eclipse in India. Buddhism came to Ceylon in 307 B.C., during the reign of the King Vevanampriya Tissa or "Beloved of the Saints".

The great palladium of Buddhism is the sacred tooth Relic of the Buddha, the possession of which has rendered Ceylon so famous among Buddhists throughout the East. It is kept in the temple at Kandy, which was the last capital of the Singhalese kings.

There is evidence to show that Anuradhapura, in its heyday, was a large and active city. Some of its impressive ruins are those of palaces and monasteries built by King Dutugemunu in the 2nd Century before the birth of Christ. One such was the Lova-Maha-Paya or the Brazen Palace, a sevenstoreyed structure standing on granite pillars in which the clergy lived and meditated in a thousand dormitories.

Fa-hion, describing the splendours of the Royal City, as he saw it in A.D. 414, speaks of "its straight and level streets and highways lined with handsome houses, the abode of magistrates, nobles, and foreign merchants; numerous dagobas, temples and public buildings, with preaching halls in every thoroughfare where the tenets of Buddha were proclaimed".

A feature of the landscape of Anuradhapura are the great dagobas (from "datu", a relic, and "gobban", a shrine), monuments raised to a circumference of 1,130 feet. Dutugemunu built one of these and gazed on the unfinished monument as he passed out of this world. His dying thought was, "All the acts done in my days of prosperity afford no comfort to my mind; but two offerings which I made when in affliction and adversity, disregard of my fate, are those which alone administer solace to me now."

For over a thousand years Anuradhapura was the capital.

The Roman writer, Pliny, conversed with the ambassadors whom the King of Ceylon sent to the Emperor Claudius in

44 A.D., to obtain more accurate knowledge regarding an island about which so many fabulous stories were circulated. The next embassy to Rome from Ceylon was in the 4th Century.

The ruined cities of Ceylon are in the north-central plains, which are relatively less well watered than the central and south-western parts of the island.

Cultivation in the north was dependent on irrigation and the gigantic reservoirs or "consecrated lakes" built by the kings, when modern precision instruments were unknown, hold the admiration of engineers even at the present time. Apart from their utilitarian value these lakes, or "tanks" as they are called, add to the beauty of the landscape and are a blessing to man and beast. With the double object of storing up food and filling the treasury, the great Parakrama Bahu decreed that not the least quantity of rain water was to be allowed to flow into the ocean without profiting mankind, and that, with the exception of the gem and gold mines, all the land was to be turned into rice fields.

On the road to Polonnaruwa, from Colombo by way of Kandy, the traveller stops at the great rock-fortress of Sigiriya, 400 feet above the level of the lake which lies below it. It was the refuge of a parricide king, Kasyapa, fleeing from the wrath of his brother. In the days of its glory it was a walled city, with tier upon tier of peaked tiled roofs, rising up and up to where the cliff-walled hill in the centre stood like a tower, which was in turn capped by a terraced citadel, rising sheer from the edge of the precipice, which was only to be reached by the gallery that wound zig-zag to the summit. With its shining rows of white walls and high-pitched tile roofs, and the great picture blazoned on the cliff face, Kasyapa's City of Refuge must have been one of the most wonderful efforts of building that the world has ever seen.

The great picture—Sigiriya frescoes—

has preserved its pristine beauty and original colours despite the ravages of the elements and time. This, together with the sculpture in the silence of the forest, evidences a high level of artistic perception and achievement in those early times.

The Aryan traditions brought to Ceylon in the 6th Century, B.C., are preserved in Singhalese art forms at Kandyan provinces in the hills. Kandyan art designs or jewelry, trays, carved animals, and other gold, silver, brass and gilt wear, command the admiration of visitors for their exquisite design, workmanship and beauty of finish. Kandyan dancing is equally famous with Bali dancing, both of Hindu devotional origin. Kandyan dancers, who make their whirling and swaying steps to the rhythm of drums, steal the highlights of the annual pageant, held for ten days in August in Kandy, the famous holiday resort in Central Ceylon. During this festival the round tooth Relic is taken in procession round the ancient city, while the Kandyan chiefs, dressed in their ancient regalia, dancers, drummers and gaily caprisoned elephants, participate. The pageant, known as the Perahera, is one of the most colourful and picturesque festivals held in the Orient.

The sculpture and architectural designs of temples at Kandy, Anuradhapura and Polonaruwa (three ancient Singhalese capitals at different periods of Ceylon's twenty-five centuries of chequered history) are among some of the finest historical sights of Ceylon. One of the art works unique to Ceylon is the moonstone, a semi-circular slab placed at the foot of steps to ancient Buddhist temples. It is peculiar to Singhalese architecture and not to be found in any other part of the world. It has semi-circular bands running round depicting foliage, flowers, animals, etc., carved into solid rock. These slabs have withstood centuries of weathering to preserve the greatness of the artists who designed them in antiquity. The images of the Buddha, both at Polonaruwa and Anuradhapura,

carved out of solid rock, are unsurpassed in their majesty by the sculpture of any other country.

The Hindu temples were built by the Tamils, who invaded the island from South India in the Tenth Century A.D. and occupied the north and north-eastern provinces of Ceylon. These are in the style of the famous temples of Madura and Mysore. They display the majesty of Dravidian architecture. Moslem traditions in art are also represented by the mosques scattered in the island.

The wealth of Ceylon is in their crops grown for export: tea, rubber, cinnamon, cocoa, citronella oil, papain and coconut. Ceylon tea enjoys a world-wide reputation. Eighty per cent of the people are peasants, living as in India on smallholdings in innumerable villages scattered throughout the island. Often the smallholdings are barely adequate to maintain the peasant and his family. Free mass education and cooperative farming are revitalising the peasant economy so that they may live above want, a happy and a more purposeful life.

The lush tropical vegetation of Ceylon is varied and verdant. Colombo, the capital, is itself a garden city, with a broad river as one boundary, a modern harbor, numerous parks, a fine race course, golf links, bathing beaches with excellent facilities for swimming and wide roads lined with flowering trees, ponciane, pacaranda, cassia, spathodia, the flame-of-the-forest-poinsetta, and camelia-like temple flowers.

Everywhere in Ceylon is a physical beauty. The surf-sweet coast is fringed with coconut palms leaning gracefully out to a shimmering sea. The brilliant blue of the skies changes, as evening approaches, to a medley of hues forming those superb sunsets which are the glory of tropical lands.

Where the land is low-lying, acres of rice fields, with their green-golden carpet, stretch out and sometimes reach up to the foothills in terraced formation. The forests

are singularly attractive for the endless variety of their foliage. From these forests comes the flowery satinwood so highly prized by the cabinet makers.

The gems of Ceylon have always been famous in the world marts. The late Mr. Pierpont Morgan some years ago bought a fine blue sapphire in Colombo, weighing 466 carats. A local firm of jewellers has a cat's eye (chrysoberyl) weighing over 100 carats. A star-ruby weighing 2,967 carats was found in the Ratnapura district. Ratnapura means the city of gems. Readers of the "Travels of Marco Polo" will recall the Venetian's description of the ruby which belonged to the King of Ceylon: "A span in length, without a flaw and brilliant beyond description." A magnificent cat's eye, which formed part of the famous Hope collection, came from the treasure of the last King of Kandy in 1815. The stone was set in gold with rubies cut *en cabochon*.

Ceylon gem-stones include sapphires, rubies, cat's eyes, aquamarines, amethysts, topazes, spinels, garnets, tourmalines and moonstones. Emeralds and opals are not found in the island. Pearl fisheries were held off the north-western coast from very early times.

There are upwards of 370 species of

birds in Ceylon. The traveler rejoices in the lute-like voices of the oriole and the magpie robin. But it is only when emerging from the dense forests and coming into the vicinity of the lakes and the pastures of the low country that birds become visible in great numbers. In the Eastern Province, sea-fowl, with their dazzling plumage, are plentiful. There are also myriads of aquatic birds, and waders to be found in the lakes and water-courses. Ibises, storks, egrets, spoonbills and herons are plentiful around the marshy plains and shallow lagoons. The sportsman is familiar with the whistling teal and cotton teal, and other wild ducks; the Ceylon jungle fowl with its clear cry, the ubiquitous snipe, pigeons and doves of at least a dozen species, quails and partridges. The kingfisher, with its turquoise plumage, is to be found everywhere and sun birds are seen in gardens. The profusion of perching birds include flycatchers, finches and thrushes, and are the quarry of the large predatory birds—eagles, hawks and falcons—whose daring sweeps and effortless undulations are striking sights in the cloudless sky.

The late Mr. Bernard Shaw was charmed by the Island, and an English poet writes:

Yet, O My Soul, remember ; when you've sailed the seas away,
And the English climate's chilly, and the English clouds are grey ;
When the birds are sad and silent, and the sun is seldom seen,
And life is miles of houses with miles of mud between,
You will see in a sudden vision, you will see with a sudden sigh
The scarlet-splashed Flamboyant awash in the azure sky ;
You will see Anuradhapura and the old King's bathing pool,
And the shadowy blue king-fisher on the carved granite cool ;
And the Pass of Haputala, and the Lowland flat and far,
And through Grevillea feathers, the rosy evening star ;
And the moon be-silvered jungle ; the dipping magic Cross
'Mid steady balm in-blowing from the silver foam and floss ;
And better than than places—faces, the Aryan face (your own)
With its brown and olive beauty, the youths and maids you've known ;
And the tender pearl of India in the black and brilliant eye—
My soul, you will break with longing—it can never be Good-bye.

KLIMENT OF OCHRIDA

N. DRAGANOVA.

The 9th century of our era, as we now look at it with the passage of time, seems to have been a restful period—Europe taking a breather from the great migration of nations and reviving the fertility of the land which poets since the 4th century had described in plaintif tones: "How many rusted helmets are brought up by the plows from the sods, and what heaps of bones of fallen kings resound under the blow of the hoes;" (Claudius Claudian).

The old world was still unsettled. The numerous tribes of the Slavs spread in Europe to the East, to very border of Asia, West to the Laba, North to the Seas, and Southward deep into Thessaly. Historically these tribes and state agglomerations are known as Moravians, Panonians, Lechs Poles, Serbs, Bulgarians, Russians, and others. Settling down for good on their own territory, the Slavs lived like good neighbours. Their young blood created powerful states, established large settlements in the fertile valleys, raised huge herds of live stock, started building new settlements. Above all, the Slavs created their specific culture.

Byzantium and Rome were jealous of all rivals. During the early period of the Christian Church, the Latins and Greeks thought themselves the new chosen people, ordained to civilize the world. What they called 'Barbarians' were left to themselves to create a world of their own, built by their labour or by the right of conquest. Nevertheless, it was a world which religion in those days did not ordain.

The cultural surge of the Slav nations in Europe was therefore strongly opposed. An army of missioneries and clerics was sent among the Slavs not so much to carry the Cross to the pagans, as to stamp upon the spirit of the Moravians and Bulgars that Christianity can be written and spoken in only three tongues—Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

While in the beginning the older civilizations sent against the Slav migration their cohorts and

legions, and built strong fortress walls to keep them out—another approach was taken to damp the cultural aspirations of the enterprising newcomers. The tri-lingual dogma was accepted as a church canon which had to be explicitly obeyed. Anyone daring put down on parchment words in his native tongue would henceforth be persecuted as a heretic. The 9th century thus became an arena of ferocious conflicts.

The Slave opposed the dogma that everything could be written in only in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Their creative search for cultural advancement was headed by one of the greatest personalities of the Middle Ages—Constantine Philosopher, also called Cyril. A highly educated and enlightened man, he created the Cyrillic alphabet, reflecting all Slav phonetic symbols. Himself a poet and scholar well versed in the writings of Hellenic authors, he felt the expressive vigor of Slav speech and thought. The common language of the warriors, craftsmen and market place was welded together into an instrument capable of expressing intellectual conceptions, human feelings and emotions, the formulations of the Christian faith, and romantic praise of the endless beauty of the visible world.

Cyril was a linguist, and a most talented theologian and polemist of his days. Defending the cultural urge of the Slavs, Cyril fought against the attempt of the tri-lingual dogma to dominate the cultural world. In a public dispute in Venice against the Roman theologians, he categorically defended the equality of nations in the field of culture, as an emanation of Nature itself.

"Will not God send rain in equal measure to every man? Does not the sun shine equally on us all? Do we not all breathe the same air? How can you so basely attempt to impose the use of only three tongues, and keep the peoples of every other nation blind and deaf?"

His was a great victory, but soon after Cyril died in Rome (869). His disciples recorded on his death bed Cyril's precepts regarding the Ortho-

dox Faith. Among those who dedicated themselves to the spread of his teaching, was KLIMENT.

From an account of his lifework, written in later days, we learn that Kliment was with his teacher 'from his most tender age', and was one of his closest collaborators in the cultural revolution which he started in the world of Slavdom.

Himself of Slav origin, Kliment was both a scholar and a man who realized the force of the spoken world. He coined many synonyms and idiomatic expressions, which enriched the language. He worked with Cyril in Byzantium, and Panonian legends tell us that Cyril and Kliment "secluded themselves in prayer, and God blessed them by revealing to them the secret of the written word."

He was with Cyril in Moravia, when the latter translated all church books and ritual into the Slavonic language, and then (together with Cyril's brother—Metodi) helped them as a scribe in the translation of all Greek books into the Slavonic language.

For us Kliment is above all important as an educator, writer and head of the Ochrida School of Letters.

The Latin and German clergy in Moravia soon started persecuting Slavonic writings in Moravia. Those who wrote, read or preached in Slavonic were persecuted, murdered or sold in slavery. Only a few survived, and many of them sought asylum in Bulgaria.

Having spent nearly three decades with Cyril and Metodi on their rounds in Moravia, KLIMENT returned to his native land as a gifted and mature philosopher, writer and educator. King Boris, who had converted the Bulgars to the Christian faith, entrusted their cultural development to Kliment, and his friends and scholars Naum and Constantine. Kliment took up teaching.

He developed Cyril's idea about the equality of Man—equality of all people and equal opportunities for education and cultural development. Within his assigned region at Kutmichevitsa he trained 3500 peasants' sons. They helped educate many more, and so the ripple spread. Thousands of educated people in one little corner of Bulgaria—something which had never been

witnessed before! Bulgaria grew into a country where culture and the written word flourished and spread to every section of the people. While in the rest of Europe literature was a privilege of the educated few, in Bulgaria people wrote and spoke in a language which everyone could understand. The alphabet was like a window opening bright prospectives in the cultural advancement of the Slavonic nations through the ages.

Kliment was a pedagogue, but not simply a writer. He also gave the people much practical advice: the man who recorded Kliment's lifework notes: "Seeing that only wild trees grew in the land, which gave no useful fruit—Kliment taught the people how to graft good fruit on old rootstock, and thus made the wild trees bear good fruit."

He showed special concern for the development of the aesthetic taste of the people. Folk songs, architecture, poetry and the skilful choice of subjects became valuable instruments, helping shape the culture of the Bulgarians.

Through the ages church songs borrowed much from the 8-syllable lines of the folk songs. Many beautiful churches and monasteries were damaged and destroyed during foreign incursions. The brick has been destroyed but his word has remained. Parables, world of advice, lyric praise, hymns, and above all his book on the lifework of Cyril and Metodi are impressive social conceptions showing astounding foresight about the march of times. For its very beginning, the Ochrida Literary School transcended the imitative translational trends with which it started and became the herald of the development of local Bulgarian culture, ushering a century of what is known as the Golden Age of Bulgarian Letters, leaving remarkable literary works of the Middle Ages.

The Bulgarian kings Boris and Simeon did not fetter the development of culture within the narrow boundaries of the land. For half a century Kliment's writings were circulated as Pan-Slavonic literature, reaching all of the Slav countries.

Later, even when the various Slav nations were at war with each other because of rivalry for feudal possessions among their sovereigns, Slav literature soon brought them together, helped heal the wounds of war and mistrust, and kindled a feeling of tribal unity.

Kliment's followers propagated a general idea. For them the political upsurge and patriotic feeling of any one nation was never an end in itself. They appealed to the consciousness of all Slavonic nations, to realize that they are all part of one great family. It was therefore natural that the literature which came into being to the South of the Danube should soon find its way, and its readers and disciples in all other Slav countries. We have not discovered all paths through which these writings travelled to the North and East, but it is an established fact that all territories inhabited by the great Slav family of nations soon adopted the Slavonic writings of Cyril, Metodi, Kliment, and their disciples. Persecuted in Moravia and saved and preserved through Kliment, Slavonic literature reached its peak of maturity of Bulgaria and from there made its triumphant march to the Slav nations.

The Tagore Collection Of Indian Art.

"As the collection of Indian Art belonging to the brothers Gaganendranath, Samarendranath and Abanindranath Tagore is for sale and may be purchased, for example, by the Boston Museum of Art and leave India for good, it should be purchased for the nation by some wealthy lover or lovers of Art and kept in Calcutta. If we had power over the public purse, we would purchase it for the nation from public funds: Six lacs were allotted last year for building the European nurses' quarters in the Medical College Hospital.

"Should the collection go to Europe or America we may console ourselves with the thought that climatic conditions in India do not favour the preservation of paintings for many centuries; they would keep better in colder climes."

Ramananda Chatterjee

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RESOURCES FOR THE FOURTH PLAN

Prof. A. T. MURTY

Planning means conscious adjustment of scarce means to competing ends. It involves setting up of goals—social and economic—and for their achievement optimum allocation and channelling of available resources in the most desired directions. By its nature, planning is a continuous process, each phase preparing the groundwork for the next. In an under-developed country like ours, wedded to the principle of democracy, planning can, however, proceed only on the basis of trial and error. The experience generated in the initial stages, i.e., during the First, Second, and Third Plan periods, has to be drawn upon for perfecting the methods, techniques and approach for the achievement of both long-term and short-term objectives.

Mobilisation of Resources

A country mobilises its resources in a number of ways. Utilisation of manpower is one. Disguised un-employment itself constitutes a great wealth potential. Increase in the country's rate of savings is another. Our country is aiming at increasing the rate of savings in relation to the country's total production and consumption. The best reservoir of ideal manpower has not yet been drawn on. A vastly increased production in agricultural sector will give us a widely extended base for capital formation. Today the urban sector has to bear the main burden of financing resources for investment. The agricultural sector which accounts for nearly 50 per cent of our annual national income is unable to make any effective contribution to the

revenues of the country. This is because the per capita income is low. However, savings are still possible. But the climate in which and the institutional agencies through which it could be done are lacking. It is natural to think, therefore, of raising tax rates for increasing the resources for the development effort. But considering the scope for increased taxation in the urban sector, the increase in yield is not likely to be considerable. Deficit financing has its limitations. We can safely resort to it if the production in the rural and urban sectors shows a continuous upward trend. Perhaps the most remarkable fiscal aspect of the Fourth Plan is that it gives up deficit financing completely. In the Fourth Plan, there is going to be no deficit financing at all, that is, no gap between resources and requirements will be filled by just printing currency notes. The Fourth Plan starts with a low level of foreign exchange reserve. Moreover, the level of prices now is more than 80 per cent above the level at the beginning of the First Five Year Plan. Both these considerations demand that inflationary financing of public outlays must be kept down to the barest minimum.

State enterprises can, with a more efficient management, yield an increased quantum of profits. These surpluses can and must be drawn upon for financing further investment.

Scheme of financing the Fourth Plan :—

How are we to raise Rs. 16,000 crores to finance the Fourth Plan in the public sector and Rs. 7,750 crores in the private sector ?

The Draft outline's answer to this question is as follows :

Rs. (in crores).

Balance from current resources.	3,010
Railways.	260
Public enterprises.	1,085
Public Loans (Net).	1,500
Small Savings.	1,000
Unfunded debts.	565
Compulsory and Annuity Deposits.	150
Misc. Capital Receipts.	665
External credits.	4,700
Economies in non-plan expenditure.	335

13,270

The gap of Rs. 2,730 crore will have to be filled by further mobilisation of domestic resources. Of this, measures adopted in 1966-67 will bring in Rs. 930 crore. And Rs. 1,800 crore, still left, will have to be secured by additional efforts to mobilise domestic resources. The step up of investment in the Third Plan Public Sector of Rs. 8,630 crore to Rs. 16,000 crore in the Fourth Plan will call for a large and concentrated effort for mobilising the resources. National income is expected to increase during the Fourth Plan at 5.5% per annum and it is from this source that the additional demands for investment and consumption have to be met. The Fourth Plan aims at increasing the savings and investment levels considerably.

Additional Taxation

The fulfilment of the taxation target is vital for the successful implementation of the Plan. Tax revenues in India now total about 10% of the national income. This can be increased and it cannot be considered an excessive burden when developmental activities are being rapidly accelerated. Adjustments in direct and indirect taxes could be made to prevent domestic producers from making unduly large profits and to

make more supplies available for export. More income from the agricultural sector could be generated either through revisions in land revenue rates or adjustment in irrigation charges or a levy of special surcharge on commercial crops. Finally, the coverage and effectiveness of income-tax could be increased both for revenue purposes and for checking superfluous consumption.

Foreign Assistance

The Fourth Plan with its emphasis on rapid economic growth would involve a considerable amount of foreign exchange expenditure. About the prospects of foreign assistance no prediction can be made. Taking the 15 year period as a whole, total foreign assistance received was Rs. 3,734 crore. With the expected foreign aid of Rs. 4,700 crore during the Fourth Plan, the problem of our dependance on external credit becomes very acute. The balance of payments difficulty that the country is facing is not a temporary phenomenon but part and parcel of the process of development. For a period of years the excess import requirements will have to be met from foreign assistance. But it is important to aim at a progressive reduction in the imbalance so as to eliminate it within a foreseeable future.

Export Promotion and Import Substitution

In order to take the economy markedly towards self-reliance, the highest priority in the Fourth Plan goes to export promotion and import substitution. After taking into consideration the latest fiscal measures already adopted, including devaluation, the Fourth Plan envisages total exports of the order of Rs. 8,030 crore in the Post-devaluation currency. It is tentatively assumed that exports may rise from an actual level of Rs. 810 crore in 1965-66 to Rs. 825 crore in 1966-67 and Rs. 1,225 crore in 1970-71—all

figures being reckoned in terms of the pre-devaluation rupees. On this basis, the level of exports is expected to increase by 51.2 per cent during the Fourth Plan period. The opportunities created by devaluation cannot be exploited to the full, unless export supplies are built in the Fourth Plan period. State participation in the export trade may have to be extended for ensuring the requisite increase in exports and preventing possible leakages in foreign exchange.

Surpluses of public enterprises

In the Fourth Plan most of the public sector undertakings will be functioning at optimum capacity and will be yielding surpluses. The Plan aims at the utilisation of these surpluses in financing further investment. The amount so estimated is Rs. 1,085 crore. These projects, if necessary, should resort to a profit-price policy, so that the profits so derived could be ploughed back into further investment. No new project should be started until it has been fully worked out in all its details and there

is a reasonable certainty of requisite resources being available in time.

Conclusion

Basically the question is how the investment effort in the economy can be maximised. This depends on how efficiently the production effort is organised and how well the fiscal and other devices for mobilising resources work in practice. The inadequacy of resources to needs is inherent in an underdeveloped economy and an effective mobilisation of resources is the very basis of planned economy. For a developing country like ours the search for resources has to be a continuous one and this involves the timely mopping up of the resources that arise in the economy. The techniques of taxation and of the tapping of savings have to be varied as conditions change from time to time. The results thus obtained need to be reviewed and reassessed periodically, bearing in mind that the progress of production is the basis of entire investment effort.



Book Reviews

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CAN INDIRA ACCEPT THIS CHALLENGE?—By Dr. S. Vijayanand Bharathi, Vora & Co. Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay. Pages 533. Price Rs. 20.00.

This is a book written by one who claims that he is not anchored to any party politics or dogmatic theories but having cordial relations with the top men of different "isms". It is an assessment of the Congress Rule—its assertions and achievements.

India partitioned into India and Pakistan had a wrong start politically and economically and the Congress leaders were no less responsible for the division of the country than the Muslim League. There was hunger for capture of the administration by the Congress stalwarts already won by British diplomacy and even Mahatma Gandhi found himself helpless, so much so that he forgot his promise that he would allow India to be partitioned only over his dead body. Divided India had blood baths in communal riots. Partition was considered to be a peaceful settlement of the Hindu-Muslim differences but it turned out to be a permanent arrangement for quarrel between the two independent states. The state of Kashmir, attacked by Pakistan acceded to the Indian Union and India sent her armed forces to drive the enemy out of Kashmir. When it was only a question of days to free the country, Pandit Nehru who had already approached the United Nations ordered a cease fire at the instance of the Security Council of U. N. and promised a plebiscite which was quite uncalled for as accession was complete when the Maharaja applied for it and the Government of India agreed, as per provisions of the Indian Independence Act 1947. Thus an undisputed

territory and an integral part of India became a disputed land due to short-sighted policy and political blunder of Pandit Nehru. India's deal with China and signing of the so-called 'Panch Sheel' agreement with Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister was another serious lapse in Indian diplomacy for which Pandit Nehru is responsible. At Bundung, (1955) Nehru was humbled and in place of his 'Panch Sheel', the conspiracy of China and Pakistan produced 'Ten' Sheels. Occupation of 14,000 square miles of Aksai Chin—Indian territory was concealed from his countrymen by India's Prime Minister for over five years and the Defence Minister trifled the matter saying that a blade of grass does not grow on the land occupied although it was already known motorable highways had been built in the area linking it with Tibet and China. China's invasion of NEFA is too fresh in public memory—many Jawans and officers of the Indian army were sacrificed, taken prisoners or missing not to speak of arms and ammunitions lost or captured. But not a single Chinese was killed or captured to anybody's knowledge.

Pandit Nehru was an idealist and he loved his Country. He wanted his country to be at par with the advanced nations of the West. But his planning for industrialisation without a strong base of agricultural advancement has led the country to an economic crisis. Fall in industrial productions, shortage of food, adverse trade balance, all round rise in prices, heavy taxation, corruption and nepotism in the administration and last but not the least devaluation of rupees—all these are natural consequences of Pandit Nehru's administration. He was from the beginning

surrounded by 'yes' men and flatterers who always supported or praised all which Nehru said and did and as a result Nehru considered all others who differed from him as not only his personal enemies but enemies of the country. Thus patriotic advice from the late Dr. Meghnad Saha was no good for his 'Plans' and the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was considered to give Nehru wrong advice on Kashmir or foreign policy.

After Nehru there was a big vacuum in the Congress Camp and it was a difficult business to find a successor to the democratic dictator. The Great Nehru did not name a successor as he could not expect that his end was so near. His successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister began well. He not only consulted his partymen but others as well and as such was loved by all and in spite of deteriorating economy the people began to think that the worst will not happen. Trouble began at Kutch when Pakistan tried to swallow a big slice of Indian territory in Gujrat state, Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir compelled India to fight in defence. Again U.N. interferes and cease fire agreed to when the Indian army was at the gate of Lahore. Apart from heavy military expenditure in this short war, there was complete deadlock in the relations between India and Pakistan. It must be to the credit of USSR that the Indian Prime Minister and President of Pakistan met at Tashkent to settle the differences. The famous historic Declaration was signed by Lal Bahadur Shastri and Muhammad Ayub Khan on the 11th January 1966 and Lal Bahadur Shastri passed away.

Then came the race for Premiership. It was very difficult task for the Congress President Kamaraj. However, ultimately Mrs. Indira Gandhi succeeded in occupying her father's chair which was filled by the loyal follower of Pandit Nehru, Lal Bahadur for a brief period over a year. Now the destiny of India was in woman's hands. India with her economy out of gear under Nehru's

long dictatorial rule, foreign policy of non-alignment bearing no fruit, adverse trade and unfavourable foreign exchange and depletion of country's reserve together with increasing dependance on foreign import of food deficit financing made the country's present and future gloomy. There are signs of breakdown of administration and unrest among the people of all classes workers, students, intellectuals and Government employees as well. The Congress party is divided in several states, there are famine conditions in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, China's attitude is threatening, Pakistan remains as unfriendly as ever, there is little hope for the success of the 4th Five Year Plan without sufficient foreign aid which was not forthcoming and devaluation is not as helpful as was desired, budgets at the centre and in the states are not balanced and there is no economy or stoppage of waste in public expenditure, corruption and bribery in public administration, adulteration of food and drugs, the country faces problems which India now faced in pre-independence days.

This book of eleven chapters viz. Seed of Poison, Nehru's Dreamland, the Little Man, In Woman's Hands, War and Peace, Planned Economy, Defence of India, Foreign Affairs and From Here to Eternity, published on the Independence Day—15th August 1966 is of special interest to the readers. The author has placed before the public profuse materials collected from published and unpublished sources to enable them to judge for themselves. He has spoken the truth without reservation in the hope that proper steps may be taken in the future by the authorities concerned. He has done a public duty even at the risk of displeasing some of his friends who may not see eye to eye with him.

We have no hesitation in recommending this book full of authentic materials and informations attractively presented in a forceful language to the general leaders.

A. B. Dutta

Indian Periodicals

Planning in India

Writing editorially under the above legend in *Science and Culture* for December 1966, what Dr. D. M. Bose, Director, Bose Institute, has to say will be echoed by many a thinking Indian. The concept of planning in the context of the Indian economy and its urgent and basic developmental needs may be said to have been first publicly mooted by Subhas Chandra Bose when, in 1938, as President of the Indian National Congress, he appointed the first ever National Planning Committee. Jawharlal Nehru, for obvious political reasons was made its chairman but the two most important members of the Committee were the late Dr. Meghnad Saha and the late Prof. K. T. Shah.

From the published reports and data by the National Planning Committee, there appeared to have been a cleavage of opinion between what, for lack of a more adequate description, may be termed the political and the scientific wings of the Committee. While both wings seemed to agree on the need for mobilization of a very substantial measure of resources for planning in India, there was apparent failure to arrive at a consensus as to the methodology that would have to be applied to gather together the requisite resources.

When, after Independence, the Government of India went in for planning in quinquennial instalments in 1950-51, the anxiety

to avoid any possible cleavage with entrenched vested interests and the established order of financial priorities found reflection in the very inadequate allocations of plan outlay, amounting to only Rs. 2,069 crores in the First Plan. Planning had got off to a faulty start, as it were, from the very beginning.

But even this might not have done a great deal of harm—if it could not do much good—if in the anxiety to accelerate the pace of development in subsequent Plans, strenuous attempts were not made to evade any issue with vested interests and the gap in financial resources were not sought to be filled in by correspondingly increasing measures of deficit financing. Foreign aid and deficit financing have been the two mill stones round the neck of the Indian economy ever since the launching of the Second Five Year Plan in 1956-57 and the inevitable inflationary pressures that these have generated have virtually wiped off all benefits that might otherwise have been drawn from the aggregate investment of well over Rs. 18,000 crores over the last three Plan periods.

With the Fourth Plan in the offing—and despite earlier assurances to the contrary that further deficit financing will not in any case, be resorted to in the future—there does not seem to be much likelihood of this pledge being honoured—what Dr. Bose has to say about the prospects of the Fourth Plan would seem to be both legitimate and relevant.

What our quarrel with planning in the manner it has been pursued in this country over the last fifteen years has been in that apart from its mere financial contents, its basic structural foundations have also been faulty. The Plan structure has been formulated upon an inadequate apprehension of the economy's basic problems and the manner as well as the direction in and towards which an adequate and *self-generating* (the Planning Commission seem to be quite enamoured of the phrase) solution of these problems may be achieved. But let us listen to what Dr. D. M. Bose has to say on the subject :

The draft outlines of the Fourth Five Year Plan amounting to Rs. 23,750 crores was presented to the Lok Sabha on the 29th August, 1966. The Plan is still under discussion, and as Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in a speech delivered in Calcutta on October 7, 1966 remarked that if the resources are not available to the extent the Fourth Five Year Plan would be changed and its target cut.

SCIENCE AND CULTURE published in its November 1966 issue a bare outline of the Plan Allocation and Estimates of Financial Resources as given out in the official handout. We may recall to our readers that since its foundation in 1935 Meghnad Saha used *Science and Culture* as medium for expression of his views on the need for national planning. After the draft of the First Five Year Plan was published he contributed a number of articles and editorials explaining the provisions of the Plan and how it fell short of what a Plan should aim at. The chief points in Saha's criticisms were :

(1) that the total plan outlay of Rs. 2069 crores was very inadequate in relation to the urgent developmental needs of the country. This was due to the timidity of the Government in not boldly indicating how additional resources could have been mobilised so that a Plan Allocation of at least Rs. 5600 crores should be mobilised. This figure Rs. 5600 crores is the target proposed by the Bombay Plan.

A National Planning Committee was ap-

pointed in 1938 by Subhas Chandra Bose, in which Jawaharlal Nehru was Chairman and Meghnad Saha an important member. The Planning Committee after a chequered career was able to publish a large collection of data on which the allocations of the Bombay Plan were based ; it aimed at a larger mobilisation of the financial resources for planning in India. Meghnad Saha advocated strongly the adoption of the Russian method by which a huge capital of Rs. 50,000 crores was collected between 1927-40. This was not done by deficit financing but by imposing larger taxes and other methods. "Taxation did not amount to more than 10%, savings of all kinds whether voluntarily or forced, another 10-15%, tapping of hoarded wealth which in early stages amounted to about 10%. But the major portion of the financing amounting at times from 60% to 70% of the capital investment was obtained from the Turn-over Tax and the rest was from trade balance which was under State control."

(2) Saha's second criticism was that in the Government Plan, while agriculture was allotted 14% of the total grants, industry received only 8.4%. In the Bombay Plan, which Saha took as the norm, out of a total allocation of Rs. 5,600 crores the fraction allocated to industry was 56.5% and that to agriculture 14.1%. It was generally assumed by the planners in Russia, China and also in India that agriculture did not need any special allocation of funds. The future of agriculture lay in mechanisation, and that could be only possible by concentration on capital goods production including fertilizer production.

All these three large countries are suffering from shortage of food grains : they all import food grains from Canada, Australia and the USA. In India's 4th Plan the allocation to Agriculture, Irrigation and Power has been doubled with the pious expectation that as a result the amount spent on import of food grains will be less than half compared to that in the 3rd Plan project. Since Saha's criticisms three Five Year Plan periods have elapsed and we are still far from attaining either self sufficiency in food production or attaining other targets of production.

The following table gives the amounts which were allocated during the three successive Five Year Plans and the foreign aids received during those periods, and the estimated allocation in the Fourth Plan Period :

Allocation (Rupees in crores)	Foreign Aid (Rupees in crores)
1st Plan (1951-56) 2,069	863
2nd ... (1956-61) 6,700	1,422
3rd ... (1961-66) 10,500	2,600
4th ... (1966-70) 16,000	4,340
	+360 (P.L.480)

The positive results achieved during this period has been summarised in a report recently published by the American Embassy in India, 'On India's Development and Economic Aid'. It is stated "that total investment in India's Economic Development from April 1951 to March 1965 amounts to Rs. 18,110 crores of which Rs. 3,668.2 crores (or 20.3 per cent) has been foreign assistance". An estimate of the material progress achieved during this period is given as follows:

"India today manufactures equipments ranging from aircraft to transistors. Many Indian industries which formerly depended mainly on imported components now are nearing self-sufficiency. The automobile industry, for example, today makes nearly 85 per cent of the components used in India-produced cars and trucks.

"India today is self-sufficient in production of steam locomotives and passenger and goods wagons; the country exports goods wagons. A diesel locomotive factory has been constructed at Varanasi, and production of electric locomotives has begun at Chittaranjan.

The number of trucks and other tyred commercial vehicles has increased from 116,000 in 1950-51 to approximately 320,000 in 1964-65. In the same period there has been a 50 per cent increase in the mileage of surfaced roads; Indian owned shipping tonnage has increased by three times the number of telephones in use has gone up by four times; and freight carried by Indian Railways has increased from 91.5 million tons to approximately 196 million tons.

"Since India's planned and concerted development effort began in 1951, total real output has grown at an average annual rate of nearly 4 per cent; agricultural output has increased at about 3 per cent (1964-65). The growth rate will be able to do much better in the future. Both food and total production have increased at rates consistently higher than the annual population growth, although the margin has not been sufficient over a long enough period of time to sharply increase per capita income and consumption."

To give in more concrete figures we find during the period 1950-51 to 1964-65 the National Income has increased from Rs. 8850 crores to Rs. 14,960 crores and the per capita income of Rs. 248 to Rs. 315.

One of the causative factors for this rather disappointingly low rate of growth of national income is due to the inability of our food production to keep pace with the rapid population rise and on the dependence of food grain production on the annual rain fall.

The yearly census of population and food production will illustrate this :

	1950 -51	1955 -56	1960 -61	1965 -66
Population (millions)	359	394	439	500
Food production (million tons)				
estimated	54.6	65.6	79.9	92.0
achieved	—	—	78.5	80.0
Import of food grains (million tons)			3.5	9.0

American aid began with an emergency loan of Rs. 908 crores to buy two million tons of wheat after Indian crop failure of 1951. To-day it has been swelled to more than Rs. 2,960 crores.

In the introduction to the Fourth Plan it is anticipated that an annual compound rate of growth of 5.5 per cent in national income and 3 per cent in per capita income will be reached. This cannot be said to be excessive after an injection of Rs. 18,110 crores to increase the national productivity. In developing countries the rate of growth is usually not less than 10 per cent. In this

country even after taking into consideration the two factors, abnormal rise in population and the variation of food grains production due to vagaries of the monsoon which occurs in two years in about 7 years, the predicted rate of growth of national income is not satisfactory. This low rate of growth of national income probably indicates that in this country the efficiency of production is lower than in other developing countries.

One of the main objectives of the Fourth Plan would be to increase agricultural production and reduce dependence on import of foreign grains. By the end of 1970-71, the population, it is estimated, will be 550 million; the target of food production is estimated at 120 million tons by 1971; the import under PL-480 to be correspondingly reduced.

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Foreign Periodicals

Regional Groupings: Islands Of Hope

With the close of the Second World War and the need, on the part of the Allies, to develop fresh techniques for eliminating the future possibility of pan-Germanic military revival, saw the rise of a new type of military alliances. This was looked upon as an inevitable compulsion of the situation arising out of the strange Communist-democratic alliances that grew out of the need to successfully fight and shatter the overwhelming might of Hitler's *Waffenmacht*.

A period of strange and uneasy co-existence between the Communist and the free world followed, blistered by mutual suspicion and increasing employment of what has since become familiar as cold war strategy on both sides. Although the area of cooperation between these two ideological blocs has been speedily widening on account of compelling economic and political reasons, the atmosphere of mutual suspicion cannot be said to have been wholly dissipated yet.

In a world such as this, it would be difficult for any nation to exist in security and in an environment of economic and political viability in isolation. This was of especial significance to those large members of hitherto colonial peoples who have been acquiring the status of free sovereign nations. For the most part these are underdeveloped—virtually undeveloped—nations and in the context of current world condi-

tions and trends, their political individuality would have to depend, very substantially, upon the increasing measures of economic viability they are able to achieve.

The overwhelming need to ensure this, the world has recently started to move towards wider areas of regional groupings among nations. The initial example was set by the European Common Market countries which has been increasingly acquiring the economic, political and even the military powers of a new kind of empire or, perhaps, more appropriately a commonwealth of nations. Other nations in other regions have been trying to emulate the example of the E. F. C., a trend in which some thinkers have been visualising a new hope for the future of mankind. It is this thesis which is discussed in a recent issue of the *Time*.

The sovereign nation-state remains the world's strongest force, its basic political, economic and military unit. Yet the institution can be fatally inadequate today, even among large and wealthy nations, let alone small and underdeveloped countries. On the other hand, the dream of global union among all nations is as remote and utopian as ever. But between the two concepts—the individual nation and the “federation of the world”—an important middle ground is emerging. It is the regional grouping.

The idea is scarcely spectacular or novel; it is as old as the combinations of Greek city-states, or the Hanseatic and other trading leagues of the late Middle Ages. However after centuries of rampant nationalism, it has acquired new force. In some parts

of the world, its political potential is downright revolutionary.

What University of California Political scientist Ernst Haas calls "ever-expanding islands of cooperation" have grown markedly in the past two decades. The military associations—NATO, CENTO and SEATO—stemmed from the threat of Communist aggression. Partly because of their success, they are now somewhat in disarray, looking for new, mainly diplomatic functions. The political groupings, from the Council of Europe to the creaky Arab League, are mere debating societies. By far the most important and promising groupings are economic, and the model that inspires all of them is the Common Market. By bringing down tariff barriers within a vast community of 180 million people, the Market rejuvenated Europe, demonstrated the power of modified free enterprise in the face of socialist theory, and changed the balance of forces in the world.

One measure of this success is the fact that Prime Minister Harold Wilson, long opposed to joining the European six, seems converted to the cause. Last week he stumped the Continent to gain support for British membership. If Charles de Gaulle ever withdraws his veto and lets Britain in, there will be other prompt applications for Common Market membership; most of the seven members of the European Free Trade Association, which has achieved a success of its own, want to join.

Mainstay of Policy

What Europe has accomplished cannot be simply duplicated. A developed industrial base, good lines of communication, a common purpose, these were some of Europe's indispensable assets in developing regional organizations. They are lacking elsewhere. The very countries that need economic integration most are least ready for it, which helps explain regionalism's often disappointing record.

The idea is anathema to some scholars, who charge that it turns nations "inward." Yet, as President Johnson made clear in his State of the Union speech, the encoura-

gement of regional groupings has become a mainstay of U. S. foreign policy. Apart from the obvious economic advantage, larger markets, more trade, greater efficiency, it is psychologically easier for small countries to deal with big ones as a sizeable group rather than as individuals. Old, emotional, "anti-imperialist" slogans tend to fade as little nations develop pride in their own mutual programs. Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk angrily threw American Aid officials out of his country, but he gladly accepts U. S. help as part of the international development program for the Mekong River. Says White House Adviser Walt Rostow: "We have realized that the poor are also proud, that they wish to have more dignified, less dependent relations with the big powers and they are beginning to come together."

The most hopeful event in Asia today, Washington believes, is the sudden blooming of regional cooperation among countries that for centuries were divided by animosity. Japan, long passive, last year sponsored a regional Southeast Asia economic conference before which Prime Minister Eisaku Sato declared: "Blood is thicker than water. We are all brothers, born and raised in Asia."

Dozens of new organizations have sprung to life, ranging from APO (Asian Productivity Organization) to SEAMES (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Secretariat). Many of the ideas have been spawned by the U. N.'s energetic regional branch, called ECAFE (Economic Commission for the Far East), which has sponsored conferences on every subject from city planning to child welfare. The Colombo Plan mixes assistance from six donor nations (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the U. S.) with mutual help from 18 largely recipient countries in a loose system of cooperation; it thus encourages recipients themselves to give to their own needier neighbors.

Still in the fragile and formative stages, the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) has brought Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines together for a series of meetings on economic and social cooperation. The ex-

perts are talking about selective tariff reductions and a possible joint shipping line.

Nine Far Eastern nations have begun work on the larger Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) established in Seoul last June. ASPAC's goals are also modest: economic, social and cultural coordination, a technicians' pool, and a commodity and fertilizer bank. Its membership—the three ASA countries, plus Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Australia and New Zealand, is particularly interesting. For one thing, it underlines the new willingness of both Japan and Australia to play important roles in Asian affairs. Both nations are also leading figures in the new 32 member Asian Development Bank, which opened its doors last month with an initial planned capitalization of \$1 billion.

A New Model

The nature of things in the next decade is certain to push Japan southward into the rich markets and swirling politics of its Asian neighbours. Australia, just as certainly, is being driven northward to meet responsibilities it has shrugged off for generations. The two old foes of two decades ago already share some surprising ties. In twelve years, Australia's exports to Japan quadrupled, and the Japanese are the second largest customers for Australian wool. Australia's Prime Minister Harold Holt admits that his concept of relations with Asia has undergone great change, and frankly credits it to 'the marriage of our own raw material and primary production to Japan's enormous industrial potential.'

There would be economic sense in further Asian groupings. A revival of Sukarno's Maphilindo (Malayasia, the Philippines, Indonesia,) which fell apart because of his own anti-Malayasia campaign, would furnish markets for Indonesia's untapped riches. If some military and political stability can ever be achieved, a logical common market would be the Southeast Asia peninsula, including Burma, with its interlaced river network providing needed transportation. And, except for Japanese-Korean animosity, Japan could reduce its production cost by farming out some industries to

South Korea, where people need the jobs, and aim for Taiwan as a market.

Says Kukrit Pramoggi, a leading Thai journalist: "The prime desire for most Asians in this region is to write 'Yankee Go Home' on every wall. It's in their subconscious, even though they realize the Americans mean well and we need their protection. Now we are trying to build a substitute for the United States: United States of Asia. That's the dream now." It is only a paper dream, when measured against the near chaos that prevails in much of Asia. Still, it is significant that Asian countries no longer look to Communist China as the model for economic development; are willing to submerge at least some old feuds in a common desire for self-help.

Though the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) has atrophied, it has left behind a taste for joint effort among its regional members: Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. The three have formed a loose union called Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). A joint shipping line is already in operation, and there is talk of merging the three national airlines. Elsewhere in the Near and Middle East, endemic Arab disunity has stalled virtually all joint efforts, which, theoretically, could have great potential. Arab-owned oil pipelines and tanker fleets would make economic sense, as would joint development of petrochemicals and regional coordination of agricultural production and marketing. And, of course, given the millennium and peace between Israel and the Arabs, all sorts of opportunities would open up for the lands of the Fertile Crescent, including a kind of TVA for the Jordan River.

Africa in general is bursting with newly independent countries that are nations in name only, neither economically nor politically viable; often their borders arbitrarily cut across trade or tribal lines. Regional Groups would be an eminently sensible solution, but most black African countries are too new, too sensitive about their precious sovereignty to cooperate. Besides, their economies are often too backward, the raw materials they produce too similar, for successful integration.

Still, there do exist many organizations, from the Desert Locust Control Organization to the Addis Ababa-based 38 country Organization of African Unity. The OAU has managed to cool off a couple of nasty local frontier conflicts, but on matters of major, continent-wide significance, it has failed to find a consensus. The Organization has long been split into two feuding camps, with the dozen-odd former French colonies (once called the "Brazzaville group") aligned against the radical plans of the so-called "Cassablanca crowd." At present, the radicals are not doing very well, while the Brazzaville group formed the Organisation Commune Africaine et Malagache (OCAM), which has economic and social ties as well as a strong anti-Communist political purpose. In East Africa, the British bequeathed to Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda the smooth-running machinery for the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO) under which the three countries shared a common currency, post and telegraph, customs and immigration systems. But jealousy and pride have eroded the association.

Logic suggests additional regional groups in Africa. Now that copper-rich Zambia's feud with Rhodesia threatens its southward rail routes to the sea, Zambia is switching its exports and imports eastward to Tanzania's Indian Ocean port. Zambia will also be buying more East African goods, one reason why it joined six other nations in a provisional East African economic pact. But progress is bound to be excruciatingly slow. The pace may be faster on the continent's southern tip, where the late Hendrik Verwoerd hoped for a common market between his highly industrialized South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies in the area.

The Organization of American States (OAS) traces its lineage back to Simon Bolívar's dream of a continental community but it is inhibited by vacillation, suspicion, pride, and the constant worry of Latins about others' intervention in their domestic affairs. Latin sensitivities have pretty well

killed the idea of a permanent inter-American peace keeping force. Things look slightly brighter on the economic side. By far the best hope for regional cooperation in Latin America is the Central American Common Market (CACM), which includes Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. Though its members are beset by poor organization, poor income distribution and too much emphasis on prestige items, it has achieved a startling increase of commerce within its area: from \$33 million worth in 1961 to about \$157 million last year. A corps of senior officials accustomed to thinking in terms of the whole region is growing up in each national civil service.

But the remarkable rate of increase in intraregional trade cannot go on forever, and eventually there will be a need for wider markets. An ideal solution would be an agreement between the Central Americans and the larger Latin American Free Trade Association, a ten-member group (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela) that has achieved far less than the smaller bloc to the north.

The U. N.'s Raul Prebisch, architect of LAFTA and leading lobbyist for the underdeveloped nations, believes that regional integration is an absolute must, but deplores lack of "bold decisions." The typical attitude of the Latin American businessman is protectionist, welcoming tariff cuts only if they affect the other fellow.

Such shortsightedness has hampered the progress of regional development everywhere, and so has a weakness for too lofty goals. Columbia University sociologist Amitai Etzioni states a basic principle in the design of such groupings: "The higher the aim, the lower the score." Yet given realistic expectations, the regional community spirit gives considerable cause for hope. Its achievements so far are only small bricks in the "big pieces of architecture," which Washington's Walt Rostow sees necessary for successful groupings: small they may be, but they are real.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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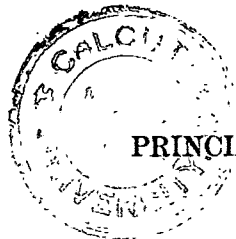
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NOTES

Mystery of Mao Tse-tung

People think that science and realities provide the foundation of communism. That may be as it is ; but communists as a rule create a political and social atmosphere which cannot be called a laboratory atmosphere of clear cut facts and easily recognisable truths. For Communists always prefer a dramatic approach to a plain matter of fact arrayal of realities in spite of all their faith in whatever was, is and shall be, so, we find it difficult to understand what goes on in the communist world. In China, for instance, we realise there is great antagonism to Chairman Mao, although we are told Mao's THOUGHTS determine all that the Chinese do or dream about. We know China has certain well defined social and political forces which no thoughts can suddenly dissipate. These are the Chinese Generals, the Chinese Civil Servants, the Chinese City Fathers and the Chinese *entrepreneurs* who are now known as the national capitalists or something else. Mao may think in Peking but the Generals act in Sinkiang or Tibet without reference to those thoughts. Mao's thought waves may be directed towards all offices of state, to the Municipalities and to all factories and Trading Houses, but they rebound back to Peking without achieving any great change anywhere. So Mao thinks and finds some receptive minds to accept his thoughts as an inspiration for their widespread acts of lawlessness which Mao thoughtfully calls a cultural revolution. For sometime Mao's Teddy Boys held sway by entering the houses of leading members of Chinese society, who were, incidentally, anti-Mao in their

outlook, and by breaking their furniture, which they found culturally unsuited to Maoism. But the furniture were soon exhausted, and when the juvenile delinquents attempted to enter the Municipal offices and the factories and farms, they were beaten back by large numbers of Chinese men and women who were impervious to Mao's thoughts. So Mao Tse-tung started to negotiate alliances with the Generals, the Aldermen, the Managers of Factories and Farms and so forth, in order to maintain a semblance of overlordship over the 750 million Chinese, who no longer wanted his thoughts but demanded food and the other necessities of life. Mao thought and found the cultural revolution was completely successful and, so the Red Guards could go back to school.

The Great Betrayal of Youth

The Chinese Youth who responded to Mao's call for a Cultural Revolution were not just an unruly mob of young hooligans. They were fed on large doses of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity from their infancy and were, naturally, dissatisfied with what they found all round them. They found large numbers of V.I.Ps, Rulers, Employers and Bosses dominating the political-economic landscape of China in the same blatant manner as ever before. So, they thought there was a real need for a cultural revolution. Mao took advantage of their youthful attachment to the ideals of communism and used them to "Soften up" the resistance he was encountering from the top men and organised groups of China. The Youth of China were used by Mao Tse-tung

to achieve a personal end in an unscrupulous manner which has no parallel in human history. Large numbers of them got killed and injured in their fights with workers, peasants, citizens and soldiers and Mao watched them being reduced to a rabble. He, perhaps, played a double part in the cultural revolution. He instigated it but declared that it was a spontaneous upsurge of Youthful feelings which he was trying his best to control. His opponents were initially at a disadvantage and had to give way to the Red Guards, who humiliated them to the satisfaction of Mao Tse-tung. But when the people of China began to show resentment and counter-attacked the Red Guards, Mao soon discovered that his game was up and he could not reestablish himself as the unchallenged *El Supremo* of China. He had to show due recognition to other forces which were amenable to a reasonable settlement with him. So, he sacrificed the Youthful Red Guards, who were already in a mess and ordered them to go back to their studies and what not. Whether his negotiations with the other forces had been to his advantage could not be found out. It is however clear that Mao's dictatorship has now become somewhat limited by his concessions to the militia, the workers, the peasants and the City and Factory bosses of China. The Boys and Girls who fought for Mao Tse-tung will now grow up in an atmosphere of disillusionment. They will soon discover the true dimensions of liberty, equality and freedom in a communist state. Such of them as are cunning and capable enough to occupy places of power in the state will try to do so; as do the persons of importance in other types of Government.

Famine in Bihar

When food is cheap and employment is not restricted the people earn something and buy food with 80 per cent of their meagre income. That is the normal non-famine picture of the Indian economy. When the price of food rises and employment becomes scarce the people earn less than what is required to buy a minimum quantum of food and famine begins to sweep the land. So, the question of famine is one of high price and lack of gainful employment. In Bihar now the price of food has risen so much that it requires about five rupees to buy enough food for a small family of four persons. The wages paid are low and

there are not enough jobs for all the persons who must earn to eat. Crop failure in some places has forced the cultivators to seek employment in other spheres of work too and this has increased the size of unemployment. The Bihar Government schemes of relief work are neither extensive enough nor are the rates of wages high enough to enable the beneficiaries to earn five rupees per day. Perhaps they do not earn even half of that bare minimum in wages.

There was a time, not so very far back in fact, when India was one country and all Indians felt for one another as members of one nation. In those days a small scale famine like the one that Bihar is now experiencing would have been solved easily by an all India effort at famine relief. Since 1947 we have seen partitions and divisions of India under the leadership of many men who aspired to be nation-builders but actually proved to be nation breakers. We have now achieved a basic partition of the country by which we have created three "national" areas out of one. West Pakistan, India and East Pakistan have not even a Customs Union, leaving alone any question of brotherly feelings. In India we have created numerous mutually antagonistic states ruled by self-seeking coteries of men and women who never practise what they preach. As a matter of fact they cannot; for the reason that their ideologies have little to do with the struggle for existence that the people of India are involved in. So, Bihar or any other part of India may now see people die of starvation without raising any emotional ripples in the minds of the people of adjoining areas. This is what Jinnah, Nehru and their successors have made of India.

Now with a Central Government in India which is weakly Congress minded, whatever that may mean; and the states parading a variety of pretensions according to the vagaries of thoughts and feelings that their various leaders may be suffering from; there is not much hope that anything will get done anywhere in India which may really bring relief to the suffering masses.

Population Control

Whether the Indian economy will be benefited and the problems facing the nation solved by population control is a question which nobody has studied in full detail. It has become one of

those axioms on which depend the numerous plans of the Indian Government. The problems that we face to-day as a nation are simple. We do not grow enough food. Going slightly into details we find we cultivate more than 300 million acres of land and raise about 80 million tons of food grains. In other words about 1 of 1 ton per acre cultivated. Seven maunds per acre! This is as low as low can be or less. The reason for this amazing failure to produce food grains cannot be over population. This out-put can be doubled or quadrupled with suitable organisation, assistance and propaganda. The money that is now being wasted to introduce family planning in the villages of India can be better utilised for a grow more food campaign. If, on the other hand, family planning should be carried out on a national scale, any intelligent person will begin the good work by raising the age of consent to 21 years for women and to 25 for men. **AND THE LAWS ENACTED MUST BE ENFORCED.** In U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh boys and Girls are still being married off at the age of ten or even below that and the policemen are doing the same with their children. So what good can family planning with apparatus do when the planning members are 12 to 16 year old girls and 15 to 19 year old boys? This family planning is nothing but paper planning for the creation of jobs for political party men and women. 2. Another problem is that of unemployment. Admittedly the question of numbers is important in this case. But the question of increasing the number of jobs is more important. This cannot be done with a capital intensive scheme of building new industries. As a matter of fact agricultural improvement can employ millions in India too; which will also solve our food problem. Industries too should be more labour intensive than they are now. If also, the people are not taxed so heavily and to the point of total expropriation, capital formation will take place in numerous accounts and small scale industries will automatically multiply and increase employment. Heavy taxation is recognised as a deterrent to economic development. Only the Indian Government does not recognise this. 3. The third problem is of military self sufficiency. A large militia can replace heavy armaments; particularly when the probable enemies also depend on numbers and light auto-

matic weapons. Here again a large population can be of advantage.

Food, Education and Medical Aid

Generally speaking the various states of India have to look after their own food supplies and arrangements for education and medical aid without depending too heavily on the Central Government for assistance. The Central Government helps in a limited fashion but the states are responsible for the planning, supervision, administration and financing of all work connected with their departments of food supplies, education and health services. Even counting the assistance the States receive from the Central Government they are never in a strong enough financial position to deal fully and well with the problems of adequate food supplies, proper education and satisfactory medical facilities. For in spite of the heavy rates of taxation, the people of India are fundamentally too poor to pay a large enough amount in taxes which alone could enable their governments to maintain proper human standards in the peoples' diet, schooling and medical care. So the problems are really linked up with our basic problem of poverty. This poverty like all poverty, is caused by our inability to properly utilise our human and other economic resources. Analysing our land resources and the use they are put to for food production, we find our out-put is about six quintals per acre. This can be increased to twelve or twenty four quintals per acre without breaking any world records. In other spheres of production the Indian averages are unbelievably low and can be easily raised. Medical requirements can be cut down by teaching the people to be healthy by modifying their way of living. Legislation and expenditure cannot solve social problems. So that the entire machinery of government should be made useful for propagating sound ideas, useful habits and economic responses which will help to remove poverty. To begin with all persons employed by government may be given detailed instructions as to how they should conduct themselves in order to set an examples to the people. Such common anti-social acts as spitting, wheezing and coughing uproriously in public may be taken up as a beginning in the governments lessons to their employees to behave in a progressive and civilis-

ed manner. This may be followed by keeping houses, clothes and compounds clean and also by gardening for flowers and vegetables where government quarters have land attached to them. The police and other government employees should also try to check the unruly elements of society who steal and destroy the fruits of other people's labour. For the people of India do not observe the rights of property of one another in a manner which will make it worthwhile for individuals to grow flowers, fruits or vegetables for themselves. Government employees number many millions and if all of them could be induced to act in a manner which is economically advantageous and in keeping with the rules of sanitation and hygiene, it can make a distinct change in the situation. The various political party members could also join in the good work and begin to set an example to the masses instead of just lecturing. Good living is the greatest of all arts and the desire to live well, which arises out of one's personal way of living, induces economic effort. Great ideals do not remove poverty, produce food, text books, school buildings, hospitals or medicine. It is the way that the idealists live and teach others to live that may eventually solve the nation's food, education, medical and other problems.

Forces of Disintegration

Since August 1947 when we were divided into two nations by our imperialist rulers, the British, and granted the right to set up our own governments according to our own choice; India has been breaking up into many political pieces; language wise, religion wise and according to the wishes and desires of coteries and cliques which agreed to join forces to form a state. Pakistan which is no longer known as India has also developed its political fissures and if Ayubshahi dictatorship becomes weak Pakistan may break up in two or more pieces. In India the ambition and greed of various groups of congressmen all over the country began to crystallise into vested interests and the people of India began to be organised in a statewise manner with strong antagonisms of various kinds. Reorganisation of the states had to be resorted to in order to appease the feelings of various groups. Bombay was broken up into Maharashtra and Gujarat and Punjab into three

pieces, with nothing to show on the credit side of National Integration and everything going the wrong way. The entire process of this disintegration was set in motion by Pandit Nehru's inner feelings for building a Hindi speaking India. He tried to win over the backward states by placating their nation breaking actions, and by spending hundreds of crores on unworkable plans which were formulated for the achievement of impossible objectives.

With the untimely death of Pandit Nehru, Indian politics became even more lack lustre and the British-American imperialists worked for the subjugation of India by using Pakistan as a battering ram. But unfortunately for them Pakistan could not break through the defences of India and the British-Americans sought the help of Russia to weaken the position of India. Our foreign policy and international status having reached an all time low level after Tashkent. The Central Government could no longer hold any glamour for the inglorious types lording it in the States of India. The Congress organisation showed signs of weakness everywhere and all kinds of people thought out all sorts of political objectives round which they could form parties with political aims. So, by the time the elections took place early this year, there was no dearth of parties and many of them put up candidates everywhere for elections. The Congress defeat in several States, put a medley of parties in power in those States and the Centre. The Centre too has become more vulnerable in the matter of accepting and developing new fellowships. The atmosphere is now propitious for the formation of strange and unstable alliances; and things are definitely moving that way. A strong apathy prevails over the non-party general public of India who constitute 90 per cent of the population of India. We do not visualise any healthy developments from that sector of the people.

Humanities vs Techniques

Dr. Triguna Sen the newly chosen Minister of Education in the Indira Gandhi cabinet has been reported to have expressed his desire to stop students from going abroad for higher studies excepting for technical training. He is also reported to have refused an honorary degree on the ground that he was not in favour

of granting degrees to persons for reasons other than intellectual attainments. The newspapers have spent quite a lot of space in publicising his statements in the above connection.

We cannot share Dr. Sen's cut and dried ideas about the purpose and need of foreign education, for the reason that although we agree that foreign countries are certainly superior to us in arranging technical training of youngmen and women we also feel that the great Universities of the West are superior to our Universities in teaching the Humanities. Dr. Sen may think that the teaching of pure science too need not be stressed upon because that did not involve any techniques; but we cannot agree with such views, for without pure science techniques can hardly develop. We suppose Indians of the future will not live entirely by working in factories. They will have to learn and make use of foreign languages. Their knowledge of world history, economics, anthropology, archaeology, the social sciences, music, art, etc. etc. will enrich their existence and make them better world citizens than they can be by staying exclusively within India for their education. English, for instance, is an important language in India. Knowledge of English can be acquired better in Britain than in any Indian centre of learning. The same is true of other languages. Even Barristers-at-Law can acquire very useful knowledge and experience which can be of use to the Nation. Not all Barristers are a dead weight on the nation's back, nor are all India made lawyers as brilliant as one would like them to be.

Then there is the question of personal freedom. Why must Dr. Triguna Sen arrogate to himself all powers of deciding how a student will complete his or her education. The students may be very brilliant thinkers who can do without official guidance in arranging their higher studies. Those who seek official advice may be told by the Ministry of Education to go to a foreign country and to master the technique of making safety razor blades; but those who do not seek such guidance, but wish to specialise in French or English drama, the musical compositions of Mozart, Beethoven or Chopin or in astro-physics should be left alone by the form pushers of the various governments.

We had expected Dr. Triguna Sen to attempt

a quick solution of our mass illiteracy problem. But like his predecessors he is showing unmistakable signs of becoming a foreign exchange saver. We admit, we have to plan our lives with an eye to how much in pounds or dollars we may cost the nation during the years that we may live. But we should have the freedom to spend our quota of foreign exchange with some freedom from interference by the various Ministries who guide our earnings and all expenditure of the Indian people. As to Dr. Sen's desire to avoid honorary degrees, we quite agree that the degrees of our universities are not worth the attention of seekers after true intellectual distinction. These have been made too easily obtainable.

Inter Community Fracas in Calcutta

While we were in the press there was some inter-community strife in Calcutta. The two communities concerned, like all other religious communities, have never been very punctilious observers of the behaviouristic rules of their faith; but they fought each other violently to preserve what they thought were their rights. A judicial enquiry will be held and we shall wait to know the results of the enquiry. In the mean time we may observe that religious bodies in India exist by spectacular displays, by the ritualistic performances of their priests and by reason of their glorious past. As things are, nobody is really very intensely religious in so far as no one fully observes the moral precepts laid down in the Holy Books nor tries to understand the spiritual significance of the religious precepts. Robbery with violence, drunkenness, behaving insultingly to women, infidelity and disloyalty etc., etc., are condemned by all religions; yet those who fight for religious rights are largely steeped in vice of one kind or another. What we require is to cure ourselves of immorality and vice much more than to find fault with others. Sinfulness and criminality are so very rampant that we find few who can find fault with others with a clear conscience.

Then, apart from considerations which have any connection with the various religions, economic and political urges come into operation wherever religious communities have any clash of interests. Desecration of places of worship, showing disrespect to holy books or symbols etc., are merely the spearheads of political or

economic thrusts of various kinds. This becomes quite obvious when one studies the speed and size of supporting movements made by money grabbers and power seekers as soon as inter-community troubles originate. Quite often one is driven to suspect the genuineness of the initial incidents. There are two abstract communities in India which overlap and hold sway over all communities with material dimensions. These are the politicians and the *gaddiwallahs*. These two groups do not even restrict their activities, contacts and alliances to the geographical boundaries of the Indian subcontinent. Anything that weakens or impoverishes the people has a gainful meaning for these two groups. So that all religious or civil strife can yield a dividend to them. All such strife may therefore have their beginning in the machinations of these groups. These who benefit from a crime are usually the inspirers of the crime. If a crime is only half finished it would be difficult to locate its beneficiaries, but one can always make a shrewd guess. For evidence could be found which would enable one to reconstruct the crime with its background of instigations, provocations and connections.

Food for Non-Agricultural Population

In modern human societies, there are great divisions which separate the people into groups which do different kinds of work. Some produce food by agriculture, animal husbandry or by catching fish. There may be other groups which do not grow food, but store, preserve or distribute it. Then come other producers of goods of various kinds. Textiles, poultry, metal and wood work, building materials, luxuries, medicines, paper, ornaments, decorative objects, forest products, minerals etc. etc.; all require human labour and all help to enrich human life through their use. The people engaged in various kinds of productive work may live in small widely scattered communities or in large intensively concentrated centres of population viz the cities, towns and industrial townships. The cities and towns also have large populations which do not produce any goods but work in offices and establishments connected with trade, commerce, transportation, administration, education, defence, finance, and various other kinds of economic, intellectual, artistic or religious activities with-

out which human society, and civilisation can not exist. Food production is mainly carried on in the smaller centres of population which are the villages.

In modern times cities and towns have grown both in numbers and in size. So that the question of food supply to a constantly growing non-food-producing population has assumed greater dimensions. The countries which are heavily industrialised, like Great Britain, can export their factory made goods and obtain food from agriculturally rich countries in exchange through importation. Countries which have allowed cities and towns to grow without developing industries for the production of exportable commodities cannot obtain food by importation, excepting for short periods and in small quantities by foreign loans. So that the problem of food supply to the cities and towns of undeveloped countries can be solved *only by developing food production within the country*. And the problem affects the city and town dwellers particularly and more intensively than the rural population. It should therefore be the duty of the urban people to arrange for its solution *by direct action* or by any other method that may be found suitable. The direct method is better and fool proof in so far as it does not depend on unknown forces to achieve something on which the lives of millions of people may depend. What is then, this direct method of securing the food for a nation's urban population. We have already said that if the urban peoples of an undeveloped country require to obtain large quantities of food materials, they cannot do so by importation for the reason that their country's trade balance will not permit it. They have to arrange for the development of their own agriculture; and fruit, fish, meat, poultry and milk production by their own direct effort in order to obtain food supplies quickly and at a reasonable price. In India, for instance, the foreign exchange resources are not sufficient to make food imports economically sound. The villages are developed in a haphazard manner and can send food to the cities, towns and industrial centres in a limited fashion. The national government has been adding to this supply by begging and borrowing from foreign countries and this has proved to be unworkable. In the circumstances the urban peoples have to aug-

ment their own food supplies by their own direct effort. This can be done by an organised effort at bringing more uncultivated land under cultivation and by developing allied food production work in other spheres, as described above. Great cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, Delhi, Hyderabad etc. etc. can without any great difficulty organise economic ventures in food growing in the same manner as in other fields of production. If this is not done, and the work of food growing and distribution is left in the hand of government forever, the costs in increased taxes will be much heavier to the persons concerned than if they carried out the business themselves in which case it will mean profit rather than loss to them. The more all work of production is taken away from government the more chance will be created for reduction of taxes and for capital growth. The urgency of food supplies now demand that the urban peoples should undertake food production on an extensive scale as a business venture. In this work they should link up with the villages within a certain radius of the cities and towns; so that the villages may develop economically and in other ways without governmental assistance of a very costly nature to the tax payers. This link up will really and truly bring about rural development and will also lower the costs of administration and taxes. The main ideas are arrangement of urban food supplies and rural development which the government have failed to achieve in spite of heavy borrowings and exorbitant taxation. These can now be carried out by the people directly and the governments can accordingly lower their costs of administration, community and block development and the rates of taxation. The last item will pay the people for whatever expenses they may incur or investments they may be called upon to make.

In order to convince the people that their direct participation in the work of economic development of the country will be a part of our national schemes of economic planning, the governments should reduce the rates of taxation, and also the expenses they habitually incur for their various none too effective projects. If this is done straightaway the public can immediately go in for plans of food production and rural development. This will automatically achieve the various objectives of the new governments

viz reduction of expenditure, stopping deficit financing, diverting more funds to national defence, education and medical aid and capital formation. With higher production of exportable commodities at a lower cost, the present difficulties in earning foreign exchange too will be overcome within a number of years. The main principles will be direct participation of the people in economic development, reduction in governmental expenditure and lowering taxes.

Workers' Right to Detain Officers

Some people like to discuss the legality of unlawful actions. This is due to confused thinking. When people say it is lawful to take the law in one's own hand and act contrary to its provisions; they really discuss the ethics of the matter and not its legality. Law breaking can never be legally justified, no matter whether there is moral justification for it. When, therefore, workers hold up their officers and obstruct their freedom of movement in order to coerce them to yield to the workers' demands; there can be no question about the legality of such action. One may however consider whether such illegal action is morally justified. In some cases one might feel satisfied that *Gherao* was morally tenable. In other cases such coercive action would be found to be legally as well as morally untenable. There can therefore be no argument about the legality of a *Gherao*. But there may be cases where the workers' would be morally justified in holding up all officers who cunningly indulge in unfair labour practice and manage to prevent workers from getting their just demands fulfilled. There are officers too who cook up facts and figures, make false cases, adopt unlawful means, try to break up trades unions, fail to keep promises and engage in corrupt practices. They are law breakers and they cannot morally seek the protection of the Law.

The labour departments of the various governments should try to go deeper into managerial conduct than they normally do. Unfair labour practice is quite common in India and the state officials do nothing about it. One can not get this remedied by unlawful holding up of officers. The government officers should spend more time on their jobs and establish an atmosphere of fair play and justice in the industrial

establishments. The workers too must be made to conduct themselves in a fair and just manner and be taught by social welfare workers to do a fair days work in return of fair wages, proper amenities and honourable conditions of service. Industry and commerce occupy a very important position in the nation's life. Millions of persons are employed in the factories, offices, stores and transportation departments of the industrial establishments. The commercial houses are closely linked up with industry. The managers of these establishments are not free from unjust and unfair methods of running these places where production sales, purchases, storage, distribution etc are arranged. The idea of cooperation with workers has not yet grown roots in India and all talk about joint conferences and workers' share in management is mainly make believe. The managers of factories and the directors behind them are autocrats at heart and their ideas about making profit are not based on any principles of social ethics. Where there are foreigners in charge of factories and other establishments conditions are worse; because foreigners have to carry on their work of management though trusted Indian assistants who are usually the lowest type of sycophants, partisans and masters of evil practices. Indian industry requires to be fully overhauled and this work can be done only by experts in human relations and productivity. Fanatics cannot solve any economic problems nor can those who are creatures of low greed and anti-social urges.

National Education

India is a vast country and although there is no compulsory system of education in India we have about 70 million pupil in our schools, colleges and other educational institutions. Russia has about the same number of pupils but her population is half that of India. That is, if India could develop her education as well as Russia, she would then have about a hundred and fifty million pupils studying at various levels in various institutions. India has never lacked highly intelligent and capable educationists, but due to the abject poverty of the people, no one could ever find enough funds to carry out any brilliant schemes of national education. Great Britain possibly spends more than 2000 rupees per annum per pupil. America is spending much

more; say about Rupees Four Thousand per pupil per annum. We are not very sure that the Indian Government can spend even Rupees Seventy per pupil per annum without feeling the strain. For, if we had all boys and girls of school and college going age enrolled in educational institutions we might have 150 m. students. If our funds could not stretch beyond Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per pupil per annum we would still be requiring 400 to 600 crores of rupees per annum for our national system of education. On the British scale of expenses we should require more than our total national income to educate a hundred million pupil. On the American scale of expenses our national income will have to be more than doubled to pay our education bill. India's total revenues may be about 4000 crores but out of this we have to meet our defence expenses, our debt charges, our expenses on various other heads and we cannot spare much for education. We cannot visualise any government spending money for education at the rate of even Rupees ninety per pupil per annum. For that would perhaps require about 1000|1500 crores per annum for education.

So that, no very brilliant schemes of national education can be drawn up within the limits set by our national poverty. There can be arrangements for specialised training and for higher studies and research of great excellence; but those can be only for the few. Mass education of a sound and superior standard cannot be arranged for without obtaining vastly augmented funds. A nation with an average per capita annual income of less than Rupees three hundred cannot do much in any sphere of national life. This utter poverty is the result of allowing our national labour power to be largely wasted. If 200 million workers could employ themselves in any kind of gainful work they should produce daily value equal to Re. 100| crores every day. In 300 days this would yield an annual income of Rs. 30,000 crores. With fuller utilisation of our labour power it is possible to have a national income of Rs. 50,000 crores. Revenues may then go upto 10000|12000 crores which may enable us to spend proper amounts on education. The most important thing in the field of making national education extensive and intensely effective is economic progress and development. Without this no clever schemes can achieve our ideals in any field of national life.

PLIGHT OF MAN WITHOUT GOD

PRADYOT KUMAR MUKHOPADHYAY

The history of human civilization may be regarded as the record of attempts made so far by man to realize himself. This search for himself has taken different forms at different times. By the time the foundation of modern civilisation was laid down this search had assumed the shape of gaining control over nature. Man now sought to realize himself as the ruler of nature. Science and technology appeared to be the sure paths to that end. And man now concentrated upon scientific and technological researches. It appeared to be so absorbing a task and so rewarding that interest was soon withdrawn almost completely from other spheres of life. Spiritual values and religious sentiments among other things began fast to vanish or lose significance. Success in science made man arrogant and he looked down upon religion as childish. It is the weakness of childhood. His arrogance led him to construct new philosophies showing that religion was barren and God was dead. Nay, God was never there. He was a myth—a symbol of man's past imperfections. In fact

“What is God

But a name for the imperfection of man's mind?

And as the night before the dawn, so God
Strikes his tent at the approach of man,
He strikes his tent, and goes, and goes.”

led by this idea of self realization man had discovered one machine after another, one technique after another till he reached the modern age of atomism.

Thus at last man has come where he stands day and wherefrom he sees everything sharp and clear without any mystery anywhere. He stands in full daylight. But unfortunately “it is daylight that does not warm. It is radiant but chilling.” He finds himself upon a plank hanging over a precipice. He sees his own future clearly and stands horrified and speechless. For he now stands towards the end of his search that, perhaps,

he has irrevocably lost himself. His victory is, perhaps, a defeat in disguise. Is his travel in space a march of victory or escaping? To Max Picard “man looks more like disappearing in the craft than being in it”. Man is horrified in the face of this truth. He helplessly sees himself disappearing behind the machine like a man who loses his image in the water by throwing stones and making ripples.

So the time has come to retrace our steps. We are to rescue the spiritual being from the world of neglect where we have left it behind. The greatest task of the twentieth century is to rediscover God. And as preparatory to that we shall try to show that life without God loses its source of sustenance and that it is wrong to believe that science has made religion impossible.

If it is asked “Is it possible to be religious in this age of science?”, the answer would be that it has to be made possible. And to view the question from this angle is the only way to take the doubt sincerely. For one who really feels this problem in the context of modern predicament knows that one's whole life depends on the answer this question gets. The question is personal and existential. It cannot be taken neutrally and judged abstractly. For that dispassionate and scientific treatment minimizes man's importance. The “scientific attitude can make no distinction of value between ‘push-pin’ and ‘poetry’.” It destroys the personal character of the question as inessential while it is most essential in that it is by the answer to this question that the individual man will live. So who takes this question sincerely cannot afford to leave it unanswered. He must solve it himself. And when he finds that Science leads him to his annihilation and religion is the only saviour he realizes that religion has to be made possible by the strength of his choice. “To say ‘God exists’” to such a man “is to speak pointlessly”. That is unnecessary. He cannot think otherwise. For to think that God does not exist is incompatible with his being. Such a man in reply to

the most eloquent arguments of a non-believer says "if you continue to talk in this manner you will make me religious." For more he hears these men the more he is convinced of the hollowness of their existence and the misery of the plight of man without God. Belief in God and religion "is in essence an act of total commitment." But at the same time it is not the benefit of what Professor Wisdom calls "idiosyncratic platitude".

So, in short, whether religion is possible is an existential question and as such the answer to it should be that religion has to be made possible by the strength of one's choice. Those who have viewed the problem in this light, that is, have taken the question sincerely, are not men without God. For even if they have not found Him they are in search of Him. If they are not happy they are reasonable. "There are", writes Blaise Pascal, "only three kinds of persons; those who serve God, having found Him; others who are occupied in seeking Him, not having found Him; while the remainder live without seeking Him, and without having found Him. The first are reasonable and happy, the last are foolish and unhappy; those between are unhappy and reasonable." In speaking of men without God I have in my mind those of the third variety who are neither happy nor reasonable. They are extremely unhappy if only they know it. And they believe quite without reason that religion is impossible in the age of Science as if religion and Science are incompatible. Thus it is not possible to make them see the necessity of religion or adopt the authentic view of existence unless this false belief is removed. And though it may be pointless or unnecessary to tell a man inside religion that God exists, it is not unnecessary perhaps to subject to criticism the situation "...to say 'God exists' to one outside religion is to speak meaninglessly."

It would have been surprising to see so many men boast of being without God which we know as miserable and horrible a state as one of being annihilated but for the fact that "the greater part of those who trouble themselves about the matter are disingenious...they are people who heard it said that is the fashion to be thus daring." It is this fashion which so many men take to represent the scientific attitude. This fashion has taken possession of them. So they boast of being without God.

This shows that they are ignorant of the misery of man's plight without God and that they are without any authentic view of life. They also believe in the false incompatibility between science and religion. And we want to show these men that their belief is false or at least they cannot easily establish it.

Thus here an attempt will be made to convince only the ordinary non-believers by showing how much is needed to establish their belief. But those who think that religion cannot be defended in so far as no acceptable criterion of meaning can make religious statement meaningful deserve a more detailed and critical answer than the space and nature of the present article warrant. It, however, is not an easy task to argue with the ordinary non-believers or fashionable atheists. For they will refuse to hear anyone advocating the cause of religion.

This refusal once again is not expressive of just a lack of concern. This sort of refusal is almost always attended with an explicit implication that no more is worth hearing. The case, as it were, stands already decided and whatever can now be said is either a senseless repetition of old arguments or new but equally senseless metaphysical. For to be indifferent is not to commit oneself. But these fashionable atheists maintain at least the negative position that religion is impossible. With history and literature they are simply not concerned but with religion the case is otherwise. Religion is a subject of determined denial. Thus so far as religion is concerned their refusal may be said to be an aggressive refusal. But they must show reasons for their denial. We shall not be deceived by their assumed superiority and complaisance as if the last word on the point has been said.

The non-believers may argue from the point of view of incompatibility between theology and science. They will show with apparent approval of history that science and religion are so opposed to each other that they cannot exist together. And they may not agree with Whitehead that it is all good for religion that advancement of Science continually changes and modifies it, that it is evolution and not annihilation of religion. But in what sense Science can contradict religion? It may be that religious statements are incompatible with scientific statements. So the argument of the non-believer is that religion can

not exist any more because it is incompatible with science. Scientific proposition P^1 contradicts the proposition of religion.

Now in order that the argument can lead to the desired conclusion it must be sound. But the conditions of its soundness are not very easy to fulfil. And in most cases the non-believers are not aware of the responsibility of fulfilling these conditions when they believe that religion is impossible.

- (i) The first condition to be fulfilled by the non-believer is that he must show that P is not any and every proposition but it has such a central position in religion that to deny it is to deny religion.
- (ii) Similarly it must be established that P^1 is a central and not a surface statement of Science such that to deny it is to deny science.

Thus it will not do to say that religion held that the earth was fixed and the sun moved round but when Science established the contradictory proposition then religion was contradicted by science. For the proposition that the sun moves round the earth may be said to form no essential part of religion. And it is not very easy to find out one or two propositions that are so integral to religion that the latter cannot suffer their rejection.

- (iii) It is also to be shown that P^1 has such superiority on independent ground that it can contradict P but P cannot contradict it such that if there appears any incompatibility between the two then P is to go.
- (iv) Having fulfilled all the three conditions the non-believer must show that P^1 and P are really incompatible.

It may appear that (iii) is not very difficult to fulfil. A Scientific proposition may be said to be superior in the sense that it is demonstrable or empirically verifiable. But it will be too much to aim that this standard of superiority is the only and universally agreed standard. On the other hand the implied inferiority of religious proposition does not follow unless it is proved that the standard in question is a common standard to judge the proposition of both science and reli-

gion. This takes us over to the fourth condition. The fourth condition to be fulfilled is that the non-believer must show that P^1 and P are really incompatible. But to have any direct incompatibility between them P and P^1 must be of the same kind. And it may not be very easy to show that they are of the same kind in the sense that they can be incompatible with each other.

Thus the assertion Science contradicts religion is not so simple as it is taken to be ordinarily. It is almost impossible to fulfil all the four conditions. The non-believer may, of course, assert a less direct incompatibility between science and religion. He may hold that Science is incompatible with religion in so far as it makes it impossible to hold certain propositions which are the presuppositions of religion. He may say for example science has shown that nothing is there in the world save the material atoms and things composed of them. Soul, freedom, God, value and all such words do not have any meaning. In showing this science has destroyed the foundation of religion. But clearly the non-believer is here confused. He confuses a philosophy with a Science. Scientific materialism is not a Science but a philosophy and whether or not philosophy is incompatible with religion is a different issue. The non-believer may still insist that science at least indirectly contradicts religion by giving birth to such a philosophy. But it is yet to be shown that only philosophy possible in the age of science is scientific materialism.

The non-believer may now restate his position. He may no longer speak of incompatibility between statements of Science and religion but between Scientific and religious attitudes. Here again what is meant by Scientific attitude is not very clear. (The same is true of the expression religious attitude). But whatever Scientific attitude may mean we understand by it at least an attitude of reasonableness. It may be interpreted in this way. Nothing should be believed or disbelieved unless there are sufficient reason for doing that. And once this attitude is adopted it is all the more difficult to deny religion and God. The great Scientist Pascal writes "Let them at least learn what is the religion they attack, before attacking it..... In order to attack it, they should have protested that they had made every effort to seek Him everywhere but without satisfaction..... But I hope here to

show that no reasonable person can speak thus, and I venture even to say that no one has ever done so. We know well enough how those who are of this mind behave. They believe they have made great efforts for their instruction, when they have spent a few hours in reading some book of Scripture, and have questioned some priest on the truths of the faith. After that, they boast of having made vain search in books and among men. But, verily, I will tell them what I have often said, that this negligence is insufferable. We are not here concerned with the trifling interests of some stronger, that we should treat in this fashion; the matter concerns ourselves and our all."

And without God and religion, the hope of another life and freedom, life is miserable. This the men possessing an authentic view of life clearly understand. These men understand that there is no real and lasting satisfaction in this world; that our pleasures are only vanity; that our evils are infinite, and lastly that death which threatens us every moment, must infallibly place us within a few years under the dreadful necessity of being for ever either annihilated or unhappy. So the men without God are not only unreasonable they are most unhappy and miserable. And the pity is that they do not know what dreadful end awaits them.





THE LATE MR. S. G. BARVE

A HOMAGE

The premature and pathetic demise of Mr. S. G. Barve has removed from our midst one of the ablest administrators, an erudite scholar and an academician of high calibre. Adored by the two erstwhile Prime Ministers—Panditji and Shastriji—Mr. Barve's steady rise into indelible fame as a figure of international stature during the past few years cannot be ascribed to a mere accidental happening. It is due more to the combined effect of his vast fund of experience as an able ICS officer and his subsequent chequered career as a Finance Minister and a Member of the Planning Commission, than to anything else. Undertaking a zig-zag journey from an ICS's chamber to the complex political arena, the insight he gained into the political and socio-economic plight of our down-trodden masses during his whirl-wind election sojourn from Chember to Kalyan at once opened a vista before him concerning the magnitude of the problems ahead, and paved a further way for the fulfilment of his ardent desire to cater to the urgent and basic needs of the society. Compared to the ideological vision that unfurled itself before him about the necessity to bring about a radical change in the unhappy structure of our society, his posh career as an aristocratic ICS officer pales into insignificance.

I had the rare privilege of coming into very close quarters of Mr. Barve when, in 1956, I worked for about a year as an Assistant on the staff of the "Official Language Commission" of which he was the Secretary. During this brief period, I saw in Mr. Barve a real academician of outstanding eminence and a prolific scholar of high erudition. He ceaselessly worked in his chamber from 9 A.M. to 8 P.M. and, by the end of April, 1956, had prepared the Draft of the Report of the Commission running into five-hundred pages. It was not without rhyme and reason that the Chairman of the "Official Language Commission" late Shri B. G. Kher said that but for the assistance of Mr. Barve, he would not have accepted Chairmanship of the Commission.

I again met Mr. Barve later at Poona at his residence to pay my respects to him where I had the opportunity to work on the staff of the "Panshet Commission". His scholarly evidence before the Panshet Commissioner—Mr. Justice V. A. Naik—elected him into the estimation of the Court, the Assessors and the public at large.

The phenomenon of mystic transformation of a one-time immaculately-attired ICS prefect into a Khaddar-clad congressman sounded to me all the more curious. But Mr. Barve was determined to throw off all the ICS apparel and glory and embrace the true and humble life of an average Indian. On my expressing astonishment at this radical change, came the splendid reply: "If a saint like Gandhiji's nobility could lead the life of a semi-naked Fakir owing to the poverty of our people, why can't we do it?"

I also watched with keen interest the manner in which he redoubtably and tirelessly conducted his recent election campaign with unquenchable zeal and vigour. Amazingly marked restraint in the expression of his own views and convictions and a democratic spirit of tolerance towards the other parties and their candidates was the conspicuous feature of his whirl-wind campaign. He stood like a rock during this brief period. Never did he utter an ugly word about the rival candidates or their parties, and displayed matchless decorum, decency and social ethics in the teeth of bitter propaganda against him. The spontaneous compliments showered on him by his two great rivals bear ample testimony to his being a gentleman first and a gentleman last. I saw him conducting his election rounds by caressing the masses before him and taking them into confidence, honestly displaying before them a true picture of the sorry state of affairs obtaining in our society at present. I did notice in him an unsatiable thirst to assess the crux of the economic problems confronting the common man to-day and a burning desire to translate

his dreams into actuality by delivering the goods rather than to hold out false promises of prosperity and well-being.

Mr. Barve, in all senses, really snatched a marathon victory at the polls more as a man of transparent acumen, sincerity and integrity than as anybody else.

Beneath his political and academic surface lay hidden a stratum of rich exuberance of literary tastes and aptitudes. A voracious reader as he was, snatching a few moments from his admittedly extremely busy time devoted to the multifarious social and economic activities, Mr. Barve quite often manifested superb literary tastes and talents. Possessed of a poet's heart, he viewed human life from the point of view of a connoisseur and a literateur. The few books written by him in Marathi and English speak volume for the depth of his literary pursuits. An element of poetic sentimentalism pervaded his solitary life. He was indeed the planner and

architect of the modern Poona, the Administrator of Faridabad Colony near Delhi, a mastermind behind the Bombay City Improvement Plan, a creator of various irrigation projects, the brain behind the "Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation" and the principal contributor towards the accomplishment of the Koyana Dam Project. Essentially a thinker and basically a pacifist, as well as a staunch socialist and democrat, he spurned underfoot all the notions of devilry, egoism and despotism.

The cruel pathos of his noble life assumes all the more gloomy colours in view of its having so immediately followed his glorious victory at the polls. It is the misfortune of the situation that the death laid its icy hands on him and put an end to his glorious career when those who knew him well expected him to rise to yet greater heights. It is indeed a tragedy of immeasurable magnitude that his selfless sacrifice and assiduity remained unrewarded!



AMERICAN BUSINESS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

NARENDRA K. SETHI

Introduction

The twentieth century in America has witnessed phenomenal rise in corporation power and the resultant growth of business society. Historically as well as conceptually, this development would not have occurred had the preceding century been one of placid conventionalism and passive acceptance as far as entrepreneurial activity and business values were concerned. However, it was a period of great initial changes both in the organization and the operation of business, prompted by the economic background of the age and total societal values of the people. The purpose, therefore if this paper is to analyze the basic changes which occurred in the 19th Century in business activity—both in its organizational and operational performances, and secondly to explain the motivation behind these changes. It is felt that the modern corporate society can be better understood if the historical business processes of the 19th Century are properly evaluated and placed in a broad perspective.

Organizational Changes

The late 19th Century was indeed a great catalyst for business organization and operation in the United States of America. The emergence of large scale business structure was the prominent feature of this era. The reasons which encouraged the formation and sustenance of big business were: (1) the creative use of entrepreneurial skills; (2) the growth in customer requirements; (3) the receding frontiers of technology; (4) the rapid increase in all kinds of transportation; and (5) the growth of the nation itself as a great market-place.

Chandler has pointed out that as a result of these and other allied causes, both the strategy and the structure of the business institutions underwent a great change. The structure and

strategy of small business were not enough for the changed needs and organizational growth of the emergent large business structures.

The *Joint Stock Company* and the *Corporation* slowly but certainly took the place of the old form of *Partnership*. Large scale operations could only be financed and administered by either of the above-mentioned two forms; partnership was no longer a valid form. Writers like Berle and Mason have commented on the growth of the corporate structure as a new and forceful factor in shaping modern economic growth in America. It was in these early years that corporations first asserted their powerful impact.

However, it was soon felt by the entrepreneurs of the age that the corporate form did not quite give them enough power and control over a vast range of activities and firms. Therefore, another development occurred: namely, the *Trusts*. The first Trust was formed in 1879 by J. B. Rockefeller; the second was formed by the Standard Oil Company in 1882. This trend towards *Trusts* continued to manifest itself till the late 1880's, when action was promulgated by the States Laws to dissolve those.

The trust-people and entrepreneurs lacked any realization of the role of public relations and publicity in establishing a favourable public opinion. The public considered these trusts as being synonymous with monopolies, and this was the root cause of the anti-trust legislations.

The next form of organizational activity was in the shape of *Holding Companies*, which succeeded the *Trusts*. These became a new form of business structure, with a wide diversity activities and operations, with both vertical and horizontal integration.

This analysis would, therefore, point out that the organizational changes in the late 19th century America were by way of *Joint Stock Companies* and or *Corporations*; *Trusts*; and finally *Holding Companies*.

Operational Changes

After having examined the *organizational changes*, let us now turn towards operational changes which occurred during this period.

First and foremost, we should visualize the implications of the largeness and the growth of the business institutions themselves. One important result of this was the separation of ownership from control (or management). The business became more and more anonymous and impersonal in character. Berle was among the first to emphasize this new rationale of corporate structure. Chandler has also commented about this aspect by stating that different strategy and structure were now required to cope with the newer challenges. He says that, "Of these resources, trained personnel with manufacturing, marketing, engineering, scientific, and managerial skills often became even more valuable than warehouses, plants, offices, and other physical facilities."

Secondly, the Taylorite system of "Scientific Management" also influenced the operation of the business systems considerably. Writers and management experts like Gantt, Emerson, Taylor, Gilbreth and Hopf, among others, carried the call of efficiency, analysis, and scientific management far and wide into the deepest corners of the American industry.¹ As a result, the operations of the companies became more systematic and methodological. Line and Staff concepts were used; Time and Motion studies were performed; and, the Control-Mechanism of the companies also underwent some corresponding change.²

Thirdly, the process of diversification and decentralization also manifested itself in the wake of early scientific management move.³ This naturally led to a system of departmentalization, in which the large business firms and corporations were divided for the sake of proper administration and control.

Fourthly, the emphatic role which marketing was destined to play at a later date, first exhibited its potential now. With increased productive efficiency and subsequently increased total output, and helped by increased consumer demand and rapid national network of transportation facilities, it was quite natural for the market-forces to assert themselves.⁴

Finally, the process of decision-making also underwent some change, and the previous one-man command began to give in for committee or board meetings and joint decisions.

Thus, it would now be clear that several major operational changes occurred in the framework of business activity of the late 19th century. However, these changes had to wait for the next several years of the 20th century to really assume their full results.

Environmental Overview

After having seen the organizational and operational changes, we will now specify and examine the conditions in the economic background of the period which prompted these above-mentioned changes.

Specifically, we can isolate the following six different but interrelated factors which contributed to these changes: (1) Economic Rationale; (2) Technological Rationale; (3) Demographical Rationale; (4) Protective Tariff Rationale; (5) Financial-Entrepreneurial Rationale; and (6) Educational-Cultural-Social Rationale.

Economic Rationale

The late 19th century was marked by growth in real per capita income, growth in railroad transportation, fall in prices as a result of long years of depression, and the start of recovery in 1896. Real per capita income doubled from \$250 in 1850 to \$500 in 1900. In addition, the real manufacturing wages rose 60 per cent between 1890. The growth in railroading can be visualized by the fact that there were about 21,000 miles of railroad in 1850, 30,626 in 1860 and 164,000 in 1890. The fall in prices can also be gauged from the fact that the General Index in Warrent and Pearson's Index Number of Wholesale Prices shows a fall from 174 in 1866 to 68 in 1897. This fall in price-structure motivated the business firms to improve on their productivity to fight losses while facing possible increases in the wages.

Technological Rationale

The history of technology bears ample evidence to the fact that the last years of the

19th century witnessed several remarkable new technological progresses. Many new inventions in machineries, tools, railroadings, steel manufacturing, agricultural equipments, electricity, and communication helped in furthering industrial productivity considerably. Statistically, there was a net rise of 40 per cent productivity in the figures of 1890 over 1850. This tremendous upsurge in technological development and resultant growth in productivity output helped in the growth of large business organizations and corporations.

Demographical Rationale

There were several changes in the population-mix and places of residence in the late 19th century in the United States. For example, the increase in urban population was phenomenal. Conversely, the role of agriculture took a secondary position in the American economic life. Furthermore, the total population of the United States rose to 77 million in 1900, as compared to just over 30 million in 1860. This rise in population and its increased concentration in urban centers contributed immensely in the industrial developments which occurred during this period.

Protective Tariff Rationale

It has been stated that the "Protective tariff acted like a magnet drawing industrialism into the country."⁵ This created a kind of monopolistic situation for the domestic business in the country. It also motivated the flow of foreign capital. These inter-related factors helped in the industrial growth of the nation to a large extent.

Financial-Entrepreneurial Rationale

The Industrial Entrepreneurs of the mid-19th century and the Financial entrepreneurs of the late 19th century helped in providing the required administrative skill, risk-bearing aptitude, capital resourcefulness, and leadership to the

cause of industrialism in the country. They also were instrumental in securing enhanced market-penetration for their varied products and services.

Educational-Cultural-Social Rationale

The rise in technical education was a marked feature of this age. There was a greater emphasis on disciplined thinking, systematic planning;

1. See, Drury, Horace Bookwalter, *Scientific Management—A History and Criticism*, New York: Columbia University, 1913; and Merrill, Harwood F., (Editor), *Classics in Management*, New York: American Management Association, 1960.

2. The writings of Dale, Chandler, Gras and Cole, *inter alia*, bear ample testimony to this observation.

3. The views of Chandler, are quite pronounced on this issue.

4. Converse, Paul D., *The Beginning of Marketing Thought in the United States with Reminiscences of some of the Pioneer Marketing Scholars*, Austin, Texas: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas, 1959.

5. Kross, Herman E., *American Economic Development—The Progress of a Business Civilization*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966.

and controlled execution rather than on haphazard and uneducated guesswork. Many new centres of learning and universities sprang up around this time.

The Socio-cultural life in the United States has always regarded the businessman as the epitome of success and social leadership, and this age under review was also no exception.⁶ The prestige afforded to the rising business man was unique in the country, much more so than anywhere else in the world. This socio-cultural and psychological factor was instrumental in channelizing the resources of big business to a great extent.

6. Cf. "The Business of America is Business" attributed to President Coolidge.

PARTY REALIGNMENT IN THE SOUTH (USA)—AN INQUIRY¹

V. LINGAMURTY

In the realm of party politics, the Southern States in the U.S.A. are distinguished by the dominance of the Democratic party. Speculative as well as empirical studies made during the last two decades show that the South is at the crossroads and "the probable line of development is toward the creation, within most of the states, of electoral foundations less favourable to dominance by a single party."²

Political parties are a reflection of the socio-economic conditions and they undergo a change along with the changes in those conditions. The bitterness created by the Civil War and Reconstruction which gave rise to the dominance of the Democratic party is on the decline and a new society is "a-borning" in the South. While all writers agree on the emergence of a new party system based not on intra-party competition but on inter-party competition, there are differences among them over the time factor. Is it in the near future or distant future or very distant future the party realignment will take place in the South?

The inquiry of the present writer is over the impact of Negro activism, the Civil Rights Movement, industrialization, urbanization and in-and-out migrations, on the party dominance in the South. For such an inquiry, Georgia and North Carolina constitute the best samples. The politics of Florida are influenced by the retired northern personnel who go and settle in the sunny regions and by the vested interests engaged in citron trade. Similar socio-economic conditions do not prevail in other Southern states. Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and other states in the Deep South are too backward to permit scientific study of party realignment.

Ostrogorski's prediction made more than half a century ago that the Solid South is breaking, has become a reality. "In Presidential elections the term, Solid South, is an anachronism."³ Politically the "rim" or "fringe" States like Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Georgia have come close to the Northern states in the field of party politics. The emergence of the Solid

South was the result of psychological embitterment caused by the Civil War and Reconstruction coupled with socio-economic differences between the South and the North. But these conditions are fast changing. The development of the U.S.A. as the most prosperous and powerful nation in the modern world has brought the northern and southern states closer in cherishing a common sense of national pride and international responsibilities. A new psychological climate is now created in the whole of the U.S.A. The economic revolution which took place half a century ago in the North has now come to the South and the rise of big and busy industrial cities is changing the face of the South.

One of the factors contributing to party realignment in the South is in-migration of the Northern Whites and the out-migration of Negroes. The white immigrants retain their Republican identification though their influence in converting the Southern Whites to Republicanism is not substantial. The migration of Negroes to industrial centres and to the northern states created new social situations. Negro population has fallen in the South from 34.3 per cent to 21.0 per cent during 1900—1960 and during the same period it has risen in the North from 2.4 per cent to 6.6 per cent. The "13 state-south lost by net out-migration 4,348,000 (74 per cent Negro) during 1930—1960. . . . The South's largest loss of Negro population had probably served to ease somewhat the many race related problems which have so long plagued its general economic development."⁴ It would, however, be too premature to conclude that the decline of Negro population in the South would immediately change the segregationist attitudes of the South whites. Racism has its roots in the minds of people. It is more a psychological than an economic and political issue. So, irrespective of the size of Negro population, racism will continue as the motive force of Southern politics for some generations to come. The break up of the Solid South which has become inevitable and irresistible, does not

mean that South has totally ceased to be different from the North. It could only be said that it is no more a "solid" unit. The cracks which started in 1948 with the Dixiecrat revolt have widened since 1952 and today the cracks have developed into a break in its customary solidarity.

It is equally significant to find lack of uniformity among the Southern States in the decline of one party dominance. The only common feature noticeable at present is the end of the dominance of the Democratic party in Presidential elections. But the pace of progress towards a two-party system and the motives behind the change in party identifications are not the same in all the Southern States. The border states can no longer be treated as one party states, a conclusion based not on the elected posts held by the Republicans, but on the number of posts for which they are contesting and the percentage of votes they are able to secure. The difference between the "Deep South" and the "outer south" is equally significant. The results of Presidential elections since 1956 indicate the race versus class polarisation of the states in the "Deep South" and "outer South" respectively. Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina which voted Democrat in the 1960 Presidential election voted Democrat in 1964. "Although it would be misleadingly simple to attribute the rim South's turn from the Democrats to economic motives and that of the Deep South to race concerns, the distinction between the two motivations provides a useful way to organise a discussion of regional political change".⁵

The entry of the Negro into politics is hastening party realignment in the South. Emerging classes in any Democracy play a vital role in party politics. For example, in India ever since the introduction of adult suffrage the Scheduled Castes and Tribes who constitute 21 percent of the total population, have become a potential force in deciding electoral results of parties. The Negro voter in the South is analogous to the Scheduled Castes in India. At present the Negroes are largely identified with the Democratic party just because the party stands for the "the poor" and "the working class." If the Republican leadership can make an effective appeal to the Negroes, there is every possibility of its securing Negro support; at least a division can be brought in the Negro vote. The voter education projects

which are now in operation will undoubtedly create a new generation of politically conscious Negroes. The Negro demonstrations in cities like Natchez (Mississippi), Birmingham (Alabama) and Atlanta (Georgia) and the direct primary elections held in Alabama in May 1966, are clear evidences of the mounting Negro ferment. The growth in the Negro voter registration will open a new chapter in the history of Southern politics. Between 1952 and 1962 Negro registration increased in the South from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654 while during 1964 to 1966 there was a steep rise from 1,530,279 to 1,925,263.⁶ The impact of the Negro voter registration was already felt in the Presidential election on 1964. "Increases in Negro registration exceeding the normal rate of increase were responsible for Democratic victories in two States, Florida and Virginia. In addition to the effect of the Negro vote on the Presidential election, it was responsible for election of many local and state office holders throughout the South, including some Negroes. The latter included two justices of the peace, a member of the School Board of Revenue in Macon county in Alabama; a second Negro Senator in Georgia, in a district where the majority of voters are white; a member of the State House of Representatives and a county judge in Shelby county, Tennessee. It was responsible also for adoption of a constitutional amendment in Arkansas which set up a permanent voter registration system for the first time and eliminates the poll tax in all elections, not just federal elections as required by the 24th Amendment."⁷ The entry of Negroes into politics and the pro-Negro policies of the national Democratic party have given rise to the following party pattern which does not seem likely to change in the foreseeable future: (1) In the Presidential elections a large section of the whites in the Democratic party will support the Republican party. (2) The Negroes will vote the Democratic party. (3) In local and state elections the Democratic party will hold all the elective posts and in regions where the whites are in absolute majority, Negroes may not participate in elections in large numbers and wherever they participate they will support the moderate Democrat. (4) In areas where Negroes are in a majority over the whites, like the six

counties in Alabama, Negroes will actively compete for the local offices and will also capture several of the elective posts. For a very long time to come, parities in local elections would be conservative versus moderate Democrats and not Democratic versus Republican party.

Hitherto the economy of the South was mainly agricultural and this led to the "White supremacy" i.e. exploitation of the Negroes by the white landlords. Ever since the days of Lincoln the Republican party in the South was held as the "black party" and the Democratic party became the symbol of white supremacy. The industrial revolution which is taking place in the South is creating a new social class, "the new rich", which is lending support to the Republican party. Urban areas are undoubtedly the nucleus for competitive party politics. Cities like Birmingham, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Atlanta and Durham have become the nerve centres of two-party competition. This sociological factors is largely contributing towards party realignment and empirical studies have shown that "counties high on an indicator of urbanization should also be high on an indicator of political party competition" (8) Industrialization and urbanization are growing at an accelerated pace in the South. During 1930—1960, as a percentage of gainfully employed, manufacturing employment grew from 14.5 to 21.3 per cent in the South but only from 25.7 to 29.4 per cent in the rest of the nation. During the same period, the South changed "from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban region.....The South's total agricultural employment dropped from 43 per cent in 1930 to only 10 per cent in 1960."⁹ The newly emerging urban industrial regions have become the centres of Republican strength. "The GOP no longer depends for its strength on traditional Republicans in the hills and mountains. Modern Southern Republicanism is a creature of the region's growing industrialisation and urbanisation. The cities and suburban areas provide the chief source of its strength."¹⁰ Class polarization which is the marked feature of party alignment in the northern states is discernible in the industrial urban regions of the South in Presidential elections of 1952, 1956 and 1960 have pointed out that most of the increased Republican vote in those elections was the result of class associated voting." 54 per cent of the members of the

middle class voted in a class related fashion (i.e., to the Republican party) while 70.1 per cent of the working class voted along class lines (i.e., to the Democratic party)".¹¹ In all the 11 States the percentage Republican of the urban vote exceeds the per cent Republican of the non-urban vote. "The percentage points by which urban gains exceeds non-urban gains of the Republican party during 1936—1956 are significant. In Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama it is as high as 22.2, 20.1 and 18.9 per cent respectively."¹² The change-over of the South from an agricultural and rural into and industrial and urban region will gradually lead to economic class division of society, thereby causing class oriented party competition.

There is no unanimity among writers on the impact of population mobilization on realignment of parties. "The Negro exodus has lightened many of the South's black-belts, which according to Key, have always constituted the nucleus of Southern one-party politics. At the same time the influx of northern whites, about half of whom were Republicans in the North and have remained so after moving to the South,.....gives to the Southern Republicans more votes."¹³ Philip Converse in his paper on, "Major Political Realignment in the South" expressed a similar view that "the South is not only losing Democrat but is receiving a significant non-southern population more Republican than the native South".¹⁴ George Robert Boynton Jr., in his thesis contradicts Philip Converse and states that "three fourths of those migrating into the South are either Democrats or Independents. Both in-migration and out-migration combined contribute less than one percent increase to the Republican party."¹⁵ However, from the case studies made by political scientists on the effects of migrations, can be inferred that the in-migrant whites are increasing a pro-Republican image in the peripheral states while in the Deep South where conservative Democrats are still dominant the in-migrants with Republican tendencies remain insignificant.¹⁶ Though the impact of the in-migrants on breaking the dominance of the Democratic party in the South is not clearly visible in all the Southern states, it must be admitted that the in-migrants are atleast responsible for changing the voting habits of the Southerners. "They contribute to the rising

turnout in the South and also have a somewhat higher partisan impact on voting patterns."¹⁷ In 1920 the rate of voter turnout in the South was less than half as large as the turn-out rate for the nation as a whole. Since 1952 the proportion of the electorate voting has considerably increased and the difference between the South and the nation has reduced from 35 percentage points to 21 percentage points.¹⁸

The Great Society programme and the strings attached to federal aid act as compelling forces towards class voting. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 bans discrimination in federally assisted programs. Before any school district can receive new federal funds, it will be required to satisfy the office of Education that it was no longer maintaining a dual school system. The responsibility for the enforcement of desegregation in schools is now shifted from the courts to the executive branch.¹⁸ Racism which coloured Southern politics till now is no doubt deep rooted. A member of the Durham City Council (N.C.) told the present writer that segregationism is still so strong that the City Board of Education (Durham) voted to set up its own summer programme to hold special classes for children (White) from low-income families who will be entering the first grade next fall. "School Board members voted 3—2 to pass over the Headstart programme and to set up a city school administered project with funds obtained from the Office of Education under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act."²⁰ Tradition dies hard. But it is equally true in human history that tradition changes, though slowly, under the pressure of new socio-economic conditions. Industrial progress and social legislation are creating new social groups in the South; members in this emerging society will vote on a class basis. The coming of class voting will mark the beginning of the end of one party dominance in the South.

The dominance of the Democratic party was partly governed by what is called traditionalism. Till recently adherence to the Democratic party was part of Southern religion and even if a few persons wanted to support the Republican party, they dared not openly identify themselves with it. But to-day Republicans are boldly coming forward for the elective posts which itself testifies to the decline of traditionalism. "Republican politicians begin to run candidates where inter-party

contests have been rare in the past."²¹ In Presidential elections the party has already attained a permanent position. In the deep Confederate South the number of national House seats contested in 1962 was almost three times as great as the number contested in 1958. Now the Republicans having made gains in Presidential elections, are planning to enter state and local elections also. In Georgia, for the first time since the days of Reconstruction, a Republican competed for the gubernatorial post in November, 1966. Till now the electoral gains of the Republican party in non-Presidential elections are no doubt not impressive. But two significant features are worthy of note: (1) The Republican party is competing for and more posts and the traditional social stigma which the party carried hardly exists today; (2) There is also an appreciable rise in the number of votes that the Republican party is polling in the Southern states. For a decade or two the Democratic party may have a steam roller majority in all the elective posts; but the party will not be left unchallenged. Such tendencies as these are indicative of the slow but sure emergence of two-party system in the South. impact an electoral behavior. Historically the salient issues that divided the parties "have been issues of domestic politics. The emergent issues and problems of international politics may well affect the party system in the most unpredictable fashions."²² For the first time the Korean war became a major issue in party politics. References to foreign policy and Korean war were of high frequency and strongly Republican in partnership.

References to war and peace : ²³	1952	1956
Pro-Democratic and anti-Republican :	068	015
Pro-Republican and anti-Democratic :	514	595

Totals :	582	610
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The present American involvement in Viet Nam may produce similar results. No doubt foreign policy will mainly affect national politics. But its repercussions will be felt at the state level also.

The speculative inferences drawn in this study may be summed up as follows: (1) The South has moved away from extreme one-party competition dominated by the Democratic party. (2) In

the outer-states two-party system has already emerged in national elections and a modified one-party system is on the move in state and local elections. (3) In the states of the Deep South conservative Republicans only will receive support from the whites in national elections. In the state and local elections, the conservative Democratic party will grow even stronger in the near future. Negro entry into politics and the liberal economic reforms of the federal government bring closer all the conservative elements in the South. (4) Class polarisation will emerge in the peripheral states while the racial factor will dominate for a very long time to come, in the states of the "Deep South". (5) The forces striking at the bastion of southern conservatism, namely, direct action by the Negroes through economic boycott and capturing elective offices, strings attached to federal aid, industrialization and urbanization and above all the time spirit, will steadily but surely break Democratic dominance and lead to party realignment in the South.

1. The inquiry is based on a field survey conducted by the author during his stay in the USA. The respondents included professors, newspaper reporters and members of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta (Georgia).

2. V. O. Key Jr. : *American State Politics*, p. 281.

3. *Change in the Contemporary South*. Ed. by Allan P. Sindler, p. 150.

4. William H. Nicholls : *The South as a Developing Area*. *Journal of Politics*, February, 1964, p. 35.

5. Allan, P. Sindler's *Political Parties* in the U.S. P. 68.

6. Source : The Christian Science Monitor. March 2, 1966.

7. Monograph prepared by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta (Georgia) November 15, 1964.

8. Philips Cutright : Urbanization and Competitive Party Policies. *Journal of Politics*. May, 1963.

9. William, H. Nicholls : The South as a Developing Area. *Jl. of Politics*. Feb. '64. P. 28.

10. Samuel, D. Cook : Political Movements and Organisations. *Ibid.* P. 151.

11. George Robert Boynton Jr. : Southern Republican voting in the 1960 Elections-Thesis for Ph.D. Degree. Varsity of N. Carolina.

13. Austin Ranney's article on Parties in State Politics : Politics in the American States. Ed. Herbert Jacob & Kenneth N. Vines. P. 188.

14. *Change in the Contemporary South*. Ed. Allan P. Sindler (1963) P. 210.

15. Dissertation, cited earlier. pp. 118-119.

16. Refer Donald R. Matthewe & James W. Frothro : *Southern Images of Political Parties*. *Jl. of Politics* Feb. 1964. pp. 108-109

17. *Change in the Contemporary South* ed. Allan P. Sindler. p. 212.

18. Boynton's dissertation : cited earlier. p. 7-8

19. *New York Times* : January, 12, 1966.

20. *The Durham Sun* : March, 31, 1966.

21. Philip Converse : *Major Political Realignment in the South*. P. 224.

22. V. O. Key : *Political Parties and Pressure Groups*. P. 278.

Till recent times foreign policy had little

23. Angus Campbell and others : *The American Voter*. p. 48. Pub. by the SRC, Michigan.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND U. THANT

PRAFULLA C. MUKHERJI

"We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of the principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish our aims.

"Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations." (Signed by 51 nations at San Francisco, California, U.S.A on June 26, 1945).

This preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, signed 21 years ago, expressed the hopes and aspirations of at least the majority of the nations which took part in that memorable conference. Like its predecessor, the League of Nations, the main purpose of the United Nations, is of course, the preservation and promotion of international peace and security, though it has a number of other very important and worthy functions. It operates through a number of councils and agencies. I can mention only a few of these here :

(1) The Secretariat : consists of the Secretary General and a skilled staff of officers. The first Secretary General was Trygve Lie of Norway (1946-53). He was followed by Dag Hamarskjold of Sweden (1953-61). U. Thant of Burma succeeded Hamarskjold. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. He is the chief administrative officer of the whole organization and acts in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. He has to make an annual report to the General Assembly. He has to bring to the attention of the Security Council, any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. He must refrain from seeking or receiving instructions from any other government or organization.

(2) General Assembly—Each member of the United Nations is a member of the General Assembly. It discusses questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, brought before it by any member, or by the Security Council and also under certain circumstances by any state which is not a member. These questions are usually referred to the Security Council, after or before discussion in the Assembly. It may call to the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace or security. It recommends means for the promotion of international co-operation in political, economic, social, cultural, health and human rights fields. It also recommends measures for peaceful adjustment of international disputes, regardless of origin. It does most of its work through committees, main and ad hoc :

(a) First Committee—Political and Security including regulation of armaments.

(b) Second Committee—Economic and Financial.

(c) Third Committee—Social, Humanitarian and Cultural.

(d) Fourth Committee—Trusteeship including self-governing territories.

(e) Fifth Committee—Administrative and Budgetary.

(f) Sixth Committee—Legal.

These committees' decisions are brought to the plenary sessions of the General Assembly where the final action is taken.

(3) Security Council—Originally the Security Council consisted of eleven members, five of whom are permanent members. They are China, France, United Kingdom, Soviet Union and the United States. These are the principal victorious powers in the World War II. The number of non-permanent members now has been raised to ten. So that the total number of members in the Security Council is fifteen now. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for two years. Geographical distribution and political affiliations are usually taken into consideration in selecting non-permanent members. Of course, power-politics plays a deciding role. In the last session both the Soviet Union and the United States voted in favor of India and hence

(4) The Economic and Social Council—Its main functions are to make and initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, human rights and related matters and make recommendations to the General Assembly and to the specialized agencies concerned. The Council has eighteen members serving three year terms. The functional commissions are : (a) Transport and communications, (b) Statistical, (c) Population, (d) social (e) Human Rights, (f) Status of Women, (g) Narcotic drugs, (h) International Commodity Trade.

For some years a number of conferences were held in Geneva under the auspices of the Economic Council to reduce international trade barriers particularly trade imbalances between the developed and under-developed countries. Unfortunately very little progress has been made, due to the inflexibility of some of the most developed countries. They are unwilling to surrender any of their most advantageous positions and privileges. The following figures will show the trade imbalances between India and some of the most developed countries :

	1956-57	1964-65
India's imports from U.K.—	\$ 448 million	\$ 342 million
„ exports to „ —	383 „	351 „
„ imports from U.S.A	221 „	918 „
„ exports to „	191 „	309 „
„ imports from W. Germany	190 „	228 „
„ exports to „	31.6 „	37.2 „
„ imports from U.S.S.R	35.6 „	164.2 „
„ exports to „	32.8 „	164.1 „

India has now a non-permanent seat in the Security Council for 1967 and 1968. Affirmative majority votes including the concurring votes of all the permanent members are required for a decision. The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Hence it is expected to function almost continuously. From the beginning the Security Council has been the hot-bed of power politics, so that in most instances, particularly when the big powers are involved, its functions have been ineffective. In informed circles it is recognized that the Security Council can not be effective until some of the provisions are amended to meet the realities of the present day world condition.

Each year from 1956 to 1965 the trade balance is against India. In the case of U.S.A. the average balance is about half a billion dollars in favor of U.S.A. per year. If this type of situation continues, the increasing impoverishment of the under-developed countries like India would become inevitable. The Economic Council even if only to justify its existence must seek a remedy.

(5) The Trusteeship Council—Members of the United Nations who assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained full measure of self-government, are required to observe the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount. They are to accept as a trust, the obligation to promote the well-being of

the inhabitants of these territories, paying special attention to their political, economic social and educational advancement. They must also take into account the political aspirations of the peoples and assist them in the development of free political institutions, with the main object of early attainment of self-government. Trust territories may be classified as: (a) Territories which were held under a mandate from the League of Nations, (b) territories taken from the defeated nations at the World War II, (c) territories placed voluntarily under collective trusteeship. Each administrative authority has to transmit to the Secretary General statistical and other information of a technical nature, relating to political, economic, social and educational progress of the territory. In spite of the fine rules and regulations the trusteeship has not worked very smoothly. The Ryukyu Islands, of which Okinawa is the principal island, belonged to Japan before World War II. At the San Francisco Conference when the question of disposition of those islands was brought up, Soviet Union had proposed that they should be administered under collective trusteeship. Mr. John Foster Dulles of the United States, strongly protested, saying that the United States needed those islands for its security and irrespective of any trusteeship the United States would build its defensive military bases there. The United States is in occupation of these islands ever since and no attempt has been made either to return these islands to Japan or give the inhabitants their independence. Here is a case of 'might is right'.

Again take the case of South West Africa. It was a German colony before the World War I. After the defeat of Germany at that war, South Africa received from the League of Nations, mandate over South West Africa as the administrative authority. The League of Nations is no more but South Africa treated South West Africa as its colony. When the United Nations was formed after World War II several attempts were made by the African nations to have South Africa's mandatory authority over South West Africa transferred to the trusteeship under the United Nations, so that Africa would be responsible to the United Nations. All such attempts have failed. Finally Ethiopia and Liberia on behalf of the other African countries, approached the International Court

of Justice about six years ago. The Court after long procrastination gave a queer and apparently irresponsible decision by 8 to 7 majority that Ethiopia and Liberia are not competent to bring the case to the court, because they "lacked sufficient legal interest in the subject of their complaint."

For some unexplained reason Justice Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan did not vote. The vote was tied 7-7. Sir Percy Spender of Australia, the President Judge, delivered his additional casting vote, making the verdict 8-7 against the complainant. The verdict was a great disappointment to those who had been looking for a favourable decision. It would be interesting to note how the votes were cast. In favor of South Africa were Sir Fitzmaurice of U.K, Sir Percy Spender of Australia, Jean Spiropoulos of Greece, Bohdan Winiarski of Poland (belongs to the 'old guard' and voted against the expressed wishes of the Polish Government), Andre Gros of France, Gactano Morelli of Italy and Jacques Van Wyjk of South Africa. In favour of the complainants were Philip C. Jessup of the United States (a former professor of International Law at Columbia University), V. K. Wellington Koo, of Nationalist China, Vladimir M. Koretsky of the Soviet Union, Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, Kotaro Tanaka of Japan, Isaac Forster of Senegal and Sir Louis Mbanefo of Nigeria. Justices Van Wyjk and Mbanefo were ad hoc judges designated by opposing parties. Justice Jessup made a long argument and called the verdict the result of 'a procedure of utter futility'. But the matter was finally brought to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly by the African and Asian nations (India was a party). After a prolonged debate the General Assembly almost unanimously—only South Africa and Portugal dissented and U.K abstained—adopted a resolution that the mandate over South West Africa be transferred to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and a Committee be appointed to find ways and means of implementing the resolution.

Besides these Councils there are a number of commissions and specialized agencies.

Taken as a whole the various organs of the United Nations have done and are doing excellent work and certainly deserve full support from all the nations. But it should be mentioned

that though fairly successful in all these fields, the United Nations has sadly failed in its main task namely maintenance of international peace and security for which it was primarily created. What is the reason for this failure? Perhaps the example of the League of Nations may give us the clue. The League was born at the wake of World War I, inspired by President Woodrow Wilson. Its purpose was as lofty and noble as that of the present United Nations. The League failed to accomplish its purpose and could not survive. The reasons are obvious. In the first place the dominating powers—Great Britain, France and Italy were not particularly interested in the maintenance of international peace but they used the League to safeguard the advantages and gains—territorial, political and economic—they had acquired as victorious powers. Secondly the same powers manipulated the League to serve their national and imperial interests. They let Italy under Mussolini mow down the Ethiopians and conquer their land, without raising a finger. The fact is, the League of Nations died the very day when it adopted the motion presented by Sir John Simon of Great Britain to recognize the sovereignty of Italy over Ethiopia and Emperor Haile Selassie walked out of the League of Nations, a defeated man.

It does not need a great deal of imagination to see the similarity. From the very beginning the 'big powers' had been playing power politics with the United Nations. They used all kinds of political chicanery and military power to safeguard the advantages they had acquired as a result of their victory in World War II. They have used the United Nations as an instrument of their imperialist policies thereby making it helpless as an organ for maintaining peace. We have the sad spectacle before our eyes, where a super-power like the United States is mowing down a small nation like Vietnam and the United Nations, in spite of the noble and strenuous efforts of Secretary General U. Thant stands helpless. That is why many thoughtful persons are concerned about the future of the United Nations. This unhappy situation is the main reason why U. Thant had been very reluctant to accept another term of the high office of the Secretary General. The United Nations would have been confronted with a crisis if finally he had not accepted the unanimous offer (one abstention) both from the

General Assembly and the Security Council. It needed a great deal of soul searching for him. It may not be out of place to have a brief review of the background of this remarkable man and the circumstances which compelled him at first to decline to accept the high honor and then finally to accept.

U. Thant

U. Thant was born on January 22, 1909 in Pantanaw near Rangoon, Burma. He graduated from the National High School there and then from the University of Rangoon. There he became a friend of U. Nu who was to become Prime Minister when Burma gained its independence. U. Thant became Head Master of his Alma Mater. Soon after World War II, U. Nu and General Aung San persuaded him to enter government service. He entered the Information Service in 1947 and in 1949 became Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. In 1952 he became a member of the Burmese delegation to the United Nations and five years later its Permanent Representative. Throughout all these years U. Thant travelled widely, accompanying Prime Minister U. Nu on many good-will missions, and international conferences. A devout Buddhist, he applied personal disciplines of detachment and concentration to solve the multitude of problems that confronted him in his daily work.

After the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld in September of 1961, U. Thant became the Secretary General of the United Nations. Even under very unusually difficult circumstances he worked hard and resolutely to maintain peace in a war-weary and harassed world. His was almost a super-human task. No amount of pressure from the power blocks could dissuade him from his path of duty as he conceived it. As a result he earned great respect and admiration. Throughout his career in the United Nations, U. Thant has shown a remarkable degree of impartiality in dealing with problems that arose constantly. He criticised the Soviet Union for its actions in Hungary, as well as the U.K. France and Israel for their attack on Suez Canal, he rebuked France over Algeria and castigated the United States for its military intervention in Cuba, Congo, Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

U. Thant's term was to expire in November

of 1966. He felt so much disturbed and frustrated at not being able to stop the war in Vietnam that he publicly announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election. On September 1, 1966 in announcing his intention to retire as Secretary General, he said: "Members of this organization are surely aware of my abiding concern for peace. During the past few years that I have been in office, hopes and prospects have risen and fallen many times. The world situation appears to me to be extremely serious. The state of affairs in Southeast Asia is a source of grave concern and is bound to be a source of even greater anxiety, not only to the parties directly involved and to the major powers but also to other members of the organization. It is of the deepest concern to me personally. The cruelty of this war, and the suffering it has caused the people of Vietnam are a constant reproach to the conscience of humanity. Today it seems to me, as it has seemed for many months, that pressure of events is remorselessly leading towards a major war, while the efforts to reverse that trend are lagging disastrously behind. The tragic error is being repeated of relying on force and military means in a deceptive pursuit of peace. I am convinced that peace in Southeast Asia can be obtained only through respect for the principles agreed upon at Geneva in 1954 and indeed for those contained in the Charter of the United Nations." Chapter VI, article 33 of U.N Charter says, "The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice". This, the United States has failed to do.

The New York Times, in its editorial of September 2, 1966 remarked, "The decision of U. Thant not to present himself for another term as Secretary General of the United Nations, comes as a deep disappointment, even though it had been long predicted Mr. Thant is the best man for the post. Every effort must be made to induce him to change his mind. The Vietnamese war, with its threat of eruption into a vastly larger conflict; the increasing imbalance in wealth between the rich and the poor nations

and the failure of the United Nations to achieve universality of membership—that is, the continued exclusion of mainland China—are the major international reasons he gives for not seeking another five-year term." Of course, the United States is mainly responsible for keeping mainland China out of the U.N. Referring to almost systematic contradictions in the public pronouncements of the administration and its deeds, the New York Times commented, "this is creating a lack of credibility about the administration's policies". U. Thant was also constrained to say, "in time of war, truth is the first casualty". These charges are serious, specially as they are directed against a nation which boasts as the leader of the so-called free world. The late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had the grandiose idea that no part of the world could be left in a vacuum, meaning thereby without Anglo-American overlordship. He ridiculed the idea of non-alignment, characterizing it as an immoral conception.

On July 23, 1964 President de Gaulle of France called for a Geneva-type conference. Two days later Premier Kosygin of U.S.S.R also suggested that a Geneva-type conference be convened again. A day later the National Liberation Front (NLF) in South Vietnam, stated that it was not opposed to convening of an international conference in order to facilitate the search for a solution. But President Johnson responded by saying "we do not believe in conferences to ratify terror, so our policy is unchanged."

As the number of U.S military "advisers" grew from twenty thousand in 1963 to over the hundred thousand by 1965 (the present number is 415,000), and bombing of North Vietnam was started, a large number of people in the United States became greatly concerned. They started to put considerable pressure on the Government to bring the war to an end through negotiation. Thousands of meetings and 'teach-ins' and demonstrations were held in college campuses and elsewhere, where professors and scholars voiced their strong disagreement with the Johnson war policy in Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of students throughout the country joined the protest movement. A number of Peace organizations started intensive campaign against war. They organized vigils, marches,

demonstrations, pickets, public discussions and mass rallies. Many prominent church organizations and clergymen also joined the movement actively, and many of the churches organized three days fasting and prayer to end the war in Vietnam.

When it became evident that a large section of the people was greatly disturbed, President Johnson in a speech at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore on March 25, 1965, said, "As I have said in every part of the Union, I am ready to go anywhere, at any time and meet with anyone whenever there is promise of progress toward an honorable peace". (New York Times, March 26, 1965). Yet a news item on February 26, 1965, stated "the communist Government of North Vietnam has notified Secretary General U. Thant that it is receptive to his suggestion for informal negotiation on the Vietnam situation." New York Times of February 25, 1965 reported that "on February 24, 1965 Mr. U. Thant disclosed at a news conference that he had made concrete proposals and suggestions to the United States and to other powers involved in the Vietnam war." The next day the White House issued a statement which when considered in connection with the aforesaid statement, is rather confusing: "the President has not authorized anyone to participate in negotiations. He has no meaningful proposals before him." Again on November 16, 1965 the New York Times said: "November 15, 1965: The State Department confirmed today a report that a year ago the United States rejected an offer by North Vietnam to have the representatives of the two nations meet in Rangoon, Burma, to discuss terms for ending hostilities in Vietnam." But a State Department Press Officer said: "We saw nothing to indicate that Hanoi was prepared for peace talks and the Secretary of State says that he would recognize it when it came. His antenna is sensitive." (New York Times, November 16, 1965). However sensitive Mr. Rusk's antenna might be, the administration's pronouncements and actions with regards to the war in Vietnam are so full of contradictions that the people are doubting its sincerity. New York Times remarked editorially on November 7, 1966: "The information that comes out of the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon about Vietnam does not clarify the picture. The con-

flict gets more confusing as time passes. This is not the normal and inescapable fog of war. It is an obfuscation that comes from what is said one day and said differently another day. Either the policies are unclear and indecisive or they are hidden while the people are told things that will satisfy them whatever their feelings may be about Vietnam. There is no way for the man in the street to know just what to believe or how to interpret what is said, or whether what he hears and reads will be valid a month from today. When it comes to the war in Vietnam the most disturbing escalation is the credibility gap."

Secretary General U. Thant in his last attempt to stop the war proposed to all sides: (1) The cessation of bombing North Vietnam, (2) the scaling down of all military activities in South Vietnam, leading to an effective cease-fire, (3) the willingness on all sides to enter into discussions with all those who are actually doing the fighting, including the National Liberation Front, (4) acceptance of the Geneva Accord as the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops, following the negotiation and the question of union—time and conditions—to be decided by the people of North and South Vietnam—their independence and neutrality to be guaranteed by the big powers.

North Vietnam and National Liberation Front indicated that they will be willing to accept these conditions for negotiation provided the United States is genuinely interested in reasonable peace settlement. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg on behalf of the United States Government replied that U.S.A. would be willing to stop bombing North Vietnam if Hanoi reciprocates. Mr. Goldberg did not say if he meant that Hanoi should stop bombing Washington. *New York Times* in reply to Mr. Goldberg, remarked editorially on December 30, 1966: "Because of the past statements and actions with regard to Vietnam, the Johnson administration must fight a crisis in confidence. Professions of a desire for peace negotiations have been accompanied by a steady escalation of the war. Even now, there is nothing in Ambassador Goldberg's letter indicating any new action to be taken by the United States."

The general conclusion that can be drawn from these conflicting statements and actions of

the United States Government is that it is not willing to stop the war until it has won a complete military victory both in North and South Vietnam. This will of course mean the continuation of a U.S. puppet government in Vietnam and establishment of U.S. military bases in and economic and political control of the country. This, the vast majority of the Vietnamese people are not willing to accept. They have been fighting for their independence and freedom for over twenty years. During World War II the French retreated from Indo-China and the Japanese occupied all the countries in that region, including Vietnam. After Japan's defeat Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia declared their independence. But France, substantially assisted by the United States, kept on fighting the Vietminh, led by Ho Chi Minh, now the President of North Vietnam and Prof. Nguyen Hau Tho, Chief of National Liberation Front and also General Nguyen Giap, Chief of NLF Army. The French were finally defeated at Dienbienphu in July of 1954. The peace conference met at Geneva. An agreement was reached between the French and the Ho Chi Minh forces. The country was divided temporarily at the 17th parallel, called "a provisional military demarcation line". Ho Chi Minh established his government in the north and the French established their in the south, with Bao Dai as the titular head. A demilitarized zone to a width of about 5 kilometers was established to act as a buffer zone. But the French were very anxious to withdraw from Vietnam altogether. They asked the British to take their place, but the British refused. And when the French actually withdrew, Bao Dai was displaced by Ngo Dinh Diem, who was trained in U.S.A. He became the President, and a dictator, assisted by American "Advisers".

The Geneva Agreement has 47 Articles and was signed on July 20, 1954 by Ta-Quang Bau, Defence Minister of Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and Brigadier-General Delteil, Commander-in-chief of the French forces in Indo-China. Articles 17, 18, and 19 provide that no foreign troops, no war materials, arms, ammunitions, combat aircraft, naval craft etc.; from outside, no new military bases nor any military alliance will be permitted in either zone. The final Declaration was signed the next day by the representatives of Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), the State of

Vietnam (South Vietnam), Laos, France, the Peoples' Republic of China and U.S.S.R as well as United Kingdom. Welter Bedell Smith, Under Secretary of State of U.S. was present but did not sign the Agreement. He issued a separate statement in which he pledged to honor the Agreement, saying: "The U.S will refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb the agreements in accordance with Article 2 (4) of the Charter of the United Nations. In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections, supervised by the United Nations to insure that they are conducted fairly)." The final Declaration of December 21, 1954, Article 7 provides for free expression of national will by general elections to be held in July, 1956, under the supervision of the International Control Commission." Article 34 of the Agreement sets up an International Control Commission for the control and supervision over the application of the provisions of the Agreement. The Commission is composed of Representatives of Canada, India and Poland to be presided over by the Representative of India.

The Diem regime proved to be a dictatorship and too oppressive. As a Roman Catholic he seemed to have a special grudge against the Buddhists. He tried in every possible way to restrict their activities. As a result the Buddhists were greatly agitated. Some of the monks committed self-immolation in protest. The National Liberation Front which had fought against the French colonial rule, demanded the end of the repressive measures and asked Diem to inaugurate land reforms and hold general elections as provided by Geneva Agreement. But Diem did not pay any heed to any of these demands. In fact he together with his brother Nhu who was the head of the police force, started more repressive measures. It may be mentioned here that these police forces were trained by agents of CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) of the United States. They went to South Vietnam in guise of educators from Michigan State University. A man named Prof. Fishel of the faculty of this university acted as the organizer. It has been recently revealed that the CIA like an octopus has spread its tentacles not only in universities and student organizations, labor unions and many charitable foundations in the United States

but also in other countries specially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A number of innocent sounding foundations act as CIA conduits. They finance the various projects of these universities, colleges and student bodies from the funds they receive from CIA. These institutions are expected to do espionage or subversion or render any other service desired by CIA. Two such bodies have been reported to be operating in India: (1) International Youth Center of New Delhi, (2) National Student Press Council of India. They are financed by Foundation for Youth and Students Affairs of 1 East 54th Street, New York City which serves as conduit for CIA. (New York Times, February 19, 1967). Another organization is mentioned: 'Friends of India Committee Trust. It is financed by Catherwood Foundation—also a CIA conduit. It is not clear if this Trust operates in India or outside.

The decision of the Diem regime not to hold an election, evidently had the approval and support of U.S. government. President Eisenhower acknowledged it when he wrote that every knowledgeable person he had talked with had informed him that if an election were held at that time the communists would certainly have won. The National Liberation Front under the leadership of Prof. Nguyen Huu Tho organized the discontented peasants who started guerrilla warfare against the Diem regime. At the same time the United States also started to increase the numbers of its military 'Advisers'. But practically the whole population, including his own followers—the men in the army—was tired of Diem. Beyond the suburbs of Saigon Diem's authority had almost ceased. Widely scattered areas in the Mekong Delta was held by the National Liberation Front. They also controlled most of the countryside. Over two-thirds of the villages were under their control. There they restored the village councils, trained village self-defense forces, re-distributed land to the peasantry and began to fulfil all the functions of civil government. Even in regions, under control of Diem forces, the NLF village councils carried on their work under the very noses of these forces. Walter Lippmann, the noted journalist reported that fully 70 per cent of the people were under the control of the NLF. Diem called them Vietcong, to mean Vietnamese communists. The

fact is not more than 35 per cent of the NLF guerrilla forces are communists. They are ordinary peasants from villages—Buddhists, some Catholics etc. So the United States faced a dilemma. Mr. Dulles, then the Secretary of State and the principal architect of the U.S foreign policy since World War II, was determined that the U.S must control South Vietnam, as it does South Korea.

Though Diem proved to be bad administrator and very unpopular among the masses, he managed to get together a group of supporters from the land-lord and wealthy classes, many of them Roman Catholics. The United States tried to boost him up in every possible way. It provided him with all the money he needed, plenty of military 'Advisers', CIA agents, all kinds of weapons and bombers, napalm-bombs and many unheard of instruments of war. But opposition was so intense, that nine of his fifteen ministers resigned and the army threatened a coup d'etat. But U.S rallied to Diem's aid and threatened to stop all aid if Diem were deposed.

To break up the village councils and land reform programs and to bring the peasantry under military and police control, the 'Strategic Hamlet' program was introduced. Peasants were forcibly regrouped into control areas and their homes and villages were razed. They were then forced to build crude houses under military direction. The new settlements were then surrounded by barbed wire and fortifications. Passes were required for entrance and exit. By 1963 the government claimed to have built about six thousand 'Strategic Hamlets' with over eight million inmates. A Wall Street Journal reporter called these hamlets concentration camps. Assisted by the peasants most of these hamlets were by this time taken over by NLF. An army plot finally toppled Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963 and he and his brother Nhu were killed.

The next two years brought a number of governments into power, none of them lasted for more than a few months or days. Dr. Pham Huy Quat had the support of the Buddhists and showed some promise of success. Had he been able to bring about land and other reforms and pacify the peasant guerrillas, he might have a chance to form a stable government with the cooperation of the NLF. But he was not able to bring about the needed reforms. So he did

not last long. Finally a military junta led by Major General Nguyen Van Thieu, Air Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky and Brigadier General Nguyen Huu Co captured power and Nguyen Cao Ky became the President. He proved to be ruthless and anti-communist. His hero is Adolf Hitler, he said. The U.S gave him all the support he needed—men, money and weapons. By the end of 1966 the U.S had about four hundred and fifteen thousand military men in South Vietnam and spends at the rate of about twenty-five Lillion dollars a year for the Vietnamese war. The U.S is now in virtual control of the Ky government.

In guerrilla warfare the Vietcongs do not fight in the open. They hide in hamlets and huts in the villages. They come out when signalled, attack the enemy forces at opportune time and go back in hiding. The American troops have difficulty in coping with the situation and hence their strategy is to bomb systematically hut by hut and village by village and destroy all vegetation by napalm bombs. This process has been going on for the last few years, killing men, women and children indiscriminately. It has been estimated that between 300,000 to 500,000 children have been killed or seriously burnt by napalm during this period.

The United States has been using napalm, a jelly-gasoline and phosphorus which burn every thing they touch, until the victim is reduced to a bubbling mass. This is against Geneva Convention. It also uses such weapons as 'Lazy Dog'—fragmentation bombs which contain several thousand slivers of razor sharp steel. The razor darts slice to ribbons the villagers upon whom they are constantly used. Another weapon is called pellet bomb. It contains about 300 guava size steel balls—the villagers call them guavas—which contain about that many steel pellets, slightly bigger than a pea. When these bombs explode, the pellets are scattered over a wide area, either killing the victims outright or incapacitating them for life.

A war fought over a large area, in widely separated engagements, mostly in jungles, is not likely to produce dependable statistics, but repeated estimates by informed foreign observers agree that fully five times as many non-combatants are killed or wounded as are combatants. Day by day the United States is transforming South

Vietnam into a vast abattoir for human beings, primarily children, women and elderly men. Civilian casualties are no longer an unfortunate circumstance of war, but an object of war. Rev. A. J. Muste the great pacifist leader of the United States, who died suddenly on February 11 last and who had been to both North and South Vietnam twice during the last year, said that villages, schools, hospitals with big Red Cross sign on the top, temples and market places have been bombed indiscriminately. They can not possibly be military targets. They evidently have been bombed to create a terror and panic among the civilian population. Rev. Dr. Greeley, President of the Unitarian-Universalist Association, Dr. Dahlberg, President of National Council of Churches, Rabbi Feinberg, Pastor Niemoeller—all had been to Vietnam within the last few months and they all agreed with Rev. Muste.

Last January, over two thousand prominent clergymen belonging to various denominations from many parts of the country, marched on Washington to protest against American military intervention in Vietnam, asking immediate end to bombing North Vietnam and negotiation with all parties concerned. They issued a manifesto which was published in the Congressional Record of February 1, 1967 (A 405-7). It said in part: "A time comes when silence is betrayal. We add our voice to those who protest a war in which civilian casualties are much greater than military, in which the widespread use of napalm is killing and maiming innocent women, children and the aged; in which our troops are systematically destroying the crops and productive capacity of a country they profess to liberate. . . . Our anguish is deepened by the discrepancy between what we are told by our government and what we discover is actually taking place. We are told that the other side gives no indication of desire to negotiate and we discover that such negotiations have been given very favourable consideration but that we have responded either with rebuff or military escalation."

On January 10, 1967 U. Thant in his Press interview said, "I do not subscribe to the view that the NLF is a stooge of Hanoi. . . . I think I know the mood of the leaders in Vietnam. I know they are very independent and obsessed with the principle of non-alignment. These two

principles—are the dominant factors of the Geneva Agreements. I do not see how it could pose a threat to the security of the West.” Harrison E. Salisbury, Associate Managing Editor of *New York Times*, also corroborated this view. As he was leaving North Vietnam from his recent visit to that country, he felt convinced that Hanoi would never be a stooge of Moscow or Peking or Washington and it would do its utmost to preserve its independence.

In a recent mass meeting at the Madison Square Garden, Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, the noted Swedish social-economist told the audience of about twenty thousand that he wanted to remind them “not with anger but with anxiety and sorrow that the American Government is increasingly entering into a political and moral isolation. And that in this war in Vietnam, there is not a single government in Western Europe who would dare to send a squad of soldiers there as a symbolic gesture of sympathy with the United States’ policy.” Prof. Eric Fromm an outstanding Psycho-analyst, in the same meeting, referred to “the indifference to life and the brutalization of man which have been increasing year by year since the First World War....The war in Vietnam seems like the ultimate step in desensitizing ourselves to destructiveness and to our indifference to life. Here we are killing, burning and mutilating many more civilians—men, women and children—than enemy soldiers. We bomb a very small country every day, with the explicit intention that if the people have suffered enough they will give in. If this trend goes on still further, the last remnant of conscience will have been removed from the souls of men and universal dehumanization will take place.”

A few Senators and Congressmen have taken stand against continuation of this war, such as Senators Morse, Gruenning, Fulbright and Kennedy but the administration still has the support of the majority in both houses of Congress. Hence it seems to be adamant and is willing to take any risk to accomplish its purpose. On February 20, 1967 Prof. Henry Steele Commager of Amherst College and Dean of American Historians, in a statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: “By its Vietnam policies, the United States is risking the loss of world opinion, the possibility of nuclear war and destruction of the United

Nations....It is my feeling that we do not have the resources, material, intellectual or moral to be at once an American power, a European power and an Asian power.”

Senator Fulbright, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has reminded the country again and again that the foreign policy of the nation, since the Second World War has been guided by an “Arrogance of Power”. This he pointed out can have only disastrous result. He said: “Great nations in the past have set out upon such missions and they have wrought havoc, bringing misery to their intended beneficiaries and destruction upon themselves. America is showing signs of that fatal presumption, that over extension of power which brought ruin to ancient Athens, to Napoleonic France and to Nazi Germany. If the present war goes on and expands and America becomes a seeker after unlimited power and empire, then Vietnam will have had a mighty and tragic fall out indeed.” (Before American Newspaper Publishers Association, April 28, 1966).

There is a growing concern among the scholars and thoughtful persons including a large sector of student body that the U.S foreign affairs as well as some domestic affairs are more and more controlled by a Military-CIA—Industrial complex aided by certain ultra right-wing political forces, and that they are veering the country to a form of neo-colonialism which is as vicious and more effective than the old colonial empires of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. They are in the process of bringing the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the economic and political control of the United States, if possible through economic and military aid, if not, then through direct military action. They usually select a person or a group in a particular country and maneuver to put him or them in positions of power. The CIA is quite efficient in this type of work. Then through this person or the group, they control that country. This ‘complex’ uses ‘containment of communism’ as a smoke-screen to justify their action; just as the British Empire used ‘white man’s burden’ or ‘yellow peril’ to justify theirs. This smoke-screen seems to lull the people at home and abroad.

India today is in a vulnerable position. Day by day it is becoming more and more dependent

on the United States economically and politically. Its freedom as a nation is in peril. Its poverty and hunger have become chronic. Its prestige in Asia is fast fading out and its voice in world affairs is becoming faint. All this sounds very pessimistic. But all well-wishers of India must hope that there will come soon in the fore-front, forces which are willing and able to stem this tide, and bring home dignity and self-reliance.

The war in Vietnam is hanging heavy, like the sword of Damocles, in the minds of the people everywhere. They are pinning their hope on U. Thant and the United Nations. Will he be able to persuade the powers to accept his very moderate terms? If not, and if the war continues much longer, would U. Thant feel more frustrated than he did last autumn and decide to resign before the next General Assembly meets? In that case would not the world organization face a grave crisis?

As we find the world situation today the under-developed nations surely needs the protec-

tion and guidance of the United Nations, in spite of all its short-comings. If the United States and the Soviet Union do not come to a closer rapproachment in the near future, would the United States make a deal with mainland China to divide the sphere of influence? How would that affect the rest of Asia? The weaker nations of Asia must give serious consideration to these possibilities. Can rest of the world be safe and free to determine their own destiny in the face of such a super power with its 'MILITARY-CIA—INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX'? Is it not evident that the alternative lies in strengthening the hands of U. Thant, Fulbright and Commager?

Finally we must wish that there might come another Rabindranath Tagore who would again sound his friendly warning:

"Bojha tor bhari holey
dubbey tori khan."

—
"Your boat will surely sink
if you load it too much."



EDWARD TAYLOR : THE AMERICAN METAPHYSICAL POET

DR. S. C. BHATTACHARYA

Spurred on by H. J. C. Grierson, T. S. Eliot, and I. A. Richards, the revival of interest in the seventeenth century English metaphysical poets has been one of the dominant aspects of twentieth century literary thought. The incisive survey of the poets of the group—Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne, and Crashaw—is unhesitatingly recognized as an important work. Excellent studies of these poets have been made on both the shores of the Atlantic and if *The Metaphysical Poets* of Helen C. White, a professor of English in America, does not mention the name of Edward Taylor, the great American metaphysical poet, it may be excusable as that scholarly work was first published in 1936, just a year before the discovery of the manuscript of Taylor's poetry in the Yale College library by Mr. Thomas H. Johnson, who in 1939, published a volume of selected poems under the title *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, that is, more than two hundred years after Taylor's death. Perhaps, the only similar discovery of a poet's manuscripts is that of Thomas Traherne by Bertram Dobell in 1869-97. On the other hand, there can be no plausible ground for not giving at least a passing remark about Edward Taylor in *Five Metaphysical Poets* which is a revised edition (1964) of Joan Bennett's *Four Metaphysical Poets* (1934). Nor, can one understand why Professor Martz, another professor of English in America, and Professor Grierson cared to mention only once the

name of Edward Taylor in their well-known works, *The Poetry of Meditation* (1954) and *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century* (1958 edition) respectively. Similar sad omission is found in *the Metaphysical Poets* (1961) of Helen Gardner who neither mentions even once the name of Taylor in her introduction, nor includes his poems though she has taken in some other poems about which she says : "I am aware that I have included in this collection some poems whose presence under its title may be changed." If she has included poems which may not be strictly called "metaphysical," why is it that she has excluded Edward Taylor whose poems satisfy the definition rigidly? Is she unaware of Taylor's wonderful creation, or she simply neglects his because he had left England for good? But, in that case, Richard Crashaw is also to be excluded because he lived and died outside England which is unthinkable. Moreover, the title of her work is *Metaphysical Poets* and not *English Metaphysical Poets*.

As a matter of fact, in my opinion, the anthologies of metaphysical poets are to be recast wholly and the definition of metaphysical poetry is to be revised in the light of the discovery of Edward Taylor and excellent research works that are going on in America on the subject. Professor Martz, however, has partly compensated for his earlier omi-

ssion by writing the "Foreword" to the *Poems of Edward Taylor* edited by Donald E. Stanford (1960). In that 'Foreword' he says: "... Taylor's place in literary history [is] as the last heir of the great tradition of English meditative poetry that arose in the latter part of the sixteenth century, with Robert Southwell as its first notable example, continued on through the religious poetry of John Donne (and also in those of his secular poems that have powerful religious element), reached a fulfillment in the 'Temple' of George Herbert. But as Crashaw had gone abroad to preserve and extend his Catholic allegiance, so, at the end of the line, in 1688, Edward Taylor sailed for New England, and there, surrounded by the rude and dangerous life of the frontier, composed his Puritan and meditative poems." Similarly, Kenneth Murdock in his *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England* writes: "No other poet in early New England had Taylor's talent and no other followed so closely the pattern of the English metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century."

What Professor Martz calls "meditative poetry" has been known since long by the name of "metaphysical poetry", and so, 'Darrel Abel' introduces Edward Taylor saying that "Taylor's poetry is 'metaphysical' because it expresses profound, subtle, and complex thought in arbitrary-appearing but highly expressive metaphors often ingeniously elaborated into analogies. The most usual and conspicuous device of metaphysical poetry is the 'conceit', the metaphor which startles by its improbability. Taylor was a master of both kinds of conceit. As an example of Taylor's innumerable conceits, we can refer to his *Preparatory Meditation* No. 6 wherein

he prays to God to mint him as an old English coin (Angell) with the bright image (stamp) of God upon it so that he can be the fit money for God's use:

"Am I new minted by thy Stamp indeed?"

... ..

If thy bright Image do upon me stand
I am a Golden Angell in thy hand."

(Lines 7-12)

This would inevitably bring into one's mind the 'coin conceit' of John Donne in his poem *A Valediction: of weeping* where he describes the 'tears' of the lover as 'coins' which are minted by the thought of impending separation and contain the image (stamp) of the beloved.

"Let me powre forth

My teares before thy face, whi'st I
stay here,

For thy face coines them, and the
stamp they beare."

(Lines 1-3)

A very ingenious conceit no doubt! But what gives Taylor's poem a higher value is its spiritual hankering against Donne's secular one. Making research on Taylor's use of conceits, Emma Louise Shepherd writes: "A major characteristic of Taylor as a metaphysical poet is his use of the conceit, a complex of related metaphors in which a base metaphor is elaborated by one or more metaphors using the same subject matter and having the same meaning... Taylor's conceits aid unity in a variety of ways, primarily structural or thematic." As if to give evidence to the same Austin Warren says: "Taylor is capable—one sees from *The Ebb and Flow* and *Huswifery*—of working out, neatly and precisely, a conceit: the latter poem tilily

analogizes the Christian life to all the instruments and processes of cloth-making—the spinning wheel, the distaff, the reel, the loom, the web, the fulling mills, until the robes salvation are ready for the piouswearing.” Hence we read:

“Make me, O Lord thy spinning wheele
compleate
Thy Holy Worde my Distaff make for
mee.

...
Make me thy Loom then, Knit therein
this Twine:

...
Thenweave the Web thyselfe. The
yarn is fine.
Thine Ordinances make my Fulling
Mills.”

...
Then mine apparell shall display before
ye
That I am Cloathed in Holy robes
for glory.”
(Huswifery)

The above-mentioned remarks are in sharp contrast to Helen White’s assessment of Donne’s conceit about which she says: “No Elizabethan is more sensitive to the allurements of the particular detail, the chance-caught analogy, the fine-spun association than Donne, but always he pushes through to the complete adumbration of the thought on which he started. It is at this point that the metaphysical conceit is most liable to alienate at some time or other its hardest admirer.”

By now, there is a considerable amount of writings and criticisms about Edward Taylor coming out of the American Press besides several unpublished theses by Ameri-

can scholars to show that the interest in American metaphysical poetry is in no way less than its English counterpart. In our country, however, very little scholarly study has been made of the metaphysical poets as such, whether of England or New England. A recent publication, *Metaphysical Tradition and T. S. Eliot*, is not a study of metaphysical poets, and so, it conveniently omits any reference to Edward Taylor. If the discovery of the Rosetta Stone helped the unfolding of the mystery of hieroglyphic characters, the discovery of Edward Taylor’s poems is equally valuable for understanding the mind of the metaphysical poets irrespective of their country. Long ago, Tagore, the world-poet, wrote on Jesus: “...the Son of a man one day had said, ‘we are all children of the Father of the Univers, and the flame of love which is in our heart has touched Him’. It can never be true that our painful hankerings have no aim. He always responds to our call as a bosom-friend. Hence man is brave enough to address Him as the affectionate Mother as the Father of human benefactors.” So whether we read in Herbert’s poetry:

“Love bade me welcome: yet my soul
drew back,

...

You must sit down, sayes Love, and
taste my meat:

So I did sit and eat”

Or, find Taylor singing:

“Thou art my Priest, Physician, Prophet
King,
Lord, Brother, Bridegroom, Father
Ev’rything.”

we come face to face with the same meditative style at the core of which is

"mental prayer" or "meditation" explaining which St. Francois de Sales in his *Treatise on the Love of God* (1616) said: "Sometimes we consider a thing attentively to learne it's causes, effectes, qualities; and this thought is named studie, in which the mynd, is like locustes, which promiscuously flie upon flowres, and leeves, to eate them and nourish themselves ther-upon but when we thinke of heavenly things, not to learne but to love them that is called to meditate: and the exercise there of Meditation in which our mynd, not as a flie, by a simple musing, nor yet as a lacust, to eate and be filled, but as a sacred Bee flies amongst the flowers of holy mysteries, to extract from them the honie of Divine Love." How appropriate is then the title "Preparatory Meditations" given by Taylor to his more than two hundred poems which he composed from 1682 to 1725 in the age of Dryden and Pope, "the period of the heroic complete, of superficial wit, elegance, and neo-classical formalism."

"In January 1688/9 Edward Taylor, the minister of the Congregational Church of the small frontier town of Westfield in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was composing, while alone in his study, a 'Preparatory Meditation' addressed to Christ.

"I'm but a Flesh and Blood bag Oh!
do thou

Sill, Plate, Ridge, Rib, and Rafter
me with Grace."

(Med. 1.30, lines 27-28)

He completed the poem sometime before the Communion Sunday of January 6, entitled it '30. Meditation. 2. Cor. 5.17-He is a New Creature, which was the text of the sermon he was to preach on that Sunday, made a fair copy of the poem in a careful, precise hand

and eventually bound it along with scores of similar poems into a quarto volume of over four hundred pages...The volume carefully preserved by his grandson Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, passed to the poet's great-grandson, Henry W. Taylor, who deposited it in the library of Yale University in 1833 where it still remains...Taylor was composing his poetic meditations as periodic exercises (one poem about every two months) designed to put him in the correct spiritual posture for his communion with Christ at the administration of the Lord's Supper. Primarily they were addressed to God or to Christ alone and not to any reader public or private." One finds here a common principle with Taylor, Donne and Herbert that none of them cared to publish their wonderful poetical works during their life-time. It is even described by some writers on Edward Taylor that the priest-poet "left instructions in his will that nothing ever be published." Various reasons have been suggested for such an attitude of Taylor. But this common trait of the three great metaphysicals only can be explained if we accept the view that all of them were overcome by modesty and regarded the outpourings of their heart as inadequate for the expression of the real glory of God which they tried to vindicate in the traditional manner of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At least, about one of them, that is, Taylor we read. "He constantly emphasizes the inadequacy of poetry to express the divine and the hopelessness of the religious poet's task unless God's grace has been breathed into him and his work. This note is common in religious poetry, Puritan or not but the Puritan gave it special emphasis in

His desire to keep clear the distinction between the essential truth which was divine and intangible, and the concrete and finite material with which the poet was forced to work. Taylor disparages his own talents:

"My tatter'd Fancy; and my Ragged Rymes
Teem leaden Metaphors: which yet might
serve
To hum a little, touching terrene shines.
But Spirituall Life doth better fare
deserve."

Edward Taylor, the American metaphysical poet, however, was not a son of the soil of America though he spent sixty-one years of his life there. He was born at Sketchley in Leicestershire, England in 1640's (1642 ?) and died at Westfield, Massachusetts on June 24, 1729 where his tombstone stands today bearing the epitaph: "Here rests the body of Ye Rev'd Mr. Edward Taylor Ye aged Venerable, Learned & Pious Pastor of Ye church of Christ in this town...". What brought Edward Taylor to New England when he was 26 years old was his inability to accept the Act of Uniformity of 1662 being born in a non-conformist family. After his arrival on July 5th, 1668 with some letters of introduction, and being in the sea for seventy days, he got himself admitted in the Harvard College as a sophomore and graduated therefrom in June 1661. After much hesitation, he accepted a call to Westfield as its minister and on November 27th, 1671 "set out on horseback on the difficult hundred-mile journey through deep snow to the frontier town near the Connecticut River", to pass the remaining 58 years of his life only there. He married second time, three years after the death of his first wife in 1689 and

altogether fathered fourteen children of whom five died at young age. This reminds us of Donne's twelve children by one wife only. According to Ezra Stiles, his grandfather Edward Taylor was "a man of small stature, but firm; of quick Passions, yet serious and grave. Exemplary in Piety, and for a very sacred Observance of the Lord's Day...very curious in Botany, Minerals and Natural History. He was an incessant student."

The proof of Taylor's love of learning and his incessant study is revealed in his poems under the titles "Preparatory Meditations" (First and Second Series—more than 220 poems), "Gods Determinations Touching His Elect", "Miscellaneous Poems", "The Metrical History of Christianity" (21,500 lines of verse, about one half of Taylor's entire poetic output), and his prose work "Christographia" (a series of fourteen sermons on the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, preached at Westfield from 1701 to 1703)—all of which have established Taylor as America's first major poet and as the last important representative of the metaphysical school of poetry founded by John Donne and continued by George Herbert, Richard Crashaw, and Henry Vaughan. According to Samuel Sewall, a class-mate of Taylor at Harvard, who later on became a judge, Taylor was an eloquent preacher: "I have heard him preach a sermon at the Old South upon short warning which as the phrase in England is, might have been preached at Paul's Cross." It is also necessary to point out that before he migrated to New England in 1668, Taylor had studied Latin and enough Greek to

read the New Testament in the original. The books he could not buy he borrowed and copied by hand, binding them carefully in leather. Elizabeth Wiley has recorded more than five thousand imageries from Taylor's poems in her thesis and categorized nearly one-fifth of the total images under the classifications of: Life-cycle Images; Body Images; Disease and Treatment Images; Prison, Locks and Keys Images; Debt and Payment Images; Covenant Images; Food Images; Clothing Images; Royalty Images; War Images, etc. The over-all picture is stupendous when we analyse, especially, the imageries of the "Meditations" situated at opposite poles. Some contain the ecstasy of mysticism, whereas others of personification—but all to bring the spiritual readiness for the Sacrament of the next day: One can read for 'Covenant of Grace'—

"Thou giv'st indeed a Dæd of Gift to all
That Give to thee their Hearts, a Deed
for bliss.

... ..

My heart, thy harp, make, and they Grace
may string.
Thy Glory then shall be my Song I'll sing."
Or for 'Treatment'—

"Let me thy Patient, thou my Surgeon be
Lord, with thy Oyle of Roses Supple
mee."

In connection with the originality of Taylor's metaphors, Murdock says: "Taylor's use of the 'metaphysical' metaphor and his reliance on the image combining intellectual and emotional appeal as

the primary source of poetic effect, seem to represent not subservience to fashion but the choice of a poetic method integrally related to the nature of his emotion and thought. He was by no means merely an imitator, and in spite of the points of likeness between his work and Herbert's or Donne's, Taylor's poems differ essentially from theirs. The major differences stem from his Puritan beliefs. His work is not typical of New England Puritan poetry, because it is richer in insight and more expert in technique, but it is made out of characteristically Puritan elements."

It may be interesting to show briefly the differences between the imageries of Taylor, Donne and Herbert. In the opinion of Helen Gardner: "Donne did not look to religion for ecstasy of the spirit which would efface the memory of the ecstasy of the flesh; but for an 'evenness' of piety which would preserve him from despair." While Taylor's meditations are personal and private, many poems of Herbert are frankly didactic. Taylor never tried his hand at the hieroglyphic pattern of Herbert's poetry though he might have adopted the stanza form of his "Preparatory Meditations" from the latter's "Church-porch". Moreover, Herbert's imagery is not so extensive as that of Taylor, but his poems are always graceful and usually lucid. "Herbert's instrument is delicate of timbre and gamut; not the sustainedly sonorous organ nor the imperious, but the viol or lute, apt for accompaniment, adjusted to the chamber and the closet." In contrast to that Taylor has crude, rhetorical, powerful and grim diction which will be a main hindrance to his popularity. Very few will be ready to struggle with his puzzles as given below:



AN ATTEMPTED CONGRESS COMPROMISE

S. GOPALA KRISHNAN

In the first decade of the 20th century, the Indian National Congress came to be split into two groups, the Moderates and the Extremists. This paper deals with an attempt made by Annie Besant and Subba Rao Panthulu to bring about a reconciliation between these two sections during December 1914.

The Moderates believed in loyalty to the English throne. A great Moderate Leader Pheroze Shah Mehta said :—

“My steadfast loyalty is founded upon the rock of hope and patience. I accept the British Rule, as Ranade did, as dispensation so [wonder—full……it] would be a folly not to accept it as a declaration of God’s will.”

The Moderates had faith in strictly constitutional agitation. The type of agitation consisted in reasoned appeals and presenting petitions.

The Extremists were those who believed in radical methods to achieve the goal of Swaraj. They called the moderate method ‘mendicancy’. They believed that constitutional agitation was not enough to deal with a foreign autocratic rule. Tilak said—“The Government of India is responsible and non-constitutional and we have to take our rights from them.”

It will be easier to understand the relative position of the Moderates and Extremists if we state it in the language that was actually used by them (at the time) when the differences first arose.

Their real differences lay primarily in the political goal to be achieved and the method to be adopted for achieving it.

As regards the goal, the ideal set up by the Congress was defined in 1965 as “colonial form of self-government” but the Extremist’s ideal was that of absolute autonomy free from foreign control. Dadabhai Naoroji in his Presidential address in 1906, defined the political goal of the Congress as self-government or *Swaraj like* that of the United Kingdom or the colonies.” As this was not very clearly defined, each party interpreted it in its own way. The Congress had already accepted a resolution at its Benaras Session in 1905 demanding the colonial form of self-government. The moderates put this interpretation upon *Swaraj* as conceived by the President of the Congress in 1966. The Extremists interpreted *Swaraj* to mean complete autonomy without any dependence on the British rule.

As regards method, the Extremists believed in the spread of national education and economic boycott. These were the principles behind the Swadeshi movement. Aurobinda Ghosh, the Extremist Leader pointed out—“The first principle of passive resistance is to make administration under present conditions impossible by an organized refusal to do anything which shall help either British Commerce in the exploitation of the country or British Officialdom in the administration of it unless and until the conditions are changed in the manner and to the extent demanded by the people.”

Other Extremist Leaders did not go far as Aurobinda Ghose in expanding the importance of passive resistance to the Civil authority nor did they consistently maintain that resistance to the government must be continuously practised. But the idea of passive resistance was not absent from their minds. For instance, Bepin Chandra Pal said in 1907 :—

“Passive resistance is recognised as legitimate in England.....Therefore, it seems to me, Sir, that by means of this boycott, we shall be able to negative the work that will have to be done for the attainment of Swaraj. It may create the strength in the people to sacrifice their interest, immediate interest for the good of the country. Boycott may do all these things, but without positive training no self-government will come to the boycott. It will have to be done through the organisation of our village life, organization of our taluks and district. Let our programme include the setting up of a machinery for popular administration, running parallel to, but independent of the existing administration of the Government.”

The differences between the Moderates and the Extremists were too pronounced to be accommodated within the frame work of the Congress. They began to fall apart.

In 1906, at the Calcutta Session of the Congress there was a compromise between the moderates and the Extremists. But, like most compromises, it satisfied neither Party and left behind a strong current of discontent and disaffection. This manifested itself in a keen controversy in the press and on the platform, throughout 1907 between the two parties over their respective aims and methods, particularly over the resolutions

passed at Calcutta on self-Government, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education.

An open split occurred between the Moderates and the Extremists at Surat in 1907. The Congress Session of that year had to be adjourned abruptly on account of the Extremists' obstruction of the proceedings.

In 1908, Tilak, the leader of the Extremists was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and sent to Mandalay. The position of the Extremists in the absence of their leader, was weakened. During this period 1904-1914, they worked outside the Congress.

In 1914, an attempt was made by Annie Besant to bring about a reconciliation between the moderates and Extremists.

Annie Besant proposed to go to Poona to mediate between Tilak and Gokhale. As soon as Tilak learned of their proposition, he began marshalling his forces and preparing his demands. Gokhale also was in favour of bringing the Extremists back into Congress.

Besant developed an interesting thesis : “The idea is that just as you have in England Tories, Liberals and Radicals in parliament, but do not expect a Tory organization to be affiliated to the national liberal club—to the Congress should be open to all responsible political organizations in India and should thus comprise men of varying opinions but all accepting Article I on a Common basis.”

Pherozshah Mehta and Dinsha Wacha were staunch opponents of the readmission of the Extremists into the Indian National Congress.

Gokhale advised Subbarao Pantulu and Besant to strive for some reasonable understanding with Tilak and then proceed to

Bombay to meet Mehta and Wacha and "do what he can to secure the passive acquiescence—if no—thing stronger of the Bombay leaders."

Besant and Subba Rao interviewed. Tilak pointed out that the Congress creed did not stand in the way of a compromise. The only question of importance was the cliquish character imposed on the Congress by restricting the right of electing delegates only to the Committees recognised by the Moderates. Tilak said: If they (moderates) are prepared to yield on this point and keep the doors of election open to all, I think we may accept the proposal of inviting all the parties in the Congress this year.

Tilak wrote to Khaparde that he told Besant that in India also, as is the case with political parties in England, there should be perfect freedom to have delegates elected by people without any recognition from the other political party. He pointed out that "no Liberal in England would care to be elected by a conservative constituency nor would the latter elect him. Mrs. Besant agreed and promised to move an amendment to the constitution to this effect if she would be elected to the Subjects Committee. Tilak added that nothing could be done that year as none was willing to face the Mehta opposition.

Besant was now to go to Bombay to meet Pherozshah Mehta. Apprehending that her personal approach to Mehta might spoil the case, she sent Subba Rao to Bombay. Mehta did not even care listen to Subba Rao.

Subba Rao returned to Poona and reported his failure to Tilak and Gokhale. Mrs. Besant, however, was convinced of the justice of Tilak's case and assured him

that she would move the Compromise Resolution in the Subjects Committee to amend Article 20 so as to secure for the nationalists the freedom they demanded to elect their delegates.

Gokhale was disillusioned. The dejected conciliators, Besant and Subba Rao Pantulu Poona on December 9, 1914 to go ahead left with preparations for the Congress Session in Madras, conscious that they had done their best.

Gokhale and Tilak met in Poona subsequently. In these talks Tilak seems to have taken a firm attitude towards the Moderates.

On the 25th Dec. 1914, three days before the 29th Session of the Congress met in Madras, Gokhale wrote a confidential letter to the President Bhupendranath Easu. He sent a copy of this letter to Besant. Gokhale reported Tilak as saying that on his return to the Congress he would follow a policy of boycotting the Government.

Gokhale pointed out: Mr. Tilak does not believe in the present methods of the Congress which rest on association with the Government where possible, and opposition with it where necessary. In place of this, he wants to substitute the method of opposition pure and simple to the Government within constitutional limits—in other words, a policy of Irish obstruction.

Gokhale was "firmly to any changes that would facilitate their (Extremists') return."

As if the crisis was not already precipitated, Basu committed the indiscretion of making a reference to Gokhale's confidential letter to him at the meeting of the Subjects Committee.

Besant was confused when Subba Rao

presented her Tilak's statement of the methods. She sent a telegram to Tilak asking him to explain the position: "Moved amendment last night. Your opponents say you advocate obstruction and boycott of Government. I say, 'No' which is true?"

Tilak's reply was: "I have never personally advocated boycott. Several prominent Deccan nationalists are serving in Local Legislative Councils and Municipal Councils and Local Boards. I have approved of their doing so."

Subbarao sent a telegram to Gokhale seeking clarification of the latter's meetings with Tilak, as if not to be outdone by Besant's similar move towards Tilak. Gokhale in his reply telegram pointed out: "Conversation private and accidental- Its public use improper". He added that Tilak should have his own party to function."

Basu did not read out Gokhale's reply in the Subjects Committee, but quietly showed it to a few friends. When Subba Rao showed it to Annie Besant and asked her if Tilak's telegram was consistent with Gokhale's "she had to admit that it was inconsistent".

When Besant introduced the amendment at the Congress, the supporters of Gokhale mustered sufficient majority to defeat it. The issue was shelved by appointing a Committee to submit a report to the Congress in the following year.

On January 21, 1915, Tilak having learnt of the contents of Gokhale's letter to Basu, wrote to "My dear Gopal Rao" to ask whether he had changed: "I had openly avowed my intentions of adopting the boycott of the Government and the obstructionist methods of the Irish if I entered the Congress."

Gokhale replied immediately affirming that he had used the words "Irish Obstruction" though not "boycott of Government". His own change of heart concerning the possibility of reunification, Gokhale added "was due to the statement made by you to Mr. Subba Rao after his return to Bombay you should have no difficulty in recalling conversations with Mr. Subba Rao."

But Gokhale did not imagine that his erstwhile friend was merely seeking aid to refresh his memory. "I now understand that Tilak intends sending these letters for publication to the *Patrika*", he explained to Besant.

The matter I fear, is going to be an unpleasant to me, but I am prepared to stand by every word of what I have written and fight Tilak if he wants to have fight in the Law Courts, as I have plenty of evidence in my possession in support of my statement. My object in writing to you today is only to tell you that after this I can have no more personal relations with Tilak and therefore I will send them on to him the statements which you intend publishing.

In reply, Besant expostulated with Gokhale - Don't worry. You must guard your body for future work and your life is a thousand times more important than Tilak's presence in or absence from Congress.

Tilak wrote to Gokhale insisting that he never went beyond advocating "the right to press for and work on lines with the four Calcutta resolutions which you well know refer only to the boycott of government and certainly don't refer to Irish methods."

Gokhale refused to agree that Tilak confined himself within the limits of those resolutions but was satisfied that "even that statement of yours conveys a sufficient

meaning to those who have a clear recollection of what you and your Party advocated in 1907".

Ten days before he died, Gokhale wrote that as he remembered the New Party's methods of 1906-1907, "they were a constant denunciation of the present Congress methods as 'mendicancy' and of present congress leaders as 'sycophants' and the advocacy of a programme of which the most favoured item were obstruction and universal boycott. Tilak continued to insist, however, that the peace negotiations had floundered not because of anything he said or did but rather because the Bombay conventionalists refused to accept any terms.

The action of Gokhale led to a fierce and unseemly controversy in which many hard words were said on both sides. While it was still going on he passed away on 19th February, 1915.

What was the reason for the failure of the efforts of Besant and Subba Rao Pantulu to bring about the Compromise?

Gokhale was afraid that once back into the Congress, he would wreck it with the help of his Extremist followers. In a letter to Besant, he recalled his earlier encounters with Tilak and his trials and tribulations. He narrated :—

"It was with the help of such a following that Tilak captured the Poona Sarvajanak Saba—the work of Ranade's hands—and destroyed its usefulness in less than twelve months (the Government placing it under a ban owing to

its excesses). It was with the help of such a following that he nearly wrecked the Congress at Poona in 1895 and finally it was with the help of such a following that he actually wrecked the Congress at Surat in 1907. I was one of his principal antagonists in all those three contests and I know that he can do with his following and what he cannot"

It seems Gokhale was also afraid of the opposition of the diehard Moderate leaders, Mehta and Wacha. This is clear in the following words of his :—

"You know that I have been as keen as anybody these three or four years for a reconciliation but now that Tilak has raised the question of methods, we must have a clear statement from him as to what his methods are and wherein they differ from the present Congress methods *before those for whom I can speak will bestow any further consideration on the question of Compromises*".

This was the crux of the controversy over the Congress Compromise. The talk about the compromise continued during the whole of 1915 and at the Bombay session of the Congress, a satisfactory change in the constitution was made by which association of not less than two years standing and having colonial self-government by constitutional means as its ideal could elect the delegates.

EARLY TRADE AND EXPANSION OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

Dr. S. R. BAKSHI

In the year 1807, on the landing of Lord Minto I on the Indian shores, the British Empire in India was barely fifty years old. The dual character of the East India Company was well-marked. Its commercial and political activities were parts of a consolidated plan of Empire-building in all its senses. Starting with the commercial end, it had jumped into political arena after about one and a half centuries, largely due to a historical inevitability for safeguarding its commercial interests, but not without the ambition of having political hold over the country. The benefits once drawn from politics it became difficult to distinguish one from the other till 1813, when its commercial monopoly with India was withdrawn by a Parliamentary legislation as the consequence of an organised agitation by the adventurous English mercantile interests to reap benefits denied to them till then.

The first phase of the East India Company's career in India lasted until the complete disintegration of the Mughal Empire by the middle of the eighteenth century and the death of Nawab Ali Wardhi Khan of Bengal in 1756. During this period, the commercial prosperity of the East India Company was based on its peaceful commerce under the patronage of the Indian rulers which was ungrudgingly extended to them and also on their fair dealings with the Indian merchants which they continued in their own interests. Its first aim was to

obtain concessions and to buy cheap from India. Its other motive was to secure exclusive commercial opportunities for itself as against its European rivals. The most significant opportunity to achieve these ends came in 1717, when John Surman's mission to the Mughal Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, succeeded in securing for the company an Imperial Farman containing privileges of free trade with the Mughal provinces. This was the greatest achievement for a commercial company to acquire. By this Imperial favour, the English East India Company emerged superior to its European rivals. It acquired pre-eminent position in the foreign trade of India and stabilized its mercantile interests.

Thereafter, the Company gradually consolidated its commercial position in Bengal, Gujrat, the Carnatic and Hyderabad. Outside India, it developed trade relations with Burma and China. During this period, the Company never missed an opportunity to give wider interpretation to the privileges contained in the Imperial Farman and to fortify its commercial factories as a measure of precaution against the growing political troubles in India. On the death of Ali Wardhi Khan, the authority of the Nawab for advancing their own interests. They openly abused the commercial privileges and built up military strength, fulfilling their long-cherished ambition which Aurangzeb had effectively crippled. In 1757, they

removed the inconvenient Siraj-ud-Dowlah from the musnud of Bengal and set up a puppet, Mir Jaffar. In the same year they crippled the French and in 1759 they destroyed the Dutch influence in Bengal. As a result of three Carnatic Wars from 1746-1763, the French were ousted from the commercial markets of India. Their fortifications were demolished and they had to content themselves with their isolated settlements. Now the East India Company had no European rivals left in India.

The period from 1757-64 forms a turning point in the history of the East India Company in India. It is marked by the establishment and expansion of its political influence, military power and firm economic hold over Bengal. During this fateful period, there was complete political demoralization, economic and commercial exploitation and transfer of loyalty from the Nawab to the Company in Bengal. The process of this transfer first started in the wake of the British victory at Plassey in 1757 which laid the foundation of their political power in India and gave them virtual control over the rich valley of the Ganges and access to wealth as yet undreamt of. In 1764, the East India Company attained a high political stature by the defeat of the combined armies of Bengal, Awadh and Delhi at Buxar. Consequently Diwani of Bengal was acquired; control over the Northern Circars was secured and friendship with Awadh was established. Bengal came under the dual administration of the Company and the Nawab.

The period commencing from 1765 was the worst period in the history of the Bengal subah. During this period of power without

responsibility, the political and economic life of Bengal was virtually ruined, and mal-administration of the East India Company reigned supreme. Commercial mal-practices multiplied; industrial handicrafts began to decline; agricultural out-put was reduced; unemployment and poverty increased and terrible famine occurred in 1770. The fate of the Northern Circars was no better. In spite of the new advantages secured, the Company became hopelessly bad largely due to illegal private earnings of its employees. All these necessitated Parliamentary interference in the affairs of Bengal in 1773, when by the Regulating Act the political status of the East India Company was recognized by the Parliament and its affairs were regulated. From this date were noticed four distinct phases of the East India Company viz, commerce-expanding, empire-building, empire-administering and parliamentary control over its work.

The growing political supremacy of the British in Bengal and some other parts of India placed them in a position highly favourable for the establishment of their monopolistic control over India's trade and economic resources. The commercial monopoly enabled them to increase the quantity of their investments for which there was more and more demand by the merchant class in England. During this period, the East India Company began to utilize the surplus territorial revenues of Bengal to finance its increasing investments in India as well as China.

The commercial confusion created by the private European trader and the Company's

servants was successfully removed by Warren Hastings. He stimulated the flow of trade ; firstly, by abolishing all custom houses except at five main centres, viz. Calcutta, Hughli, Mursaidabad, Patna and Dacca ; secondly, by lowering duties on all goods except salt, betel-nut and tobacco to a uniform rate of 2 per cent for all traders ; thirdly, by removing the system of gomastas which had proved to be notoriously oppressive to the weavers ; and, lastly, by encouraging the Indian craftsmen to sell direct to the Company. [By these measures, trade was encouraged, unfair competition prevented, extortion reduced and the Company's income increased. Another means by which he increased the commercial resources of his principles was the acquisition of monopoly over the opium trade between Indian and China.

When the East India Company, its servants and other free traders of England were engaged in enriching themselves and their country by their commercial adventures in India, America and other parts of the world, England was passing through a new phase of industrial activities which destined to change the shape of things to come. As a result, there was a well marked change in her industrial economy in the second half of the eighteenth century. Between 1779 and 1786, a series of important discoveries in the technique of spinning, weaving and bleaching took place by which England gradually began to produce cheap textile goods on a very large scale. Consequently, there was surplus production which needed foreign market.

In 1783, the Court of Directors transmitted to Bengal three boxes containing muslin

produced in Manchester which appeared to them better in quality than the one manufactured in Bengal. After five years, on August 20, 1788, they stated that with the Indian cotton, England was in a position to produce white piece-goods, good enough to compete successfully with the Indian piece-goods in the foreign markets. The protectionist policy adopted by England to encourage its growing industries by increasing import duties, had already enabled the British manufacturers to under-sell the Indian textiles in the British market. With the passing of years, they also began to under-sell them in the foreign markets also. Thus, with the growing anxiety of the British manufacturers to stimulate, in every possible way, the foreign demand for their textile products, England emerged as a potential rival to the cotton goods of India in the world market. It was in the interest of the British manufacturers to import raw cotton from India and to export their surplus textiles to foreign markets including India in place of the export of Indian piece-goods by the East India Company. To this, the East India Company was the greatest hindrance. The need to overcome this difficulty engaged the serious attention of the British manufacturing interests.

The rapidly changing industrial economy of the England, the increasing surplus productions in the new industrial plants, gave rise to new commercial ideas in England. As early as 1776, Adam Smith published his famous treatise, "An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations", in which he attacked the exclusiveness of the commercial companies and characterised the East India Company as a

harmful relic of the past. Challenging the doctrine of regulated trade and the monopolistic system of commerce, he explained that they hampered business and curtailed the national wealth of the country. His thesis that monopoly is always disadvantageous and that the free exchange of commodities benefits all, was built upon a close analysis of the East India Company's monopoly and of the effects of the Acts of trade upon Great Britain and her colonies. He emerged as the propounder and champion of the *laissez-faire* theory of commerce which militated against the current theories of monopoly and mercantilism.

Till then, the chief role of the East India Company was to carry Indian products to foreign countries and earn huge profits. At this juncture, whatever necessary, was change in the role of the East India Company from carrier of Indian manufactures to foreign markets to a carrier of British goods to India and other markets. This necessitated complete transformation in the system of the East India Company's mode of commerce. The Court of Proprietors who were used to a set pattern of trade with India, which was gainful, free from complexities and risks and had become a sort of pet routine, were disinclined to take resort to a fresh and uncertain adventure necessitated by the new forces at work in England and advocated by the rising industrial bourgeoisie of that country. Under these circumstances, the vested industrial interests of England became the opponents of the East India Company's mode of trade. They felt the need of a free market in India in place of the existing monopoly;

William Pitt the Younger who became British Prime Minister in 1783, felt attracted

towards the new commercial ideas and devised ways and means of subserving British interests by their adoption. His favourite, Lord Cornwallis invigorated the East India Company's trade, but nothing was done to promote free trade. In England, the East India Company's commercial policy was denounced as harmful to its growing industries. In 1788, the British manufacturers appealed to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Board of Trade and the Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger against this harmful policy of the Company. Their proposals were to encourage the import of the finest Bengal cotton to prohibit import of cotton yarn from India and compulsory re-export of three-fifths of all mulmuls, doreas, cossaes and Balasore handkerchiefs. Denying the charge of injuring home manufacture, the Board asserted that any restriction on the East India Company's trade would divert India's trade to foreign channels, increase smuggling and affect the revenues of India.

In 1792-93, when there was another slump in the British market, the manufacturers again started their clamour. They approached Sir Henry Dundas for remedial measures and asked for prohibition of import of Indian cotton goods, compulsory import of raw cotton by the Company, imposition of a ban on export of textile machinery to India and export of British manufactures to India and China. As a result of this agitation, the import of raw cotton from India was encouraged to feed the British textile industries; and devices were found out to acquire markets for their surplus goods. This was facilitated by the European Agency Houses already operating in India since the days of Warren Hastings. Their

commercial and financial activities adversely affected the economic fortunes of the indigenous mercantile magnates.

The operation of cotton mills in England caused their manufactures suddenly to leap into new importance. The export of the British cotton goods to India showed a steady rise on account of the numerous inventions and discoveries which helped to increase the efficiency of their manufactures and to establish themselves in the home-market. Whereas the value of the exported British cotton goods to India in 1780 was £ 335,000 it was £ 85,000 in 1785 and £ 410,000 between 1795 and 1800. British commercial policy during the latter part of the eighteenth century continued to be marked by the general protectionist ideas that had prevailed since the Restoration. Not only did the import duties continue to increase, but all sorts of interferences with the free course of trade were perpetrated by Parliament with the object of protecting home industries. Whereas in 1765 Indian cotton piece-goods imported into Great Britain had to pay an ad valorem duty of 45% a further 10 per cent was added to it by 1782. From 1797 onward fresh duties were imposed by Parliament on articles imported into England. The English tariff policy and the rise in the export of British goods led to the decline of the export of cotton piece-goods from India; and from the year 1799, practically the whole of the calicos imported into England from India were re-exported thus proving how completely they had lost their place in the English market.

Besides, the British in the early years of the 19th century did all they could to promote British exports at the cost of Indian

exports. British manufactures were imported into India without paying any duty, while Indian manufactures were shut out from England by prohibitive tariffs. The foreign manufacturer thus got an opportunity to utilize the political influence of the East India Company to keep down and ultimately strangle an Indian competition with whom he could not even have contended on equal terms. This policy did not only reduce the import of Indian manufactures into Great Britain, but also resulted ultimately in the gradual loss of other foreign markets which began to be progressively captured by the British manufactures. The inevitable consequence of this change in the character of the foreign trade of England vis-a-vis that of India by 1807 was most adverse on the flourishing Indian textile industry. The East India Company, however, continued to enjoy its monopoly of Indian trade in spite of clamours by the British traders in favour of free trade.

Besides its commercial aspects, the East India Company also engaged itself in its programme of empire expanding. Taking full advantage of the political disintegration of India and mutual dissensions of the Indian Chiefs, it found a fertile ground to strengthen its hold by exploiting the situation and becoming a political power by 1765. By the Regulating Act of 1773, it acquired a legal status as a semi-sovereign political body acting under the direction and authority of the British Parliament without loss of its pre-eminent commercial ascendancy. Henceforth, Parliamentary control over the East India Company's affairs began to take shape and eleven years after by the Pitt's India Act of 1784, it was considerably strengthened. By that time, while Great Britain had lost its

colonies in America by political tactlessness, in India Warren Hastings consolidated British hold over Bengal and Northern Circars, strengthened British influence in Awadh, Hyderabad and the Carratic, concluded peace with the Marathas and Tipu Sultan in 1782 and 1785 respectively, and laid the foundation of the British administration in the subjugated territories.

As a consequence of the loss of American colonies, Lord Cornwallis was instructed to adopt a pacific and defensive policy as laid down in the Pitt's India Act. Preservation and consolidation of the British Empire rather than its expansion were the greatest considerations before him. In his political relations with the Indian powers, he is popularly known as a non-interventionist. But in actual practice, expediency rather than any set principles guided his deliberations and policies. He considered Tipu Sultan of Mysore as the greatest enemy of the British interests in India, and apprehended the possibility of an anti-British alliance between him and the French in the event of an Anglo-French conflict in Europe. Determined to ward off this dangerous possibility and convinced fully of the inevitability of a war with Mysore as a part of the British struggle for survival and expansion in India, he successfully negotiated an anti Mysore alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas, apparently for defensive purposes, but really with offensive intentions. At a suitable opportunity, this alliance led to the Third Anglo-Mysore War in violation of the friendly Treaty of Mangalore and the guiding principles of state policy; contained in the Pitt's India Act. As a consequence of this war, Tipu had to sign a humiliating

Treaty at Seringapatam by which his power was crippled. He had to pay huge war indemnity, give his two sons as hostages and cede half of his kingdom, including the sea-coast of Mysore and the mountain passes leading to the State of Carnatic. This was the greatest political achievement of Lord Cornwallis by which British resources and prestige increased and the chances of anti-British French intrigues became remote.

Sir John Shore was a thorough going non-interventionist. He carried out literally the instructions of the Court of Directors at the cost of friendship with the Nizam who, on being beaten by the Marathas, lost faith in the British and reorganized his forces under the control and supervision of French officers. This unfriendly attitude of the Nizam and the revival of French influence in the Deccan were the legacies, Sir John Shore left for his successor.

Lord Wellesley was a bold and enterprising imperialist. He abandoned the policy of non-intervention, considering it as inexpedient and no longer a guarantee for British security in India. Taking the plea of danger of French invasion on India in alliance with the discontented Indian powers, he decided to raise the East India Company to a position of preeminence by destroying or crippling its enemies and planting its authority in every capital in India. He realized that India had been drawn into the vortex of European politics and, therefore, Indian politics must be dictated by the needs of the situation in Europe. Emulating the examples of the architects of the ancient Roman Empire and assuming the role of a pro-consul, he vigorously prosecuted wars of expansion on a grand scale, overawed the princely states of

India, and brought them within the network of subsidiary alliances.

The first Indian prince to be crushed effectively was Tipu Sultan, then known to be the most formidable enemy of the Company. Suspecting his anti-British intrigues with the French and fearing Napoleon's invasion of India, he defeated and destroyed Tipu in the Fourth Mysore War and brought his state under the Company's control, thus putting an end to the uneasy situation that had so long disturbed the British minds in South India. This success secured for the Company substantial territorial, economic, commercial and military advantages and it raised British military prestige in India.

After this military success, Lord Wellesley turned his attention towards the Marathas whose formidable power stood as a challenge to British expansion in India. Taking advantage of the growing dissensions among their confederates, he persuaded the Peshwa to accept British protection by the Treaty of Bassein. This annoyed the other Maratha leaders and led to the second Maratha War in which Bhonsla, Sindhia and later on Holkar were defeated and compelled to sign humiliating treaties at Devgaon, Surji Arjan Gaon and Rajpore Ghat. The Gaekwar of Baroda who had not participated in the war, accepted British protection by the Treaty of Cambay. Consequently, Peshwa agreed to maintain a subsidiary force of 6000 in his territories and ceded to the Company the province of Gujrat in perpetuity. The Raja of Nagpore agreed to the clauses of the subsidiary alliance and ceded Cuttack to the Company. Sindhia ceded the territories between the Jamuna and the Ganges. By these treaties, the Maratha confederacy was

torn asunder; its political weakness was exposed and its final end seemed to be certain by another military stroke. Besides, Tanjore, Carnatic and Surat were annexed to the Company's territories.

Besides these two wars and annexations, Lord Wellesley dexterously developed an imperial policy based on the subsidiary alliances made with the Indian princes in immediate contiguity to the Company's territories. This was a cleverly drawn out scheme for an indirect extension of the Company's sovereignty and an effective method of defence without expenditure. The states which joined this system, were required to keep a subsidiary British force at their expense at their capitals as a means of their protection against internal rebellion and external attacks. They were required to surrender their external sovereignty to the British, to remove foreigners from their services and territories. They were also required not to wage a war with any state without British knowledge and consent. The Company guaranteed their safety. Thus, the 'princely fly was firmly enmeshed in the British political web and any hope of escape was idle'. The efficiency of these treaties in undermining the independence of their beneficiaries was soon apparent.

Lord Wellesley also brought the Nizam's kingdom, Travancore, Cochin, Awadh and 'temporarily' the Rajputana states under the operation of the subsidiary system. Although large tracts of territories still remained outside direct British rule, Britain had become unquestionably the most important power in India. His vigorous forward policy made the Court of Directors apprehensive of a formidable reaction against British rule in India. They felt alarmed by his habitual violation of their orders by him and recalled him.

His successors, Lord Cornwallis came to India to pacify the enraged Maratha leaders by a more considerate policy towards them. But his career was cut short by his sudden demise within a couple of months. However, he outlived a plan for revoking the objectionable policies of Wellesley and appeasing the Maratha princes without giving up the major gains. This policy was carried out by his successor, Sir George Barlow, who adhered to non-intervention as a policy of expediency in order to consolidate peacefully the territories, acquired by Welles-

ley and reorganised the affairs of the Company. He dissociated himself with the affairs of the States not directly bound by Treaties and allowed the states of Rajputana and Central India to be dealt with by Holkar and Sindhia as they chose. Gohad and Gwalior were restored to Sindhia. This policy was criticized by British officers in India. Metcalfe characterized it as 'unworthy, weak' and described some of the arguments advanced in support of it as 'monstrous'. This was the political state of affairs, when Lord Minto I arrived in India as Governor-General.



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Industrial Recession and Employment

One of the most urgent among the problems that has been facing the country for some time and which appears to have come to head immediately following the Fourth General Elections and assumption of office by new Governments in the States and at the Centre, is the mounting recession in the engineering industries and its impact upon employment. The problem is one which affects the entire country, although its impact would inevitably fall more heavily upon regions where there is greater concentration of such industries. Thus the State of West Bengal having a greater concentration of such industries than elsewhere in India except, perhaps, in Maharashtra, has been feeling the impact of the trouble more than most other regions.

It would however be a gross distortion of undeniable facts that this recession has very recently emerged and that the general tendency only recently discernible, on the part of employers to curtail personnel to conform to the reduced demand for their products is dictated purely by the economic compulsions of the situation. For the fall off in the demand for the products of most engineering industries has not emerged only after the last elections; it has been a continuing symptom ever since the Planning Commission was compelled to undertake a mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan and which had already assumed a measure of comparative staticity by the end of the Third Plan Period.

Another incontestable fact to remember in this connection is that most of the engineering industries adversely affected by this so-called recession are feeder industries catering to the needs of large industries both by way of components and/or durable consumables, or those who have been playing some role in the process of boosting India's export trade. Most such smaller engineering industries have been affected by reason of what is now being discovered as wrong and extravagant planning. One of the most outstanding examples of such extravagance is the sizeable expansion undertaken in the Indian railways' carrying capacity. This may have been due simply to a wrong allocation of priorities. On the assumption that the national economy as a whole would expand in terms of national income, during the quinquennium corresponding with the Third Plan period by some 36 percent at constant prices, railway capacity was sought to be expanded by some 40 per cent during the same period. In actual effect, however, the economy is now found to have advanced by no more than some 12 per cent. The inevitable result has been as recently disclosed in the report of the Railway Board's new Chairman, that the railways are now burdened with a surplus carrying capacity covering more than a third of their gross capacity. Some part of this obviously extravagant item of Plan allocation was in turn, due to the extravagance in the assess-

ment by the Planning Commission of the potential demand for coal. It is notorious how the Planning Commission had gone on revising their estimates in this behalf from an initial 93 million tonnes, on to 97 million tonnes and then on to 105 million tonnes, but even raising coal at the comparatively modest rate of 87 millions tonnes per annum, most collieries were burdened by around the middle years of the Third Plan, with huge pithead stocks not, be it underlined, on account of shortage of waggons as has traditionally been the case formerly, but simply for lack of orders. Even the steel works, the public sector plants not excepted, have been facing a similar crisis. If expansion of steel capacity had gone on according to estimates included in the Plan, India should have had a gross 10.3 million tonnes ingot capacity commissioned to production operation by the end of the Third Plan term. In actual effect, however, the total capacity laid down measured up to no more than 7.6 million tonnes gross and the actual level of production by 1965-66 remained well within 6.4 million tonnes. The steel factories have also been similarly loaded with accumulated stocks worth crores of rupees which they are now unable to sell. The public sector steel plants have been trying to dispose of their stocks through heavily subsidized exports, but even here the results do not seem to have been very encouraging.

We shall come to these various questions in separate notes, but our immediate concern is the measure in which the present alleged recession in the Indian industries should

affect the incidence of employment. We have always held that it was a gross repudiation of basic economic laws: first, to have a heavy industry oriented plan to the comparative neglect of and indifference to agricultural development. We have, at the same time, again and again pointed out in these columns that too much emphasis upon heavy producer industries without some measure of corresponding boost in consumer production would inevitably lead to a runaway inflationary spiral from which the Planning Commission would find it extremely difficult if not wholly impossible to extricate the national economy. It is wholly erroneous economics to assume that abundance of purchasing power without a corresponding supply of consumer products can only lead to increasing measures of voluntary savings; all that such a market situation can lead to and which has been actually happening, is the emergence of an intractable inflationary spiral. Some measure of corrective might have been found through taxation, but capitalists would appear to have been successfully coercing successive Finance Ministers all through the years since Independence, into such noxious alleys and by-ways of public taxation which instead of helping to mop up surplus purchasing power and thus to hold steady the price line, has been having the exactly opposite effect, making the taxation structure of the country itself one of the most powerful boosts to inflation.

The resultant situation has become one of extreme and intractable complication. With a general recession in industry, one

would suppose that normally the healthy forces enabling the re-establishment of a buyers' market would gradually come into play. What we actually find to the contrary, however, is the paradoxical situation of continuing price rises against a background of recession in demand. The claim of industry is that its continued profitability alone could be expected to maintain production at normal levels; since that is not possible in the present situation, production has got to be curtailed to conform to reduced demand and curtailment of production would inevitably mean lay-off or retrenchment of personnel.

The question of profitability is not, in the present context, one easy to determine. Since cost of production must determine the value of a product and consequently qualify its profitability to the producer, an analysis of the cost factor is an inescapable requirement of the situation. If such an analysis were to be undertaken by a team of wholly uninterested experts it would, we have no doubt, be found that the cost-boost which we have been experiencing since 1950-51 has been, at least in part, due to the emergence of powerful manufacturers' cartels so far as the products of industry are concerned and, in the agricultural sector, to extensive black-market operations by powerful tax-evaders and profiteers. The process has been a snow-balling one and both sectors would now appear to have acquired such mass and momentum that they feel they are powerful enough to crush out of existence anything that may come in their way. If

what we anticipate are the true facts of the situation, the question of profitability, so simple on the face of it, would at once assume a most sinister significance.

What, then, is the remedy? The answer may be, as some schools of opinion insist, the eventual extinction of private enterprise. But having regard to our experience of the public sector over the last fifteen years and longer, it would be far from an encouraging prospect. By and large, our public sector enterprises are full of nepotism and corruption and, consequently, of inefficiency and wastefulness,—of course at public expense and, of course, to the glee and profit of private sector *entrepreneurs*. To the detached and scientifically equipped observer, the only legitimate answer would seem to be the re-establishment of a vigorously competitive economy. But privileged private sector operators through the closed cartels which they have developed, would naturally do everything in their power to prevent the re-establishment of a really free competitive economy. The only way may be to wholly destroy or liquidate them.

The Governments of some States appear to have entered into a short temporary truce with employers in the matter of lay-off or retrenchment of personnel. This may be all too short and even if the employers may agree to an extension of the period of truce, it can only be a palliative. They should give up the preconceived notions which their particular "*isms*" may dictate and should look at the matter on a long term perspective.

Immediate dislocations, in either case, may be wholly impossible to avoid ; but a long term and permanent solution can be the only remedy. They must realise that the re-establishment of a healthy "*Sellers' market*" which can only emerge out of a fiercely competitive economy, is the only means to sustain and widen the area of *effective demand* which can be the only reliable determinant of *economic growth* and which alone can lead towards gradual *full employment*.

Britain And the Common Market

The British Government has been assiduously canvassing with not a great deal of success so far, for entry into the European Economic community and a share in its *Common market*. When the Common market was initially conceived and when Britain might have found a position of some significance in the *Community* as an original member, she did not evince a great deal of interest in the move. It was not unlikely that with her industrial and economic potentials as high as they were at that stage of post-World War II, history compared to the war-shattered economics of W. Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries, the proposed European Economic community would, she thought, be a drag on rather than a stimulant to her own economy. Britain, therefore, prepared to organise her own economic community comprising the more affluent Scandinavian countries under the banner of the EFTA and in which she would be able to play a role of undisputed leadership.

In course of a very few years however,

Britain realised her mistake and started to canvas for an opening to join the community. It was, perhaps, because British leaders had not then been able to properly evaluate the economic and political potentialities of the E. E. C. and visualize its significance in the future of Europe. It may also have been due to their naturally greater reliance upon the NATO and the economic consequences that were likely to flow from its military and political dominance upon Europe. There was no doubt that the E E C was initially conceived as a sort of economic counterblast to the NATO and the power and the influence that the U. S. primarily, and the Anglo-American bloc generally, wielded in its counsels.

The E E C and its common market was not, therefore just a new kind of international cartel for dominating a given market for motives of profit and gain, as many mistakenly had conceived it to be at the initial stages. Its primary objective was, no doubt, to initiate common economic activity for rebuilding the war-shattered economies of the countries that had thus got together by eliminating wasteful competition among themselves and exploit a common market to their mutual advantage and benefit. But an ancillary objective, that of thus playing down the dominant role of the NATO in these respective countries and its eventual extinction, was also not very much under the surface.

For one reason or another Britain did not, at the initial stages, evince a great deal of interest in this new kind of move. Not long afterwards, however, she realised her mistake and started negotiations for secu-

ring her own entry into the Community. But even then she proved herself very short-sighted by seeking advantages for herself and the common wealth; especially in respect of the rule of common import tariffs for all member countries. The EEC's economic concepts were based upon what may be described as a *high-cost* economy and incentive parity between industry and agriculture and it was only natural that the Community would seek to protect its own respective national economies from the danger of dumping from *low-cost* countries. Britain's problems were complicated by her vital dependence on agricultural imports and the consequent need to maintain low cost agricultural imports while, at the same time, regaining her losing European markets through the EEC's common market; her reliance upon the EFTA in this respect had already proved completely abortive.

The EEC, however, was not as eager to entertain Britain's entry into the Community as the latter was to join it. Especially De Gaulle of France was understandably opposed to Britain and effectively blocked her entrance into the Community. The economic principles guiding the EEC is free and unrestricted competition within each national boundary to ensure a high level of efficiency in production both in industry and agriculture and the elimination of competition between countries in exploiting and controlling the Common Market. In Britain, however, the principles guiding economic activity were a little vague and not a little confused. The brief Labour regime that had failed to last more than about eight months when it captured the Government after the war under Clement Attlee's leadership, had initiated socialization

of the means and process of production in certain vital areas of Britain's industrial activity; the steel industry was nationalized which very largely, was restored to the private sector by the Tory Government that succeeded Attlee's Labour Government. With the restoration of Labour to power under Harold Wilson pressures had again begun to build up towards re-nationalization of steel. The Wilson Government had, at the same time, intensified their efforts to secure an early entry into the EEC and had been assuring the EEC authorities that the very keynote of her economy was based upon the level of efficiency which free and unrestricted competition alone could effectively ensure.

But, it appears, that the main cementing principle holding the Wilson Government together against the pressure that have been building within the Party was the commitment to nationalize the steel industry. Initially, his the very slender majority, Harold Wilson was naturally not very eager to pin issue with the opposition on this score. But with the healthier majority now at his disposal after the 1966 elections the Wilson Government felt strong enough to face this unpopular issue by a 306 against 204 majority, the nationalization Bill has been passed through the Commons under the provisions of which 14 among Britain's largest steel Corporations accounting for 90 per cent of Britain's steel output, will now be absorbed in the state owned national steel Corporation. The cost will be enormous, to buy out the shareholders alone would cost something like Rs. 1,125 crores. Crores of rupees more would be required to implement the many and ambi-

tious reorganization plans the National steel Corporation contemplates. With the pound sterling as weak as it is today, this might be a more serious burden than one imagines.

The immediate excuse for this measure is, of course, the familiar one of the need for modern-modernization and reorganization to eliminate wasteful duplication. There was no doubt that many of the plants had grown sluggish, wasteful and even shoddy, a fact which ill-matched with the importance of the industry as a whole in Britain which ranks the fifth largest in point of production after the U. S. A., Russia, Japan and W. Germany. But is nationalization the real answer? Other industries in the nationalized sector such as air lines and railways have been consistently deteriorating under state management. But what is more important is how this will react upon the EEC which Britain has been so assiduously wooing with assurances that her economic policies were *aggressively* attuned to free competition.

The Kennedy Assassination

The assassination of a ruling president has neither been unusual nor extraordinary in U. S. History. When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated within a comparatively short period after he had assumed office, shocking as it was to the whole world abroad, the event might not have, understandably, created unusual pressures within the U.S. political climate. But the suspicion prevailed, especially outside the U.S.A., that the assassination itself, although perpetrated by a lone mad man reported to have been suffering from

emotional instability and mental disorientation, might have been the culminating act in a deep laid conspiracy. Point was lent to this suspicion by the fact that the assassination occurred in a Southern State where the President was admittedly unpopular on account of his vigorous integration programmes which had been creating stubborn resistance and even defiance all along the line.

A quietus was put upon this nagging suspicion when Chief Justice Warren, who was appointed to head a Commission to investigate the circumstances leading to the tragic event, reported that there was no evidence to suppose that the assassination was not the act of a mad man entirely on his lonesome and that the later assassination of the perpetrator of the crime while in custody by Jack Ruby was not part of a conspiracy to destroy evidence pointing towards itself but was, again, the act of an emotionally disturbed individual.

But when the celebrated Manchester manuscripts became the subject of widespread controversy and even of a law suit against the author by the Kennedy family, the old suspicion appears to have resurrected. One particular aspect of the controversy over the manuscripts between the writer and his publisher on the one side and the Kennedy family, especially Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy on the other, apparently related only to the allegation that the proposed book violated the terms of the "memorandum of understanding" between the writer and the Kennedy family and, thereby, unwarrantably invaded the privacy of the bereaved wife and the family. The parts of the manuscripts which

related to the former Vice President's behaviour immediately following the assassination, seeks to present Lyndon Johnson as a heartless individual consumed by fires of his own ambition before which the ordinary decencies of life and conduct were ruthlessly brushed aside. It has been said that Manchester, who has long been a personal friend and admirer of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and was naturally deeply emotionally involved in the tragic occurrence and the events that immediately followed the assassination, has been a little extravagant and, consequently, perhaps, a little out of proportion in his presentation, but no one appears to have questioned the accuracy of the facts upon which these presentations were based. It may also be true that the writer hated Johnson with a deep and abiding revulsion, as some people have suggested, and which may have led to the blowing up of certain incidental facts to a magnitude all out of proportion to their importance in the total picture. Be that as it may, the Manchester manuscripts on *The Death Of A President* and the controversy over it appears to have led to second thoughts about the circumstances of the assassination in certain quarters and to a revival of investigations in that connection. The initial glimmerings of a conspiracy to assassinate the President to have already been unearthed and and some people have been apprehended for questioning by certain District authorities. It is too early as yet to lead to definite conclusions in this regard but, *prima facie*, the suspicion that there was a conspiracy to eliminate President Kennedy cannot now be as summarily brushed aside as appears to have been earlier done by

the Warren Commission. That need not, however, involve Mr. Justice Warren in any allegation of deliberate imperviousness to evidence; the evidence later alleged to have been unearthed pointing to such a conspiracy may not, simply, have been brought up before the Warren Commission.

It may be wise to underline the fact that world-shaking as the Kennedy assassination was to the outside world, the event does not appear to have roused more than a mere ripple on the surfaces of U.S. public life. The assassination of a ruling President has neither been new nor unusual in American history. Nearly a score of Presidents of the U.S. before John Fitzgerald Kennedy have ended their careers at the hands of dastardly assassins and that may have been one of the reasons why the Kennedy assassination appears to have been accepted by American public life without that sense of shock and the urgency of thoroughly probing its circumstances as would have been inevitably in any other civilized country. President Johnson may have done all that was formally needed of him in this connection, but his later public utterances and actions do not seem to indicate that he had any very deep sense of personal loss in the tragic event. It may simply have been due to his aggressive and ruthless ambition before which everything else, including the fact that the first significant step towards his present high office was made for him by President Kennedy, may have paled into comparative unimportance.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation

With the first nuclear tests successfully carried out by Peoples' China more than two

years ago, both the western Democracies and Government of the U. S. S. R. appear to have been roused to a sense of urgency for world action towards containment of nuclear proliferation. This sense of urgency was further heightend when China exploded her second nuclear device. Apparently, the apprehension began to gain ground that with the spread of nuclear know-how, the urgent need to contain the proliferation of nuclear arsenals among, so for, non-nuclear nations has become insistent. And this sense of urgency alone seem to have brought the Democracies and the Soviet Union together to devise a non-proliferation measure comprehending the non-nuclear nations. The ideological rift between China and the U. S. S. R. would appear to have considerably added to this sense of urgency in the U. S. S. R.

Share of its political sanctimoniousness, what, in actual terms, are intended by the so-called draft nuclear non-proliferation treaty? The nuclear powers, under this draft treaty, would be allowed to retain their present initiative in nuclear armaments they would also have the right to continue researches towards further development of lethal nuclear devices and to carry out tests in the air above and below ground. Non-nuclear nations would be required to guarantee that they would not undertake any nuclear development programmes except for purely peaceful purposes and the nuclear nations will have the right of inspection over their nuclear establishments to ensure and confirm that these guarantees are fulfilled and conformed to.

This is as blatantly a one-sided agreement as anything could imaginably be. If this were accepted by the smaller nations

would be felt quite as exposed to possible nuclear attacks as they have always been without any guarantee that they would, in that event, be afforded protection. Nor would they be allowed to asses the strength of the respective nuclear arsenals of the nations who have been proposing to impose this infamous treaty upon them, for there is nothing reciprocal in the draft treaty and all the guarantees and obligations are wholly one-sided.

The matter has been before the world for quite some time now. It is also a fact that the newly emancipated and nonaligned Afro-Asian nations look upto India for air objective lead in such matter. Until the matter came to a head recently the Government of India's External Affairs Ministry appears to have been criminally indifferent to the issues involved. Even as late as recent deplomatic palavers in New Delhi on the subject, India's known attitude seemed to be one of indifferent acceptance of the draft treaty. It was only when there was a storm of newspaper comments and protests that Mr. M. C. Chagla, the most inept among a series of inept External Affairs Ministers of the Government of India, tried to make some hasty amends by stating that the logic of nuclear non-proliferateon was prior nuclear disarmament.

Of course it is, but Mr. Chagla would appear to have been following all the wrong words and methods to ensure it. Even afterwards his manner of trying to secure support for his Government towards such an end at the highest diplomatic levels in other countries would appear to have been following lines of questionable propriety.

Mr. Chagla's loyalties to Washington and London are quite well known, as are those of some of the most powerful among his Cabinet colleagues in the counsels of the Government of India. But that does not excuse his sending out subordinate secretaries to meet heads of state of other nations and discuss the problem with them on his behalf. Nor does it excuse his indifference—if not worse—to be threat of China's nuclear development and the urgent and imminent need to either begin to develop her own nuclear potentials even to cover all her needs if need be, or obtain sufficiently adequate and reliable guarantees that India would be afforded instant and effective protection if such a potential threat as exists looks likely to being translated into actual effect. Without seeking to do neither Mr. Chagla appeared to have almost agreed to sign on the dotted lines, perhaps, because it would please his friends in Washington and London and would possibly earn him equally good friends in other important world capitals including Moscow.

Anglo-American Military Centres in the Indian Ocean.

The news that both the U.S. and the U.K. Governments have been endeavouring to secure some small and scarcely inhabited islands in the Indian ocean somewhere South East of the Andamans group for establishing new military centres in these regions has given rise to considerable speculation as to the possible purpose of such acquisitions.

With her colonies and dependencies now wholly liquidated the Government of the U. K. can have no possible peaceful objectives for seeking to establish such military centres. The U. S. Government's involve-

ment in S. E. Asia notably in Vietnam—has been rapidly widening over the years and may excuse, from the U. S's own point of view, the decision to establish new military centres in regions which will enable the U. S. armed forces in S. E. Asia to effectively cut down their lines of communication from their supply bases.

The propriety of such a point of view is, obviously, a highly questionable one on normal ethical as well as ordinarily political grounds. But Lyndon Johnson is not notorious for a basically ethical attitude on world questions. But whatever the propriety of the matter, nations situated in the immediate vicinity of the region where the Anglo-American powers have been trying to establish such centres, would have every reason to fear such a move and raise vigorous objections. Lyndon Johnson, apparently, is determined to try to contain the spread of communism in South East Asia beyond the southern frontiers of China; he might as well try to arrest the progress of an avalanche on its downward course; and it is not unlikely that with such contiguous centres of supply and support established on the Indian Ocean, the eventual eruption of half a dozen more vietnams may not entirely be a remote possibility. Apparently, Lyndon Johnson and his team of political and military advisers at the White House and in the Pentagon would do the most they can do within Johnson's present and possibly, last Presidential term. In pursuing this programme of relentless battle against communism, he would not, apparently, count the cost to his nation, in men and money alike. Such a megalomaniac is not at all safe to live with as a neighbour.

The Vietnam War

It is amazing, the indifference of the U. S. public, to the consequences of U. S. involvement in the so-called Vietnam War to the U. S. Treasury and to America's young man-power. In 1966 alone the incidence of deployment of American armed personnel to Vietnam has been stated by Johnson's Defence Secretary MacNamara to have exceeded 300,000. And this war has been going on for a much longer period than either the First or the Second World War. Lyndon Johnson, apparently, is not interested in any political settlement of the matter, his occasional offers to agree to sit at a conference table opposite President Ho Chi Minh notwithstanding. What he has been seeking out utterly failing to obtain was to enforce a settlement favourable to his own policies on the battle ground. Experts, many Americans included, seem to predict that whatever the measure of escalation of the war, such an objective would continue to prove as illusive as at present.

The propriety or otherwise of America's intrusion into the Vietnam conflict is something which would bear examination. A puppet anti-communist regime was set up in South Vietnam with American subversion in both money and arms. It was perhaps, expected that with the might of American money and arms at its back, the puppet South Vietnam Government would be easily able to subdue and suborn communist resistance and would soon reduce it to complete impotence. As events turned out, however, these prophets have all been proved hopelessly wrong and however much the U. S. may escalate the war in Vietnam today, the same thing would hold good even today.

The amazing thing about the Vietnam war

would seem to be that world opinion as a whole seems to be quite outspoken about the complete illegitimacy of America's participation in it and even a very powerful section of American opinion including that of Senator Fullbright is opposed to continued U. S. involvement in the affair. The plain fact would seem to be that the Ky regime is no more than a mere front for Lyndon Johnson's policies in Vietnam. It is America's war, not Ky's war in Vietnam and although Lyndon Johnson is currently reported to have promised General Westmoreland all the support in additional men and arms, the end of this demoralising conflict still remains very much beyond sight. In fact the American Administration themselves seem to be far from confident that a final conclusion can ever be reached on the battlefield by conventional warfare. Currently certain sources seem to be speculating if nuclear arms should not be employed to end the conflict is the question which is occupying the consideration of the Pentagon advisers of President Johnson.

If that were so, it may be impossible to contain the war and prevent the possible recrudescence of a world holocaust. World opinion, through the U. N. Security Council if necessary, should take serious note of these fearful possibilities and take concerted international action to force Lyndon Johnson and Ho Chih Minh to a conference table. What complicates possibilities in this behalf is the moral, ethical and political irrelevance of the U. S. intrusion in Vietnam. Secretary General U. Thant has already been vigorously moving in the matter; neutral nations have also offered to host a conference on uninvolved ground towards such an end, but the obstinacies of the Johnson Administration

seem to have been barring all progress. The possibilities ahead are clearly fearsome and world thinkers must take upon themselves the task of rousing the conscience of America to enforce Johnson's acceptance of a peaceful settlement.

Stalin's Daughter

The defection of Stalin's daughter, reportedly the late Dictator's favourite child, from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic appears to have created a minor ferment all over the world. It appears that she obtained the necessary travel permits from the Kremlin and the corresponding visa from the Indian Government on the plea that she wished to carry the ashes of her dead Indian lover—officially she was not allowed to claim him as her husband—to the latter's home in India while in India she reportedly sought asylum with the U. S. embassy in New Delhi which for some reason or other not yet fully explained was not granted. The U. S. S. R. Minister in New Delhi, it appears was instructed at the same time to ensure her immediate return to Russia. There has been some talk of her having asked for an extension of her Indian visa, a report which does not appear to have neither been confirmed nor clearly repudiated by the External Affairs department of the G. O. I.

The next chapter in this exciting story seems to reveal that while the U. S. Government would not grant formal asylum to Madam Svetlana, their Central Intelligence Agency assisted her to leave India and obtain temporary residence in Switzerland from where after a couple of weeks stay, she flew to New York and has been in hiding. She has, however, addressed a press conference

there in the meanwhile in course of which she appeared to have explained that the principal reason why she wished to defect from the U. S. S. R. was that she had become disillusioned by the principles and applied strategies of Communism much as they enamoured and hypnotised her in her young days, that she had come to have acquired a deep and abiding theistic faith and that she wished to live her own life independently in the light of her own beliefs and faiths. It has been explained by a spokesman of the U. S. Government that the question of political asylum in the U. S. for Madam Svetlana has, so far, not been before the Government and that when the question does for come up, if it does, it will certainly be given due and sympathetic consideration by the appropriate U. S. authorities. It has also been added that there was no question of her becoming a charge upon the U. S. exchequer as her own means were ample for her needs and that, in any case, the proceeds of her own Memoirs which were under the active consideration by an outstanding and very well to do firm of U. S. publishers, were likely to be large and substantial enough.

The whole episode would appear to be exciting enough if only as a further demonstration of the notorious Communist reluctance to allow the necessary freedom to any of its defecting citizens to repair to a more congenial social and political climate of their own choice rather than confirm to live in the stifling atmosphere of a social and political in which they may have lost faith. This certainly is a repudiation of one of the fundamental articles of faith—'freedom from fear' incorporated in the famous U. N. Charter and to which the Government of the U. S. S.

R. happen to be one of the *original* subscribers. This, however, is not the first time that something like this, demonstrating the method of dealing with its own citizens by the U. S. S. R. has happened nor will it, we are afraid, be the last of such occasions.

What, however, would appear to be even more interesting is the manner of the Indian and the U. S. Governments dealings with Svetlana. It does not seem to be quite clear if Svetlana had actually sought political asylum with India. It appears, however, to be reasonably certain that she asked for an extension of the visa permitting her Indian visit and even if it may not have been refused outright it seems that the Indian Government were not too eager to oblige. It is not known if the External Affairs Ministry may not have received any communication, verbally or otherwise, from the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi influencing the former's attitude in this behalf. Similarly, the U. S. Government also did not seem to have been all too eager to grant political asylum to Svetlana although their C. I. A. appears to have done all that was necessary and possible to facilitate Svetlana's flight from India, first to an unknown destination in Switzerland and then on to the main land of the U. S.

It is obvious that both the Indian and the U. S. Governments were reluctant to embarrass themselves with the Russian Government on Svetlana's account. The reason obviously was that neither Government were quite ready to strain the rather tenuous threads of *peaceful-co-existence* regulating the mutual relations between their own respective Governments and that of the U.S.

R. There were too many interests political economic and others, involved and neither Government appeared ready to risk any kind of an open breach on grounds which, however legitimate and just, concerned only an individual and could not, therefore, be allowed to intrude between nations. But, as things have actually turned out, the apprehended embarrassment could hardly be said to have been entirely avoided. On the other hand, both the Indian and the U. S. Governments may well have appeared to have been playing the role of an unimaginative buffoon on this account.

Wilson and the Labour Party

Harold Wilson is reputed to be a strong man. He must also be an extremely worried one. For obvious reasons he has been strenuously following up the efforts of his Tory predecessors in office to seek an entry into the sacred sanctum of the European Economic Community with a view to sharing its Common Market. And it appeared recently that he had almost succeeded.

This, despite the fact that the Council of the E. E. C. would not tolerate socialism and one of the inviolable conditions of entry into this sacred preserve of the *affluent European* was that one must abide by unlimited freedom of competition. Wilson had to concede that passed traditions of his party notwithstanding his Government had been vigorously pursuing a line of "aggressive competition" in their economic endeavours. But the clamour for re-nationalization of the U. K. Steel industry which after Labour's brief innings under Clement Attlee had been *de-nationalised* by the McMillan Tory Government had been gathering accelera-

ting momentum within Labour rank and file so that Wilson had willy nilly to concede the demand and, now bringing within the nationalized steel Board 90 per cent of U.K.'s total steel capacity.

How this heretic departure from the 'straight and narrow' path of absolute free competition would be regarded by the E. E. C. authorities affecting Britain's candidature for entry into their *sanctum sanctorum* was already a question packing a considerable amount of nervous apprehension. But what has been happening since is even far worse. It appears that quite a considerable section of labour back benchers have now been raising quite a lot of dust opposing Britain's

candidature for entry into the E. E. C. This revolt within the party will probably be as ruthlessly quelled as only Harold Wilson knows how to and which had earlier earned him the epithet of the *Headmaster*. But even so, the mischief may have been done. The Council of the E. E. C. have never been very eager to accept Britain as a fellow member and it was with trepidation and not a little reluctance that they have been considering her candidature. This latest revolt within the Party, even if it were quelled effectively may provide just that excuse which some, at least among the E. E. C. leaders to renew their opposition to Britain's entry even at this late stage.



KEEPING UP WITH KNOWLEDGE

K. B. GAURI

While man continues to probe the universe for solving the mysteries which he does not know, a major occupation has grown up on his own planet in trying to keep track of all that he does know. The new technology, still too young to be christened, is grappling with the formidable problem of knowledge storage and retrieval. The time is long past when Encyclopedia Britannica could sum up the whole store of knowledge and keep it up to date in successive editions. The magnitude of knowledge has proliferated as much that if a scientist tries to read and know about all that has been published in his field for a year, he will find himself a couple of years back-dated. We are facing a viatual explosion of knowledge denoted as "information explosion".

MEASURING THE EXPLOSION

Since the Second World War, the big science', which has become a state undertaking, has grown in strides. The U. S. Government is estimated to be spending 19 billion dollars—65% of the national outlay on science. Even our own public expenditure on scientific research has gone up 16 times during the period 1946—1962. The Research Reports published by the U. S. Government have multiplied 412 per cent since 1957. Scientists have published, to date, papers, books etc. currently estimated at approximately 6 millions, increasing at the rate of about a million annually. The total knowledge is doubling itself in every 8 years. Some one has estimated, that the "world is churning

out some 2,000 pages of printed matter every minute, 24 hours a day. The white pages sift like snow into the libraries of the world. They are shelved, filed, photocopied, microfilmed, digested by computers, classified, catalogued, indexed, translated and abstracted and every 60 second another 2,000 of them flop damp from the presses".

It is believed that much of the literature published is either repetitious or redundant and is less motivated by the desire to communicate the information that its producer thinks useful than "by ego-satisfaction, academic promotion, grantsmanship and managerial promotions". The cry of "publish or perish" is well known in the academic circles. All this has produced conflicting opinions whether we should allow unhindered growth of published mater or regulate it.

TECHNICAL OBSOLESCENCE

This Tower of Bable in knowledge is producing such a "noise" (calculated as the ratio of the number of failures in searching to the number of items of total collection) that it is becoming increasingly difficult to either keep track or retrieve the required bit of information. If a bit of information generated in any part of the world has not entered the national or international grid, it lies untapped and unknown to researchers in the field which might result in duplication and repetition of the whole work. Complete information in packages of his own liking and interest is very essential for a scientist to keep himself abreast of the

progress being made in his field throughout the world. A recent study published in *NATURE* has estimated that at the present rate of research and discovery, the training of a scientist is adequate for about five years and he must grow 20 per cent in knowledge—10 per cent for keeping pace with the advances made and 10 per cent to replenish the loss of unused knowledge he acquired earlier—per annum to remain of equal value to his employers. New tools and procedures, namely, computers, copying and recording devices and rapid communication systems are being deployed to meet this threat of technical obsolescence which has been termed as "at least a hundred billion dollar problem".

CLEARING-HOUSES OF KNOWLEDGE

With the society increasingly becoming dependent upon the recorded knowledge (external memory), the social and economic development is directly linked with the growth, effective dissemination and diffusion of produced knowledge. Proposal to set up a World Cooperative Technical Information Pool in the United Nations has been put forward to make available all the scientific and technical information across national frontiers and language barriers. Such a Pool it is expected will increase the efficiency of operation of development activities to the tune of 10% to 15% and result in saving of one billion dollars a year in the development resources. In the United States, this subject has been the main concern of two Presidential Committees for exploring and recommending the ways and means for expeditious and effective control of the existing and the produced knowledge. It has been stressed in these Committees' reports that

all those concerned with research and development must accept the responsibility of the transfer of information in the same degree and spirit that they accept of research and development itself.

Since the scientist under this deluge have neither means nor time, particularly in the inter-disciplinary advances, to know what exists and what is going on concurrently in their own field of specialization, clearing-houses of scientific and technical knowledge, sometimes called as documentation of national information centres (hybrid of libraries)—the grids—have been established all the world over on national and international levels which collect, index, abstract and evaluate the information for them. This is in a way packaging industry of knowledge. In India, we have Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre which has been given the status of a national laboratory, to sift, organize and disseminate the scientific information on national level. Its counterpart in social sciences and the humanities has yet to be established. In England too, last year, the Office of Scientific and Technical Information has been set up by the Government.

ALTERNATIVES TO PUBLISHING

The growing stockpile of knowledge challenges the time-honoured methods of publishing. Though traditional methods of publication, with indexing and abstracting services, which have little changed from the more leisurely days of nineteenth century are struggling valiantly to digest and control the explosion of knowledge, they suffer from disadvantages, which, as they become costlier and bulkier, makes them progressively more difficult to digest even these pre-digested volumes. The reviewing publications too can hardly survey

the vast field spread out in so many languages. Alternatives to this method of publication and possible selective dissemination of published information are being explored.

As for as the quantitative and the numerical data is concerned mechanical and electronic devices like punched cards and computers have been devised to code, store and manipulate the information and reproduce it with their memory when called upon to do so. But the handling of descriptive information expressed in language and other non-quantitative forms poses an insuperable problem. Coding the written language, its translation, analysis of its subject contents, meaning and relevance of concepts for mechanized handling are being vigorously pursued and tackled. The dream of a scientist and every individual as visualized by some fiction writers to have a sort of private file and library on microfilm—a "memex"—and the required information available by dialing like telephone may be a reality one day.

In Boswell's words, "knowledge is of two kinds: we know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it". The first type is fast becoming difficult and second impossible due to magnitude and rate of growth and proliferation. If we want that the knowledge as "input" be utilized effectively and the resulting "output" again

act as feed-back to better research and development, the writing, publishing and learning habits of the individual and the community have to be given more serious consideration as compared to what has been taken for granted and established method of keeping up with knowledge.

This explosion has its impact on philosophers too. The interest and recognition evoked by the writings of Father Teilhard de Chardin is a testimony to this fact. Father Teilhard's concept of noosphere—the realm of thought and spirit—basically expounds, on the basis of growing dimensions of knowledge, that from now onwards the evolution and perfection of human species will be in mind and spirit and less in the organic and physical domain. The spiralling growth of knowledge and challenge it poses for its exploitation might produce adaptations in human beings to veer more towards mental perfection. The science of genetics—rather "surgical genetics"—which hopes to control and make on order the future man something on the pattern of Huxley's Brave New World man carries some possibility of realization in it. We stand today on the watershed of the history of the human race. Some inklings of what might happen in the next few generations has started showing.

PAINTINGS BY AND ON POET TAGORE

K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

*"Not my way of salvation, to surrender
the world!
Rather for me the taste of Infinite Freedom
While yet I am bound by a thousand
bonds to the wheel....
In each glory of sound and sight and scent
I shall find thy infinite joy of abiding:
My passion shall burn as the flame of
salvation,
The flower of my love shall become the
ripe fruit of devotion...."*
(Rabindranath Tagore)

The Sri Chitra Art Gallery at Trivandrum in the Kerala State, opened by His Highness the

Maharaja of Travancore on the 26th September 1935, provides the best epitome of the outstanding examples of Eastern Art, and fulfils its mission of providing to the visitors ample facilities for the enjoyment, education and development of artistic taste. Organised by Dr. J. H. Cousins, with accent laid on quality, the Sri Chitra Art Gallery is unique in its illuminating display of Rajput, Mughul, Tanjore, Indo-European, Indian Mural, Modern Indian, Tibetan, Balinese, Chinese and Japanese Paintings.

The Modern Indian Painting Section of the Sri Chitra Art Gallery contains a comprehensive, representative, and well-chosen collection of works by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, his

disciples, and their pupils, working in widely separated cultural areas, who have made truly outstanding contributions to the revival of Indian Art. This section gives a substantial, if not complete, idea of the Indian Art Renaissance. Among these visually charming and aesthetically satisfying studies in lines and colours are a typical and highly individual study of *The Bird* by Rabindranath Tagore, striking portrait studies of the Poet by such stalwarts as Ardhendu Prasad Banerjee and Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir in which the artists' analysis of character probes the living essence of the outer form, *The Home Coming* by Nandalal Bose, a pictorial jest, suggesting a classical frieze, depicting in line drawing the return of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore from one of his foreign journeys, and *Poet and Poetry* by Kanu Desai, a fine composition with a portrait of poet Tagore and the Muse of Poetry above him. All these works merit special attention by the sublimity of theme and the method of presentation. Only artists with poetic tastes, soaring vision and imagination, who have imbibed the lofty tradition and culture of Santiniketan and drawn inspiration from the composite and multifaceted personality and work of the Tagores will be able to paint such studies in which more is meant than that which readily greets the eyes.

Towards the evening of his great life, in his seventieth year, Poet Tagore took to painting seriously as a means of expressing the surplusage of his creative energy, and produced effortlessly a large series of impromptu pictures, in water proof inks, and water, poster and tempera colours, highly individual and spontaneous in content and style composed of uncommon elements. His childlike play with brushes and colours, which at first gave a rude shock to several well-informed people, became too soon a major event in the history of Indian Painting. Prodigious in quantity and quality is Tagore's output of Sketches and Paintings, for there are nearly 3000, all told, most of them in fairly large size. Tagore's paintings possess a primeval intensity of composition conspicuous in its absence of any deliberate attempt at organisation, and an obvious inner rhythm. They are untutored and inevitably naive, yet profoundly spiritual. Said the Poet, "My morning was full of songs. Let sunset days be full of colour".

One such study in the *Sunset of the Poet's* life, from the realm of fantasy, which is outstanding in its artistic integrity and personal interpretation, absolutely new and aggressively original, and full of mystery, *The Bird* (8½"×7"), painted in 1932, adorns the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery*. The anatomy and portraiture of *The Bird* are at variance with the general accepted conceptions; the rendering of the bird is not "correct", as to be obviously interpreted as novel and grotesque, artistically clumsy and not true-to-life at first sight. Blue black, light green, golden yellow, and light blue are the colours used in low and high tones by the poet-artist with brilliant pictorial effect. The tempera and ink colours are juxtaposed without transitions, with clarity, simplicity and strength, uncluttered by any mannerism in style or technique. Into this truly remarkable study, the motives of which are so personal as not to be capable of classification the poet has brought an uncanny force and forthrightness, a freedom and thoughtfulness of expression, all exclusively his own. With its head raised and breast thrust forward, the dignified looking and proud bird is strutting about, absolutely indifferent to, and even scornful of, the surroundings. The body of the bird has a light green colour. Its wings are golden yellow. A winged creature of the Poet's own conception, refusing to fall within any ornithological group, optically unreal in certain respects, it is full of dynamism and grace. The background is predominantly blue in colour with a tinge of grey here and there. Is it a symbolic representation of the bird of dawn breaking the gloom and darkness of the night? A painting in slick modern, non-representational, style independently arrived at, which arrests attention, *The Bird* has much of the imagery, symbolism and native rhythm of Tagore's poetry. The vast majority of Paintings by Tagore bears his signature in Bengali and not in English. In this unique study of *The Bird* Tagore has put his signature in English.

The complete absence of conventional charm and *systilisation* of the Poet's art creates an impression of primitiveness at once rare and impressive. Writing in 1932 about his paintings, Rabindranath Tagore said: "I really do not understand the how and wherefore of my pictures. They are like a flight of dream-images setting

p chromatic dance.....All that is, is born out of joy". Tagore's *The Bird* illustrates in his own exclusive language of colours the truth of his statement of fact. What the Poet had said of his nephew the great Artist Gaganendranath Tagore, soon after his death in 1938, is equally applicable to the Poet's art as well. Said the poet :

*"You ranged from shore to shore
Of colour and line,
You were merged deep
In the very heart
Of Beauty".*

Lin Yu-Tang has said : "Poetry and painting come from the same human spirit and it is natural that the spirit and inner technique of both should be the same. The painter shows the same impression, the method of suggestion, the same emphasis on an indefinable atmosphere, the same fantastic union with nature". Tagore has stated : "My pictures are my versification in lines. If by chance they are entitled to claim recognition it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and not for any interpretation of an idea or representation of fact". This provides the key to unlocking the gates of perception to the understanding of Poet Tagore's paintings.

Ardhendu Prasad Banerjee's portrait study of Poet Tagore's profile (15"×11") has been done with great refinement and delicacy of line and chromatic harmony reminiscent of the old Chinese and Japanese Masters. It is painted on silk with high sensitivity and consummate technical mastery over the exquisite wash medium. The Poet is depicted as seated in a chair after the Chinese pattern, wearing a loose Olive green robe which covers the entire body, from neck to foot, blue and white slippers, after the Japanese style. He wears a blue cap. Sure yet delicate rush strokes in black executed with great flow and skill accentuate the folds of the robe, and the contours of the body and relieve the monotony of the garment. The poet is in a contemplative mood. A thorough grasp of realism with restraint, characterised by the deep psychological insight and skill in capturing the characteristic essentials of the Poet, is evident in this portrait study. Blue, green, white and pink colours in low tones are used sparingly as to produce the maximum effect. It is a fine character study of

the poet, expressing the majesty and grace of his outer form, and the inner spirit.

Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir's amazingly alive study of the profile of Poet Tagore (12½"×10") is vigorous, broadly treated, and powerful. Done in oil colours, the vivid and dashing brush strokes are definite and broad. White, cream, and blue black with a tinge of scarlet are the colours used with subdued harmony and telling effect. The artist has not cared to delineate the details of the poet's face. The sharp outlines and discreet colouring ably individualises the personality of the poet wrapped in thought, and demonstrates the artist's mastery of synthesis and rhythm. Khastgir has succeeded in rendering the dignity, serenity and charm of the personality of the poet, his strength of will, and noble features, with plastic effect, leaving an indelible impression in the mind of the spectator about the intense inner and intellectual greatness of Tagore. The serene countenance and monumentality of the figure are superbly expressed.

Poet and Poetry (10"×14½") by Kanu Desai is a delightful poem in subdued colours, a lyrical, imaginative and realistic study, in water colours, expressing the rare mastery of the artist over exquisite linear rhythms and chromatic harmony. A true-to-life profile of the poet is given at the bottom portion of the exposition. Sensitive colouring and astute insight go hand-in-hand with an uncanny knack of catching and accentuating the essential traits of physiognomy and the characteristic attitude of the personality portrayed, in Kanu Desai's portrait study of Gurudev Tagore, the rhythmic dalliance of which is soul-searing. Above the head of the poet, amidst clouds, the Muse of Poetry in the form of a lovely damsel with a lighted lamp, is seen making devotional offering. The all-pervading rhythm of the composition is superb. Pink, yellow and blue are the colours used by the artist with pleasing effect. The Muse of Poetry has the appearance of a cultured Gujarati Lady of great physical charm. The picture may also mean the tribute paid by Gujarati to the Poet.

Nandalal Bose's *The Home-Coming* is a finely executed panel, on the model of a classical frieze, embodying in following and articulate lines a succession of incidents in one picture. Of considerable historical value and interest is this dynamic line drawing done in the famous

and unequalled classic idiom of Nandalal Bose. The Poet's return to Santiniketan from one of his journeys abroad is the theme of this panel which measures 9ft×7ft. It tells a story vividly in a pictorial idiom which proclaims the beauty and fluidity, flexibility and subtlety, of line in Indian Art. The frieze is in four parts. The first part shows five youthful messengers conveying the happy tidings of Gurudev's return to Santiniketan from a long tour. With smiles illuminating their faces, they are running, displaying the strength, ebullience and beauty of youth. In the second part, the *Cavi Guru*, austere and magnificent, in his long, flowing robes, is seen leading the party. Behind him walks Rev. C. F. Andrews, with a bag in his hand. The Poet's son Rathindranath Tagore comes close behind Rev. Andrews. A lady follows next. Behind her are young men, one of them with a box on his hand, and a stripling. In the third part are depicted representatives of the staff and students of Santiniketan, five young men and four ladies, beaming with joy, love, and regard, waiting to receive their beloved Gurudev, with garlands, *Purnakumbham*, and other auspicious things, including fruits and flowers. Strings of mango leaves adorn the route. Indications of typical Bengal landscape and rural life, plantain and palmyrah trees, and traditional *alpana* design, intersperse the composition in a decorative and suggestive manner to keep in with the truthfulness of the theme, the local atmosphere, and pictorial values. In the last part, the finest maidenhood of Bengal is seen offering the Poet traditional welcome by washing his feet with water and offering him fruits and flowers. The panel closes with a lotus design as a decorative motif and calligraphy in the Bengali Language. The cultural and aesthetic life, and beautiful landscape of Santiniketan, an epitome of Bengal, find their charming expression in this study which expresses Nandalal's genius as a master of line drawing. Accurate, expressive and accomplished draughtsmanship that renders vividly the peculiarities of form without cumbersome details, and the spiritual atmosphere, the balance, harmony and monumentality of composition, contribute to the incomparable excellence

of *The Home-Coming*, a pictorial document of great historical, cultural and social importance.

There is another famous lyrical and imaginative painting in the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery* with which Gurudev Tagore's name is associated. *The Spirit of the Storm* (11"×7½"), a masterpiece of Indian Art, by Asit Kumar Haldar, one of the foremost of Indian Artists, painted in May 1922 while he was at Santiniketan, now adorns the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery*. About this lyrical, romantic, mystic, painting, a poem in colours, the artist himself a poet of distinction, says thus: "I did it during the spell of hot weather at Santiniketan. The heat was stifling, and no body could stir out for days. One day it so happened that all of a sudden a dark cloud glided over the sky and drove out the scorching sun, bringing a temporary relief from the terrific heat. The dark lady, rowing a boat, with hair flying in opposite directions, is represented as the soul of the rain-cloud which is trying to drive away the heat of Sun. That is to say the picture represents the approaching monsoon. I generally ask Dr. Tagore to suggest some suitable name for my paintings and he very kindly finds titles for them. Sometimes he allows me to quote suitable passages from his poems. To this picture Dr. Tagore appended a line from one of his own songs of *Versa Mangal*!"

"O-go amar Shraavan Megher kheya tarir
majhi

Ashru-bhara purab hawar pal tulo aji
Udas-hriday takayeray
Vojha tahar noybhari noy
Pulak-laga ai kadamber koballa saji".

Translated into English, the song reads thus :—

Oh I, my queen of the plying ferry of the
Rain-clouds. She has spread for her sail the
East-wind brimful of tears,
And stores out with an empty heart
With a load which is no more heavy
Than that yonder bunch of Kadamba
flowers
With all their hairs thrilled on their ends.

Indian Periodicals

We reproduce below the editorials of two periodicals, Link and Now:

The Week

The Prime Ministership of India is not an office. To regard it so and use it as a source of power was not wisdom even when the Congress had the vast majority in Parliament it had. Such an approach only weakened it and made the incumbent look out of place. Hereafter attempts to do so may well bring disaster to the party and create serious constitutional difficulties. Therefore the leaders of the Congress and the Congress Party in Parliament should pay special attention to the problem of choice of the Leader. The Prime Minister for a number of years to come will have to be a factor of integration, a force that can stand up to reactionary and destructively regional pulls that have become political quantities. The Congress in its dotage may not be able to produce a single individual with the requisite qualities and the support of a sufficient number of party-men inside Parliament and enough weight of public opinion outside.

The Government of India under the leadership of the present Prime Minister has proved itself inadequate both in its capacity to understand problems and averse to implementing radical policies demanded by the times. Its approach to difficult economic situations that demanded forthright support by the people was always coloured by its oppressive fear of losing American patronage

and nervousness over the possibility of a truly socialist order taking root in the country. Such attitudes made it vulnerable to diplomatic assaults by Washington and sly blackmail by feudal and monopolist reactionaries at home. This led to hurried preparation by political extensions of vested interests like the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh to assume power wherever the vacillation of Congress Governments in the States and at the Centre, appeared to sap the people's faith in a socialist transition. on the one hand, and on the other to a revival of activity by the masses of working people who began to realize that unless they asserted themselves the paralysis of the Congress would lead to the strengthening of Rightist forces in the country. The election was fought in this atmosphere. Inevitably there was great confusion wherever the Congress showed signs of weakness. Two Left-oriented and one obviously reactionary State administration have been formed. In other "non-Congress" States confused alliances have taken office.

These will begin to submit the Central Government to pressures it has had no experience of. Simultaneously, the imperialist powers who have come to the conclusion that the Congress has lost its traditional pride in independence will certainly demand more implicit obedience to them from the Central Government. Is the leadership that devalued the rupee in a spurt of scare, handed over the fertilizer industry to foreign capitalists, threw open educational institutions in many parts of

the country to the ministrations of the C.I.A. and let communalists, maharajas and big capitalists threaten it at will, competent to be in charge of Government at such a juncture? Will it not at the least sign of danger go completely over to reaction pleading need for stability?

These are the questions Congress legislators and the rank and file of the party should ask themselves and not those they have been taught to ask themselves in recent years. Congressmen have tried to get over the difficulties created for their party by total lack of ideology by reducing all problems to factional contradictions and trying to answer them in terms of personalities. The Prime Ministership of India, too, is sought to be won or lost according to the strength of factions within the party and the success of propaganda in the press. It is indeed a sad pass to which the Congress has come and there is no way out of it except through radical essays in changing outlook, habit and, where necessary, personnel.

Link, March, 12, '67

All Our Yesterdays

The tamasha in New Delhi is over. Mrs Indira Gandhi is to continue as Prime Minister with a new Cabinet in which her favourites have been upgraded and two or three experts included. Mr Kamaraj, who once introduced a clever plan to revitalise the Grand Old Party and help Nehru get rid of some dark horses, has seen to it that the most important of them is back. Others had got back earlier. What effect their return had on the confidence of the people and on the strength of the party was seen in the last elections. Let us hope that history will be repeated sooner than expected.

Not that Mrs Gandhi should have been allowed to have her way in the party and the Government. Under her regime India has been following the slippery path of capitulation to reaction at home and abroad. But no change in that policy will occur just because Mr Desai is in. They will be in

the same boat, rocked now and then by mild tensions between the stern puritan and the Westernised lady. This might in turn revive hopes in the Left Establishment in New Delhi that Mrs Gandhi, somewhat chastened after the elections, might twist to the left. There may be another appeal to radical forces in the country to rally round the fair lady. Illusion—or political opportunism—dies hard.

A theme of absorbing interest is Centre-State relationship. Even some people in the ministerial wing of the Left CPI seem to have been taken in by assurances of complete co-operation by Mrs Gandhi. They should beware—or their party should. The Centre is not likely to be friendly to Kerala and West Bengal. Kerala, at the moment is a hard cashew nut to crack because of the plight of the Congress there. West Bengal is vulnerable because of the assorted nature of the present Ministry. Just because the Ministry is multicoloured the Center is expected to be more insidious in its approach. The Ministry will hold together if the people do so.

To return to the Prime Minister it does not matter much who heads the Congress Government in New Delhi. The Congress is doomed and perhaps it is better to have the fair lady preside over the disintegration of the corrupt body. Is there anybody in that body who can give it a shot in the arm and save India from a further period of economic misery and international humiliation? If a modern Draupadi had looked at the assembled Congress MPs in Delhi last week she would have walked away into the deserts of Rajasthan in disgust. The way they behaved over the election of their leader was comic in the extreme. Mr Desai, who thought one day that the country needed a competent man to rule it changed his mind the next day after he had clinched his deal with Mrs Gandhi, perhaps under the advice of his astrologer, and said; "All that is over. Yesterday was yesterday".

So have been all our yesterdays. Tragic, for the country but not for those who misrule it.

Now, March 17, '67

Foreign Periodicals

CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS : WHO CAN AFFORD TO BE HONEST ?

Although India since Independence and especially under the guidance of her Congress Government and its Super-Cabinet, the Planning Commission appears to be deliberately setting out to Americanise herself, it is nevertheless true that even among the *instate* there is no more, so far, than only a confused understanding of the modern American social and political system. For instance few in this country have any notion of the vast potential for abuse of public funds and official prerogatives that reposes in the hands of an ordinary Congress man.

From time to time some noise is made and a little mud splattered on such issues, but on the whole the old system continues placidly undisturbed and unrevised. One is reminded of the notorious Powell case. In the school of ethics in which the average Indian is traditionally brought up and nourished, the Powell case would normally, be regarded as roguery of a kind which would merit the utmost penalties of the punitive laws. But the most that the U. S. Congress could think of doing was to deprive him of his Congressional privileges, although it could not prevent him from seeking re-election or from being re-elected to his old seat. There are other recent cases of a similar hue. There was, for instance, that other notorious case of a trade union President who has been convicted to a long gaol sentence running to years on charges of em-

bezzlement of Union funds aggregating well over 3 million dollars, but whose annual salary of several thousand dollars a year has nevertheless been voted to him by his union.

All these would seem to indicate a tradition proneness in the American social and political systems to compromise with and tolerate evil ; only when all the limits of tolerance are blatantly exceeded—and it takes a good deal of doing—is there some action taken, but never, so far, to such an extent that the evil itself can be rooted out or withered. In India the line dividing right and wrong has traditionally been regarded a both sharp and distinct. Lately, however, this sharp and well-defined and distinctive line of division between right and wrong would seem to be blurred out. The increasing worship of American affluence and American ethics—it seems one cannot import one without the other—appears to have been correspondingly invading Indian political life and, from there, rapidly infiltrating into the ordinary Indians' social behaviour, especially among that class of Indians who claim—and take pride in it—modern sophistication.

An analysis of these events and their possible implications has been published in a recent issue of Time Magazine under the above caption, which should both be instructive and interesting.

The U. S. Congress consists of 100 Senators and 436 Representatives from every State and every social background, ranging from millionaire to former Coal miner. There is no reason to assume that this body

includes a greater number of crooks than any other comparable sample of 535 Americans. But is that good enough? The U. S. voter takes a fairly cynical view of politicians, more or less expecting them to be up on their campaign buttons in patronage and various forms of skulduggery. But at the same time he also expects (or wants) them to be above the more blatant forms of corruption. That is why Adam Clayton Powells pecadilloes, Senator Thomas Dodds shifty manipulations of "campaign funds" and the late Senator Robert Kerr's wheeling and dealing with Bobby Baker have agitated two Congressional Committees and large sections of public opinion about the ethics of Capitol Hill. The central question is posed by Powell's crass claim that "everybody else is doing it too."

Is everybody else really doing it? The answer is no. While Powell may be in a class by himself, by legislators would indulge in the shennanigans practised by any of these three. Says Republican Representative Charles Matias Jr. of Maryland. "Most of us are honest all the time, and all of us are honest most of the times." Still many legislators do accept practices which are separated only by a line—sometimes strong, sometimes faint—from the actions of the trio under recent scrutiny.

The abuse of *perquisites and privileges* by even far more distinguished legislators in the past does not appear to have wholly unknown or even rare. On the contrary in fact. *The Time* essay continues:

Things used to be far worse. In 1833, no less a figure than Daniel Webster wrote the President of the Bank of U.S. that if he wished the Senator's help against an attack on the Bank, "it may be well to send the usual retainers." Big businessmen often "bought" themselves Senators by bribing the legislatures, which at that time elected them, leading Mark Twain to remark; "I think I can say and say, with pride that we have legislatures that bring higher prices than elsewhere in the world."

Nothing so blatant can occur in an

era of relentless publicity. Today's public doubts Congress's ethics begin in the area that is not necessarily the most important but is the most visible: perquisites and privileges, abuse of public funds and private gifts. A Congressman's or Senator's allowance for his office staff is strictly apportioned by law according to the size of his constituency—and is usually inadequate. Many Congressmen (51 at latest count) of modest means employs relatives in staff jobs, and the practice is not necessarily wrong. In Powell's case, however, his wife did not work in his office and he just pocketed her salary.

Unlike these fixed allowances, committee funds—for investigations, inspection trips, miscellaneous expenses—are highly flexible and easier to come by. Ohio's Wayne Hays, who now heads a House ethics sub-Committee, not too long ago attended a NATO meeting in Paris with a delegation that included the House restaurant's headwaiter, three aides and eight members' wives. The flying legislators have to pay their wife's living expenses, though obliging hoteliers have been known to ink out the "Mrs" on a Congressman's hotel bill. No one denies that many trips are entirely legitimate, if only because they give the legislator an expanded awareness of the world.

When it comes to Congressional high life, public funds play a secondary role to private offerings. Inevitably legislators are courted men, surrounded by friendly lobbyists or lobbying friends, legitimate advocates and illegitimate pleaders. How far can a legislator go in accepting hospitality or perquisites without becoming a "kept" man?

The U.S. Code of 1926 declares it unlawful for any member of Congress to accept "any money or thing of value" intended to influence his action on any pending issue. He is also prohibited from accepting compensation for helping to procure "any contract" from any U.S. agency. But what is a "thing of value"—and what constitutes "influence"? Today most legis-

lators follow the rule of accepting as gifts only what "eaten or smoked in a day." Others set some monetary limit, for example dollar 5. Quips Ohio Senator Stephen Young: "I arbitrarily declare every bottle of bourbon worth dollar 4.99."

Few legislators worry about accepting expense account meals or "attending lavish parties. Paid hotel suites, rides in Company planes, week-ends or vacations can be a little trickier. Practically every member of Congress has some wealthy friends and acquaintances, many of them with country houses where a legislator can recuperate from the Washington wear and tear. Indiana's Charles Halleck, onetime Republican House minority leader, judiciously chooses speaking dates in localities near hunting or fishing lodges owned by his longtime friends to which he can slip away once his political appearance is done with.

Minnesota's upright Senator Eugene McCarthy felt no embarrassment in accepting the use of a Lincoln Continental for a nominal yearly rental of dollar 750, and Indiana's Senator Van Hartka had a comparable deal with Chrysler. But Hartka has been a leader in the drive to force safety devices upon U.S. automakers. A legislator would have to be especially malleable—or poor—to be seriously swayed by such amenities. What they can do to create is a climate of friendliness and mild obligation—but that, after all, is the essence of politics as well as public relations (?).

Apart from perquisites and privileges, a matter on which American opinion, as far as it is represented by *Time*—and a point of view which would appear to be increasingly invading the Indian political mind—would appear to be remarkably elastic, the other question of considerable significance is as regards conflict of interests as between parochial and national and claims and which may, as it frequently does, occasion a considerable measure of corruption and nepotism. Thus continues the *Time* article:

Far more significant is the Congress-

sional problem of conflict of interests—which may not always be a conflict. This touches on an issue as old as democracy itself. Should a representative vote only in the interests of those who elected him or helped him to get elected? Or is he his own man? The purist view was put succinctly by Edmund Burke in the 18th Century: "Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion." The opposite view was put forcibly by Senator Kerr. Admitting that he had heavy investments back home, he declared flatly: "I represent the financial institutions of Oklahoma, I am interested in them and that is the reason they elect me. They wouldn't want to send a man here who has no community of interest with them, he because wouldn't be worth a nickel to them."

In this there have been some obvious sinners. After world War II, the late Senator Theodore Bilbo was charged with having secured more than \$ 25 million in war contracts for Mississippi businessmen who in turn gave him a Cadillac, painted and furnished his 'dream houses', built him a swimming pool, and excavated an artificial lake. Representative Andrew May, as chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, steered war contracts worth \$ 78 million to his friends, the Garrison Brothers.

But there are other conflicts that are not nearly so clear cut. Bankers have sat on the Banking and Currency Committees, a majority of the Agriculture Committee's are farmers. Ohio's Senator John Bricker headed the Commerce Committee which oversees the railroad matters, which his law firm accepted \$ 200,000 in six years from the Pennsylvania Railroad. The widely respected Senator Walter George of Georgia once offered a series of amendments to a soft drink tax bill that proved on analysis to effectively exempt the Coca-cola Co. whose headquarters are in Georgia.

The moral dilemmas are well illustrated by the large number of legislators (314) who are lawyers, many of whom keep an interest in their law firms back home. Says former Senator Kenneth Keating of New York: "A

big firm wants you to represent them, and there's no problem of conflict in that particular matter. But they may have problems with Government in other areas. You're afraid to lose a valuable chint if you don't go along.

Keating gave up his practice entirely when he went into Congress. Others have not. A frequently used device is the 'double door' firm like the one maintained by Representative Emmanuel Celler, who was Chairman of the Committee investigating Powell. On the left hand door of the office there is the legend: "Weisman, Celler, Allan, Spett and Sheinberg"; on the righthand door, "Weisman, Celler, Allan, Spett & Sheinberg." The two firms share the same telephone numbers and personnel, but Celler insists "they are completely different."

Thomas Jefferson urged that, "where the private interests of a member is concerned in a bill or question, he is to withdraw." Almost nobody follows Jefferson's rule. Argues Minnesotas Senator McCarthy: "For the most part the gain to the individual Congressman includes the advancement of a interest that is shared by many other persons, including constituents. Consequently all of those would be unrepresented and would suffer if the individual member refrained."

But the area where developing conditions under very nearly two decades of Congress rule in India would seem to most closely resemble those in the U. S. A. is in the manner of collection of election campaign funds and that of their disbursement. The Indian National Congress executive would seem to have deliberately set itself to make elections prohibitively expensive for ordinary, but competent and honest citizens to contest an election. Ordinarily a seat in a State legislature, subject such regional variations as are inevitable, costs very nearly Rs. 50,000 to seriously contest and the campaign costs no less to the serious loser as to the victor. A Lok Sabha

seat is said to cost something like very nearly three times more to contest. Naturally such funds could be at the disposal of only a very few. The party, in order to fill the gap, authorised collection of lump sum donations from large business and industrial interests. This had inevitably led to political pressures upon the administration with a view to securing substantial advantages for the donor; there was ample scope in the process for a great deal of appropriations to personal use *en route* from the donor to the donee and to riddle the administration with nepotism and worse. One could name quite a few very prominent Congress leaders who never had any ostensible means, but who now after nearly two decades of Congress rule seem to be wallowing in quite ostentatious affluence. The position in the U. S. A is described thus :

Weighing most oppressively on Congress collective conscience is the problem of campaign expenses. Unless he is a millionaire many times over, the average member of Congress (annual salary \$ 300,000) simply cannot afford, on his own, the expenses of getting elected or re-elected these days. Things have almost reached the point indicated by England's Poet Laureate, Alfred Austin at the turn of the century, who wrote :

You want a seat ! Then boldly sate your
itch !

Be very radical and very rich.

The price of campaigning has gone up and up. Pierre Salinger's losing campaign for U. S. Senator in California cost \$ 1,600,000 Reagan's for Governor cost \$ 5,000,000 or; roughly \$ 1.60 per vote. Few of the expenses are on official record, since the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 stipulates that a Senator can only spend \$ 25,000 on his campaign, a Representative \$ 5,000. A candidate gets around this simple by setting up innumerable committees that collect and spend funds for his campaign without "his know-

edge and consent." Thus Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy, like many another Congress member could and did file a report declaring that his 1962 campaign expenses were zero—though his supporters spent an estimated \$ 2,000,000. Not that a campaign contribution necessarily means undue influence. Lobbyist Julius Klein obtained such a hold on Senator Dodd that he was able to write him bullying instructions, yet Klein also made sizeable contributions to the campaigns of Senators Everett Dirksen and Jacob Javits, without any suggestion that he corrupted them. Still, contributions do often establish a strong and lingering obligation.

A legislator has his own way of raising money, most notably the testimonial dinner. It has the advantage that no single contribution is major, even at \$ 5.00 a plate. In the trade such affairs are often known as "black jack" dinners, since lobbyists or trade associations for whom the Congressman has done a favour are pointedly notified and often arbitrarily assigned an allotted number of tickets. In Washington a favourite variant is the campaign cocktail party. Says one lobbyist ruefully: "I get invited to about two every month. They are so well organized that after the first drink, they pass blank checks around. It usually costs me \$ 100 for a drink and a shrimp on a toothpick."

Here we come to something which though closely approximating to what has been happening in India during very nearly two decades of Congress rule, the actual practice in the U. S. is some what different :

Though legally business firms cannot donate money their officers, as individuals, can and do. A frequent means of concealing contributions is legal fees for nominal work paid to a Congressman's law firm back home, or a fee for delivering a routine speech. Says Bill Moyers former White House aide to President Johnson, "I think there's probably less bank rolling than there used to be, but there are other ways. For example, the billboard industry might provide a Congressman with free billboard during his campaign; now when a vote comes up

on a bill to regulate that industry its very hard for him to vote against his benefactors. As for Bobley Bakers stealing of campaign money, Moyers Comments: I think what he did is done by other people in more sophisticated ways.

However remiss Congressmen might themselves be where rectitude of their public character is concerned is so far, atleast as the use of their Congressional powers and privileges are involved, they have generally, always been severely critical of the executive wherever there have been any indication of corruption and nepotism.

None of these beams in their own eyes, continues the *Time* excerpt under quote, trouble Congressmen much when it comes to overseeing the executive branch. There they demand the utmost rectitude—and with some justice. For historically, the executive is where the big swindlers have happened, with the Teapot Dome scandal of the Harding Administration as the classic case. Seduce a legislator and you have only one vote. Seduce a Commissioner of one of the Federal agencies, and you get the franchise for a TV Station or an airline route worth millions. Largely as a result of Congressional pressure, Cabinet members now habitually dispose of their stockholdings in firms with which their departments might do business. Two years ago Lyndon Johnson directed top Government officials to list all their holdings, including those of their office.

"For too long Congress has followed a double standard preaching one thing to members of the executive branch and permitting its own members to practice another says New Jersey's Senator Clifford Case. But Congress has shewn the slightest in-

terest in Policing itself. And, nobody else can do it; under the Constitution Congress is answerable to no higher authority. Members generally argue that the actions of the executive branch must be reviewed by Congress, while Congress itself needs no watchdog, since the voters regularly review its performance at election time. So for the only visible reform has been Congressional endorsement of a "Code of Ethics"; every member received a copy trimmed in red, white and blue, suitable for framing. It contained platitudes like "expose corruption wherever discovered."

Chief reform efforts are now concentrated on the simple principle of disclosure—of stockholdings, law contracts or other interests. Among the loudest opponents of this idea is Senator Everett Dirksen, who orates that such disclosures would make a law maker a "second class citizen." The case in favour is best put in a Senatorial Committee report prepared under Paul Douglas. "Disclosure is hardly a sanction and certainly not a penalty. Yet, it would sharpen men's own judgement of right and wrong, since they would be less likely to do wrong things if they knew these acts would be challenged." New York's Senator Javits agrees: "These things ought to be known. For instance, I will be introducing a Bill soon that affects Canadian Banks. Well why shouldn't I? It is something I believe in. But my constituents ought to know that I have Canadian banks among my clients. Then they can judge my actions. But its when they don't know these things that it is bad."

Other efforts are aimed at getting campaign expenses under control and thus delivering Senators and Congressmen from their enforced dependence on the big givers, Louisiana's Senator Russel Long has proposed that \$1 of every citizen's income tax might be allocated to a Presidential campaign fund, equably distributed among the candidates. Others, including Senator Mike Mansfield, have suggested shorter, federally financed campaigns; or a ban on big contributions and setting limits on what the candidates can spend.

There seems little likelihood that any of these measures will be enacted. Congress has turned down some 17 proposals to reform campaign expenditures in the past 20 years, and it is notoriously reluctant to take action against malefactor in its midst. Observes ex-Senator Douglas wryly: "Mentinged with sovereignty can easily feel that the king can do no wrong. "The members of Congress can certainly do wrong. But they do right far more often, and that fact would become much clearer to the U. S. if they finally relinquished enough of their sovereignty to accept at least some measure of the reform proposals.

And that would also seem to hold true for the ruling party leaders in the Central Indian Government. No one would deny that the Congress Government at the Centre has endeavoured to do *right* in some measure, but it is their persistant obstinacy in justifying wrongs perpetrated in the face of evidence to the contrary that would seem to hold them suspect of mala-fides.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

Ethics and Economics

Fair play and justice depend quite a lot on logic. Whenever one says, "this is just" or "that is not fair" one goes down to certain fundamental axioms of justice or fair play in one's mind and works out his conclusions from these basic assumptions. Deviations from logic can be permitted where extraordinary circumstances crop up which sweep aside all rigid application of established principles. Let us take the fact of possessing property. Property may be money in a box or a bank; or again it may be a house, a vehicle, fruit trees, cultivable fields, furniture, kitchen utensils, machinery and tools or stocks of consumer goods and raw materials. There can be investments of a non-material kind too which can yield income or value to the possessor or to others. These are education, knowledge, know-how and skill. A lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, a musician, a truck driver or the operators of machinery have in their possession ability which they have acquired by expenditure of effort and money. They have not consumed the fruits of their labour but have stored them within themselves for future use or sale. As for the above material possessions described, those also are the products of effort and yield value over long years. One thus distinguishes consumer goods from capital goods as yielding up all value by relatively quicker consumption and conserving value within it for continued yield of usefulness over longer periods. Property therefore can be of various types and some are consumed quickly and others remain usable for longer periods.

It is assumed that, in all fairness, a person can either consume the values he has come into possession of by work, inheritance or by any other legitimate means, quickly and directly or enjoy the fruits indirectly through the products that such goods yield. About the ownership of a house, a field, an orchard, a car or any other instrument, tool or apparatus which can yield value over long periods one may say, however, that all capital goods can be used as means of exploitation of other people, such as by renting out houses, lands or orchards or by hiring out implements and machinery. The question, however, remains open as to whether a man exploits a cultivator by allowing him to cultivate a field by expenditure of $10x$ in effort and money which yields him $30x$ in value out of which he gives 5 or $10x$ to the owner of the land who owned it by reason of saving values earned through previous work. A man may lend his plough or spade too and get something in return, which would be much less than what the use of the plough or spade will yield to the borrower. The basic idea behind prohibiting renting, hiring out or lending on interest is that all such acts are exploitative. It is however true that all such acts are quite often helpful too in a bigger way than exploitative, in so far as those who hire or borrow capital goods or money make quite a bit of profit even after paying rent or interest. And the lenders having come into possession of such capital in a fair manner and having consumed the same by self-denial are entitled to a share of the values such capital may yield.

There are many basic fallacies attached to

assessments of gain or loss, rights or obligations connected with ownership of property. The Calcutta Corporation, for instance, taxes slum dwelling or *bustees* at a specially favourable rate obviously on the assumption that such low taxation will be of help to the poor people who live in the *bustees*. In fact the *bustees* are usually owned by big capitalists who make exorbitant profits out of these slums. The owners of small houses too are taxed at a much lower rate compared to owners of big houses. Here again the assumption is that small houses are owned by persons who are not very wealthy. In fact a big capitalist can own one hundred small houses or fifty *bustees* rather than three or four blocks of flats yielding high rent. A city Corporation charges rates and taxes for services rendered and not for establishing social justice. A crowded *bustee* or slum needs more water supply and conservancy services than a less crowded block of flats. Small houses also require more municipal service than bigger houses. In any case a City Corporation can devote itself to better its municipal services and not try its hands at discriminating between owners of houses on the ground of establishing social justice and fair play. For it may so happen, that in reality the city fathers would end up by helping *bustee* owners to make more money than they should be entitled to. Owners of numerous small houses too are not always the most humanitarian land lords nor are they always very poor. If one checks on the activities of the capital handling departments of our government which is so very socialistic in its pattern, one may find many instances of helping the rich to get richer and of forcing the poor to remain poor or become poorer. Actually the true meaning of exploitation has not been understood by the government. There is exploitation whenever a worker is not given the full value that he produces by his labour either directly or indirectly. It is assumed by socialistic thinkers that in a socialist society all exploitation would stop automatically by reason of checking individual ownership of capital goods and their use by payment of rent or interest. But in fact individuals can be exploited by the State; apparently for the indirect advantage or gain of the general run of the people; but really for the advantage of many persons who enjoy the fruits of other people's labour by "working" as officials, leaders etc.,

and without actually producing anything which can yield any value to any one directly or indirectly. Much value is also wasted by unintelligent handling of social resources which belong to no one and are therefore mishandled. A comparison of the economic growth of socialistic countries and of Japan, West Germany, the U.S.A., Canada, Switzerland and Sweden would soon convince one that the latter countries have given the highest standard of living to their nationals and have shown the greatest accumulation of capital at the same time. Socialism has permitted waste and non-productive job holding to a much greater extent than the countries mentioned. In India there have been great exploitation of the people as well as widespread misuse of national resources including such as were borrowed; in spite of much moralisation and avowal of high principles. In countries where all talk has to be backed by work of large numbers of persons with no productive ability cannot get into gainful positions in the social order. Production of goods and services is the basic economic principle. Ethical talk of a materialistic variety unsupported by any material production would not go very far in these countries. That is why they have progressed.

Gherao

A new word has come into circulation recently which means surrounding and immobilising persons in authority in the political-economic spheres of work and production. The word originally was "Ghera dalo" in the State of Maharashtra but soon changed to "Gherao" in West Bengal and other States. Everybody discussed "Gheraos" as a method of placing demands before leaders, owners and managers, as if none had surrounded and immobilised important persons ever before the year 1967. In fact "gherao" is a very ancient method of obtaining satisfaction from those who remain customarily unapproachable. In mythology we find Sri Krishna being surrounded by his admirers in a very colourful manner. Other *avatars* and Saints too had been "gheraoed" as and when they allowed themselves to be trapped by the seething masses who sought their *darsan*. Those were the days when demands were exclusively spiritual. In historical times too great spiritual leaders have been stopped by

crowds and made to wait patiently for hours before they could move away. The poet Rabindranath Tagore used to be "gheraoed" customarily by his admirers. So was Mahatma Gandhi. Coming to affairs more sordid and tainted with ideas of obtaining filthy lucre, we know that all place of pilgrimage are full of expert "gherao-wallahs" who "beg" for alms. Their begging distinctly savours of exaction. One cannot get away without paying up and this may happen over and over again as one goes from one deity to another. Even the *Pandas* or the Temple middle men do "gherao" in order to secure clients. In the Howrah Station the porters "gherao" the passengers of upper class carriages with great gusto and, quite often, knock them about too in their eagerness to grab their luggage. What we have said should convince our friends of the labour front that their idea of holding up men of substance for a gainful purpose, is a borrowed idea and lacks originality. Even college students have done this long before the West Bengal Labour Minister approved of it as a method of Collective Bargaining. We have found the precincts of the big hotels in Calcutta completely blocked by surging masses of youngmen who wanted to see some film star or other as they got into or out of their cars. The film stars were held up quite often for hours before they could actually get away from their admirers. Ugly scenes have also been enacted by "gheraowallahs" at times, such as when they disagreed with the referees at football matches. At the last much-discussed cricket match in which the players were "gheraoed" and the "shamianas" set fire to, we witnessed a lordly hold up indeed! It would not be right to compare incidents connected with collective bargaining with others which aimed at exploitative gain; but one may mention some great gheraowallahs of the past who made quite a success of their business. Men like Rabin Hood and Man Singh certainly knew their business. If "gherao" eventually attained the dignity of a lawful institution for the achievement of economic objectives; the amateur "gheraowallahs" would benefit by emulating the example of the great professional masters of this very ancient art of acquiring things by the use of force.

We are treating this matter in the lighter vein for the reason that these "gheraos" are causing more amusement to the public than gain to the

persons who engage in this sort of coercive activities. We quite sympathise with them, for they have grievances which cannot be redressed in a lawful manner. The State Ministers therefore do not say to the workers, "we shall put right your grievances: so do not indulge in lawless tactics". The "gheraos" are a symptom of failure in the government to establish fair play and justice in the sphere of employer-employee relations. The government therefore are allowing the parties to "fight it out", which no good government should permit. The public cannot allow lawlessness to be the basis of social life and should therefore arrange to create better conditions in government and in public life. The case of the workers may not be clear cut and capable of proof in all cases, but, surely, there must be some cases in which the State might find good enough ground for prosecution of the men in power for unfair labour practice. We know of some managers who indulge in all sorts of unfair practice in managing their establishments. Favouritism, bribery and corruption are rampant in many public and private sector organisations. Trade unionism has become a farce in many large concerns due to the influence that some managers exert over the union officials. The government can and should put a stop to all this winning over of trade unions by factory managers. Even political parties accept big donations from the managements of concerns for making "treaties". The so-called leftists are not free from this sort of evil practice.

Revising Rabindranath

Many admirers of Rabindranath Tagore like to sing his songs, recite his poems, discuss his ideals and carry on literary, philosophical, economic and cultural research work by studying Tagore's life, associates and activities. Not all of those who do these things, succeed in properly representing his music, his literary work, art, his thoughts and his feelings. But Tagore's popularity is constantly gaining in size and more and more people are now calling the poet philosopher "Gurudev" than ever before. Some of these people had been quite obnoxious in their criticism of the poet in the very near past and others never had any first hand knowledge or experience of the Tagore *Yuga*. Only such persons as had personal contact with him during his life time and breathed the cultural and

spiritual atmosphere that he created and enriched emotionally, suffer great mental discomfort and emotional distress when they have to listen to renderings of Tagore by persons who are relatively ignorant of his musical art and of the correct dimensions of the aesthetic values that he created. Art and culture are now beginning to be influenced by political coteries and cliques. National resources are also being diverted into the various channels of national life after passing through the lock-gates of politics. The effect of such "controls and influences are being disastrous as far the art and thoughts of Rabindranath are concerned. In fact Rabindranath Tagore having become the "Gurudev" of certain undesirable types posthumously is undergoing "revisions" which his true admirers resent and utterly condemn. Visva-Bharati should try to put a stop to this sort of horse play with Tagore's songs, poetry, literature and art. But the sacred precincts of Santiniketan have been invaded by the philistines too and many who inherited the cultural wealth left to India by the Poet are now selling out what they should have very profoundly cherished in order to gain advantages of no real consequence. We should like to draw the attention of the Central Government to all these happenings, as, we believe the Centre controls the affairs of Visva-Bharati.

Control Over Nuclear Weapons

The idea that if militarily less organised nations did not acquire nuclear weapons there would be less chance of a nuclear war is as fallacious as the idea that disarmament of weaker nations would banish all war from all countries. For wars are always started by the superiorly armed nations and others are drawn into them afterwards. Those who do not possess certain kinds of weapons, soon acquire them for self preservation. Only, unprepared nations may get badly mauled before they can achieve preparedness for war against enemies who are already fully equipped. The idea therefore that India or anyother nation would be helping the cause of universal peace by not possessing atomic weapons, is totally incorrect. India should be prepared for nuclear war, as she should be for anyother kind of warfare that might possibly involve her. Unpreparedness will be very dangerous for India and of no benefit to the world

at large. The only gainers will be the enemies of India who will be able to devastate India with ease when war breaks out. It would also satisfy some of the big powers, if India got knocked about without being able to retaliate; for they are in sympathy with the predatory nations which are planning to snatch away large tracts of Indian territory. Then again, if India developed nuclear weapons she would be able to support some of the weaker nations against aggression by the mighty war mongers of the world. And that might make war less profitable to the unprincipled marauders of the earth. On the whole we believe it would be of great advantage to India and the world, if India took up the work of development of atomic weapons in right earnest. For only atomic weapons will answer China's threat to India. Pakistan is a stooge of war mongers of one camp or another. If India acquires nuclear weapons Pakistan will stop sizzling and working up a war fever immediately. So that the only way India can really keep out of wars, is by developing military strength of a kind which keeps war mongers away. And that is preparedness for nuclear warfare.

India does not belong to any military bloc. As a matter of fact the blocs have assumed a tendency to disintegrate and reform into newer shapes, which makes it relatively useless to join any bloc. Pakistan for instance is in the Anglo-American Bloc. She is also in the Sino-Pak bloc, though the Chinese are anti-American. Pakistan is also hob-nobbing with Russia and one does not know whether Russia is pro-American, pro-Chinese or pro-Indian. So, Pakistan is taking no chances. She is collecting friends from all camps, so that if some dropped out the others would be there. India cannot lower herself to the position of a professional camp follower in order to pick up military sustenance. She has to maintain her dignity as well as her sovereign rights. In a world full of well armed marauders, India cannot afford to be less armed than her declared enemies. It is therefore essential for India to manufacture nuclear weapons without any delay. If American weeps and Russia joins her, to bemoan India's fall from the high pedestal of disarmed helplessness, let them weep. For we cannot die nor agree to be maimed beyond all hopes of recovery just to enable America and Russia to keep smiling.

Concentration of Talent

There are hopes in some hearts that if the political parties of India agreed to form a Coalition Government at the Centre, we should have such concentration of talent there, that all problems of government, development and defence would get solved automatically. There are many difficulties in the way of sharing such hopes with those who desire to form a Coalition at the Centre. The first difficulty is the lack of talent in the political parties. The Congress, as well the opposition parties have been sitting in the legislatures and arguing to their hearts content during the last nineteen years. Between them they have proposed and opposed numerous schemes and plans for reshaping India here, there and all over on countless occasions. But the net gain for India has been negligible compared to the size of the foreign and local debts incurred for the purposes mentioned from time to time. There has never been any great display of talent either in making plans or in their execution at any time. Techniques have been demonstrated more for propaganda and for convincing the gullible than for practical achievements. The opposition parties have either played the part of the gullible public or made ideological and idle criticism. In short they kept their talents largely hidden from the public eye. The first difficulty is therefore one of lack of talents among the political party men. If they worked together or didn't, there should be no gain nor loss.

The second difficulty is that the government is organised for purposes which do not yield the greatest good to the greatest number nor any good to many people. Most governmental work is obstructive and non-productive. A vast organisation run at great cost can surely yield greater benefit to larger numbers of the people. In industry one has a time honoured system called job valuation by which the value of the work done by an employee is ascertained in a rough and ready manner. If the governmental incumbents had job valuations made of what they do one would soon know how much real productive work was done in government against each crore of rupees spent. The talent required to carry out this investigation may be found in the country, if not in the political parties.

The third difficulty is that talents alone cannot solve our developmental problems. The other

factors relate to utilisation of dormant resources and capital formation. The only talent the Congress has displayed so far has been to borrow capital at exorbitant cost and to allow much of it to be misused or wasted. The result has been that the sources of borrowings have now dried up and repayments are being discussed in terms of a moratorium. Capital formation too has been slowed down dangerously due to an extortional system of taxation and due to all sorts of obstructions being placed in the way of private enterprise. This has been caused by the so-called socialistic pattern of the economic planning that the Congress engaged in and the state capitalistic obsessions of all political parties. The Congress had always played to the gallery by quoting socialism in and out of context, but that had not benefitted the public. For socialism or State Capitalism did not prove their economic effectiveness by the experiments that other countries had made during recent times. Individual enterprise, on the other hand had made remarkable progress in Japan, West Germany, Canada, Australia, the U.S.A., Sweden and in other countries. We have no reason to think that we shall progress faster by restricting individual rights and endeavours than by allowing fuller freedom to all persons to take part in the work of developing the nation's economy without any delay. The talents of the opposition parties are not likely to help individual enterprise and therefore the quick economic growth of the country.

The last difficulty arises out of our requirements for the proper defence of the country. Our potential enemies are China and Pakistan. We have no friends. In the circumstances if we allowed the talents of the Left to assume greater strength our defences may be weakened by reason of the stronger attachment that some politically talented leaders feel for our potential enemies. We require foreign assistance to build up and maintain our defence arrangements. As we have no unqualified friends in the international field, it should be our aim not to alienate any nation which can give us military supplies. If we allowed the talent of the Left to assume power in the Centre, some nations will be less friendly to us than they have been so far. We do not see why this should be permitted when the talents referred to are none too great nor highly productive.

There is an over-all difficulty too. This is one

of plan and policy. Whatever our opinion may be of the Congress Government, it will lose what little efficiency it has by allowing itself to be mixed up with other equally or more inefficient forces now churning up views and opinions within coteries and cliques.

Indian Youth Go Forward

There are some youngmen and youngwomen in India whose ideals of progress are completely imitative and who spend their life in picking up the mental and physical mannerisms of the pseudo-cultural coteries of the Latin Quarter of Paris or of the Bohemians of Chelsea. These young people talk, sing, paint, write poetry or prose, dress and go about jointly and severally without really achieving anything aesthetically or sartorially that would make a lasting impression on the history of Indian civilisation. They remind one of the types who made themselves ridiculous in Indian society by being utterly English during the first fourteen years of this century. Much youthful talent is now going down the drain in order to satisfy the demand for pose and gesture as in fashion from time to time. There are other Indian young men and women who have the spirit of adventure in them. They swim the seven seas, climb the peaks of the Himalayas, excel in games and sports, master the techniques of the most difficult of arts and crafts and delve deep into the mysteries of science and metaphysics in order to acquire direct contact with the true, the Eternal and the Beautiful. They are the heralds of progress of this ancient civilisation. In them we find a continuity of all that was glorious in India in the past and the promise of a richer heritage for those who will come hereafter.

Food Growing

Food growing is done almost exclusively by private individuals and small groups of private persons in our country. Sharing of products between actual cultivators and their employers, the owners of the fields, is also very common everywhere. There are large plantations too which produce tea, coffee, sugarcane, tobacco, narcotics, cotton etc., but these also are owned and operated by private owners. The State has been particularly inactive in the field of food growing

and the great interest that the State is now showing in increased production of edible commodities is mainly due to their undertakings in rationing foodgrains, arranging milk supply, famine relief etc., etc. Actually the State has not been at all successful in managing any kind of production, distribution or, even, transportation. Cultivation requires intensive watchfulness and quick application of remedial measures wherever people cultivate land for growing anything. The government is particularly slow moving in all their work of management. So that if we have State management of farms we shall have two inevitable difficulties. One will be high costs and the other frequent failures in securing crops of estimated size. In such circumstances the State should restrict itself to providing water, fertilizers, seeds of specialised types and other scientific or financial aid to the cultivators, rather than actually engage in agriculture as a State managed business.

On the other hand individual owners of cultivable lands that are not cultivated due to lack of arrangement should form themselves into organised groups and start cultivation on a collective basis. They can raise funds too by forming companies and by sale of shares to persons who may like to invest some of their savings in agriculture and to actually own cultivable land. There are immense areas in India which are cultivable but are not cultivated. The total area of such land must be over a hundred million acres. So that there is enough scope for all parties who have a desire to try cultivation in this vast land of unused potential. The State will no doubt like to try large scale cultivation. If they handled ten million acres, these would still remain ninety million acres or more for the people of the country whose lives will depend on successfully doing what they undertake to do.

The big cities of India have all the men and women who may be called the landless rich of the country and have collected much of the urban population round them for whose food the villagers have to do the work of food growing. These rich people and their semi-rich entourage should now come forward to set up large agricultural organisations for bringing new land under the plough. With mechanised cultivation the work may attract skilled talent at much higher wages than normally prevail in the agricultural sphere.

The farms that will be set up in this manner will develop new types of villages too in which will live the high income cultivators whose standard of living will be much higher than that of the villagers of the traditional rural communities of India.

India's Defence

There is an arms race in Asia which has been initiated by China and Pakistan. China hopes to conquer the world and would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons to achieve this objective. Pakistan is really no military power of great might; but there are unscrupulous men in that country who would not hesitate to plunge the country in war for their own selfish ends and these men are in constant touch with all Western powers who like to interfere in other peoples' affairs. Pakistan has invaded India on a large scale twice in nineteen years. On each occasion India forced the Pakistanis to retreat, but the Anglo-Americans and other Western Powers interfered and induced India to treat these cases of pure aggression as a matter of political dispute. The Chinese too invaded India and retreated on their own and created disputes which the Indian Government recognised by their actions, if not in a manner tenable at law. China is now in unlawful possession of thousands of square miles of Indian territory and so is Pakistan. In the circumstances India's defence problems have certain clear cut features which can not be ignored. India requires or shall require suitable military preparations to reestablish her sovereign rights over her lost territory as soon as she can manage to achieve such preparedness. Compulsory military training should be the first thing that India might undertake to set in motion the work of this mass preparedness. This will also assist in India's program of economic development.

Right to Travel Abroad

If we legally established our right to go to foreign countries according to our choice, it would be a better position than if we had to make petitions to bureaucrats for permission and sanction to travel and had to wait their pleasure to obtain a passport to go anywhere. But what the passport office would do for us could be undone

by the officials of the Reserve Bank of India, whose permission we would still require to obtain foreign currency. Here again the bureaucrats decide who will obtain how much for what purpose, and the general public have no clearly stated rights. Had foreign exchange been allocated at high level for particular purposes and had rules been made to assume individual grants for particular purposes without leaving any powers in the hands of officials; the people of India could then be free from suffering humiliation at the hands of officials. For instance if India could give only 100 crore worth foreign exchange to individuals for foreign studies, foreign travel and journeys to foreign countries for medical purposes, business and other reasons; then there could be standards laid down for such travel and opportunities made freely available according to rules. Let us say only students qualifying for foreign studies would get the grants and all applicants would have to take a chance according to merit. There would then be no wangling or influencing for permissions. Let us again say that persons would be allowed so much foreign exchange every five or ten years and they could then work out their travel programs, freely and without cadging for sanctions. Business, medical, cultural and other reasons should be provided for also according to rules made at high level and not at the will of officials. In short the people of India should be free to make use of their meagre foreign exchange resources by fair apportioning and according to need, urgency or national usefulness which should be measured in a fair and just manner and not by the reactions that officials have when they examined particular applications. There could be other methods too which would be better than the present methods from the point of view of establishing individual rights and justice.

Foreign Aid and Secret Agents

It has been well known in India that foreign powers, at least many of them, have their secret organisations in this country for propagating their ideas among the Indian people and for watching over political and economic developments in order to be prepared for eventualities. Among such organisations the most objectionable ones were set up by China and Pakistan.

Chinese and Pakistani secret agents have been active in India for purposes of espionage and for organising fifth-columns since long years and though the Chinese employed section now works entirely in secret, the Pakistani agents work more or less openly. The Chinese have good number of Indians working for them and some of them may be in responsible positions in government or in industry or commerce. The reason for this is that some Indians have developed ideological sympathies with the Chinese communists to a degree which enables them to forget their duty to their own nation. Others are non-Indians who stay in India for permissible purposes but work secretly for China. Among Pakistani agents too there are many Indians working for Pakistan for money or for other considerations. Pakistan has her fifth column too in India which is organised on a large enough scale to be quite dangerous. There are large numbers of Europeans and Americans in India who work for Pakistan and many of these agents are in a position to travel freely between the two countries. Leaving aside China and Pakistan which countries have aggressive and warlike designs against India and have no close economic relations with us, we pass on to the nations which give us economic assistance and have large, medium or small diplomatic, economic and cultural organisations in this country. Some of these nations have their secret agents too, who do propaganda, give money to Indian cliques and coteries and generally try to interfere in the internal and foreign affairs of India in a round about manner. The main purpose for which these nations employ their secret agents and spend money is to create pressures which cause India to act in accordance with their secret or expressed desires. These secret and expressed desires are various and some of these go against the best interests of India; whereas others have no clear cut significance to begin with but have ultimate implications which may be of a restrictive nature in the sphere of our foreign relations. The secret agents of foreign powers remain fully secret if they are Indians; but the foreigners usually have a known and justifiable reason for their stay in India and they

work to fulfil their secret missions by joining various organisations in the country and by passing on information which they obtain in one way or another. These foreigners are usually industrial or commercial employers, professional men or persons attached to learned societies, the church, diplomatic or consular crops and all sorts of missions which visit India for various reasons. Among all these foreigners there are many of British origin who work with Indians in various capacities and make use of their occupational facilities to create dissensions among Indians and to propagate doubts and fears in their minds which lower the morale of Indians. These men are very dangerous and should be sent out of India no matter how highly placed the Indians may be who protest, patronise or employ them. Generally speaking no foreigners really require to stay in India over long years. Those who are technical men should train up Indians in their techniques and thereafter depart. There are very good Indians in almost all the professions and no foreigners can be really indispensable. In all cases where foreigners are kept in India in highly paid posts they have Indian patrons behind them who either do not realise the harm they may be doing to India by their patronage of foreigners, or who gain some secret advantage by patronising the particular foreigners. These highly placed Indians can be in league with foreign powers and many of them may be amassing fortunes in foreign countries with the assistance of their so-called experts. The Congress Party has so far failed to remove undesirable foreigners from India, at least in large enough numbers. Those States which have non-Congress Governments can certainly set up committees to enquire into the activities of foreigners in their States. If some are discovered who are acting contrary to the best interests of the country, such men then may be ordered to leave the particular States. West Bengal can easily discover a large number of anti-Indian foreigners whose presence in the State is harmful. We suppose there are many anti-Indian foreigners in Madras, Kerala, Bihar, Punjab and other non-Congress States too.

TRUTH IN COMMUNISM

ANIL BARAN ROY

In spite of thousands of years of civilisation and culture, a large majority of the people of the world have not got decent conditions of living. As a remedy Karl Marx, founder of modern Communism, suggested a clear formula : To each according to his need, from each according to his capacity. This is the fundamental truth of economic life ; the sooner all mankind accept this truth the better ; poverty and suffering will disappear from earth, all conflicts between peoples and nations will come to an end, universal peace will prevail. Only under such conditions of peace and prosperity, men will be able to grow to their fullest stature and world will be turned into heaven. If today all nations, all countries, all ideological conflicts will disappear and universal peace will be established, the world will at last see the end of wars and cruel bloodshed.

But at present the conflict between nations is not really due to differences in ideology, the real aim is the domination of one country over all others, ideological difference is used only as a means. Russia and China are sticking to Marxism because in the poverty-stricken world this is the best means of attracting the common people everywhere. Otherwise if they were really intent upon establishing true communism for the welfare of the world they would have found the true path to achieve it. That this has not yet been found appears from the fact that Russia and China are now

quarreling among themselves about the true interpretation of Marxism.

Marx saw rightly that so long as people remain selfish and egoistic society cannot be constructed according to the communist ideal. But he made a fundamental mistake by supposing that possession of property, is the root cause of egoism and that if private property be abolished, people can be induced to work selflessly for the welfare of society. Thus he planned to nationalise all means of production and distribution as the first step towards Communism and this concentration of all economic power in the hands of the State is called Socialism in the Marxist vocabulary. It is being falsely preached that Socialism means a state of society where there is no poverty, no exploitation, no inequality between class and class. This is how people are being misled by slogan of Socialism. In truth Socialism is a theory that if private property be abolished, that will bring about a transformation of human nature and men will happily sacrifice themselves for the welfare of the society. Everybody will work enthusiastically for the common good and consequently there will be no poverty, no want. In support of his theory he pointed to the conduct of the capitalists of his time. They were using their money to build up industries, making huge profits, exploiting the labour of workers but depriving them of their dues. People are creating the national wealth by their labour, but they

themselves are not allowed to enjoy that wealth. So he planned a world revolution against the capitalist class and gave the call, "Workers of the world, unite." So long the capitalists on account of the economic power concentrated in their hands were controlling the government of the country, now that power must pass to the hands of the workers whom he called the proletariat. But this is virtually the replacement of the rule of one class by that of another class and it is not true democracy. But the communist argument is that in a communist society, there will be only one class, the workers and it is their representatives who will form the Government. True Democracy is the Government of the people by the people for the people. All people accept this in theory, but nowhere as yet in the world true Democracy has been realised. The village community in ancient India and the city republics in Greece were first examples of Democracy. But that could not be realised in larger fields. The British Parliament is still an experiment in Democracy on a larger scale, but in fact it is still an oligarchy. In the communist countries, it is the Communist Party who rules in the name of the people or the proletariat; no other Party is allowed to work. And in practice some individual becomes the dictator, as Stalin in Russia or Mao Tse-tung in China. Thus the dictatorship of the proletariat envisaged by Marx has virtually turned into the dictatorship of a person. In India Nehru was virtually the dictator since independence. Communism requires that the people must surrender themselves to the Party or to a person who rules in the name of the Party. After Stalin's death it has not

been possible for any one person to be the Dictator there. Several topmost leaders now collectively have taken the place of the Dictator. People in countries like America, France, Britain, West Germany, Japan are not willing to surrender their individuality in this way to a person or group. It is these people who call themselves democratic as distinguished from the communists. Who is to be given the priority, the individual of the society—it is fundamentally this question which divide the world today into two rival blocs. Those who say that Society is the supreme entity, to which all should submit their individuality and individual interests, they are socialists. And those who say that the individual should be given first importance, the society is only a collection of individuals, and if individuals deteriorate for want of liberty, society is bound to deteriorate, are known as individualists or democrats, though socialists also are calling themselves democrats. They denounce the individualists as reactionaries, imperialists, colonialists etc. Modern communists hold that it is through socialism that communism can be realised. But we find in fact that the socialist countries are still far behind the democratic countries in their approach towards the Communist ideal: To each according to his need, from each according to his capacity. It is true that communist Russia has been able to provide food, shelter, education, medical treatment and other social amenities for her people, but still she is far from the high standard of living that has been possible in democratic countries like America, West Germany or Japan. The Russian leaders are trying to ascertain the causes for this difference between socialist countries and the democracies, Khrushchev

had said that within the next 20 years, Russia would be able to catch up with America. But that very attempt brought about his downfall. The present Prime Minister of Russia, Mr. Kosygin, saw that the capitalist countries produce more than the workers in Russia. That is why the production in Russia is less than that in the capitalist countries. In Russia the workers have no individual liberty, they cannot choose their work, they have to do the work that is given to them and must be satisfied with the wages that is given to them for the sake of the general welfare of the community. They have to suffer and sacrifice for the society. But men are not animals and you cannot get the best out of them by the use of compulsion. Man has a soul which requires freedom for self-development; if this freedom is denied you cannot make any man or woman really happy or contented. So though in Russia today there is no poverty of food or clothes, there is lack of true happiness and contentment. Men have become accustomed to labour like beasts, and they have become wealth-producing machines and indulge freely in drinking plenty of wine (generally Vodka). But the younger generation has become very much restless. "The great majority of the young Russians are restless and are dissatisfied with the world they are inhabiting. They are indifferent to the Communist faith that their parents embraced, although they do have great pride in the Soviet as a nation." The all-pervading propaganda in Russia has for its ultimate aim the creation of the new Soviet man—"the new Soviet Man, the hero of Socialism, free of all capitalist or bourgeois prejudices, who will happily and

unselfishly produce according to his abilities and consume according to his need". All efforts to produce such an ideal man in Russia have failed.

On the other hand in democratic countries, the workers produce more because they are given more wages and they have much individual freedom. They can go on strike demanding increase of pay, can exact their legitimate dues by organised movements. But if in this way wage is increased to bolster up production, prices also increase with the cost of production, and then comes demand for further increase of pay. So this capitalistic method also is not completely satisfactory.

An open letter issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party says: The foremost work before the communist Parties is to bring together all the peace loving forces to save humanity from the horrors of an atomic world war. We offer our heart felt gratitude to the Soviet Communist Party for this noble desire. But whatever they may say in words, we do not see consistency in their actions. They ended the class conflict in their own country through unprecedented bloodshed, there is now no end to their eagerness to rouse the same class hatred and conflict in other countries, and they are positively instigating the communist parties in other countries to do the same. In all countries the have-nots have a grudge against the haves and the communists are exploiting these evil propensities of men to create class struggle everywhere. Economic inequality is a heritage of the past and an inevitable thing. It was not practicable to make all men equally rich in the past, so wealth had to accumulate in the hands of a few so that the latter might use their wealth to raise the others

to their own level. It is true that all rich men have not acted as good trustees, but it must be admitted that on the whole civilisation and culture have progressed through the wealth that accumulated in the hands of a few keeping them above want and giving them facilities to use their money for the common good. Conditions have now changed with the advance of science all men can be supplied with all that they need and the communist ideal can be realised. But the methods the modern communists are following are frustrating their own end.

No doubt the Russians claim that now the workers in others countries can oust the capitalist class by peaceful means and thus establish socialism. It is here that the Chinese communists have radically differed from them. They say that the capitalists cannot be ousted without the use of force and violence and this they say is true Marxism; and they call the Russians revisionists or as going back to the capitalist order of society. The dogmatic belief that socialism is the ideal order of society has landed the Russians in this self-contradiction. They themselves admit that in the world today there are only 14 socialist countries, but they expect others to follow suit. Today the number of independent countries in the world is 120. If you go on creating class struggle in these countries how can you expect to avoid another world war which may be started anywhere and involve not only nuclear but chemical warfare which now become much simpler and easier than nuclear war but not less destructive? It is for that very reason that China is eager to bring about another world war involving mass extermination of human beings. The whole race would not disappear

and with those who would survive the universal holocaust, China hopes to build up Socialism which would be "thousand times more prosperous" than the capitalist society. This reveals the true nature of modern communism. Those who believe that there is a God, creator and sustainer of the world, can never entertain such ideas. Asked whether Communism and God could co-exist, Svetlana, daughter of the Russian leader Stalin, recently said: "I do not think class struggle and revolution can go hand with that idea of life. I do not believe the two can go together." The Gita divides men into two broad classes, Believers in God and non-believers. About the latter, represented by the modern communists the Gita says:

"The world is without God", they say, "not true, not founded in truth. brought about by a natural union with Desire for its sole cause, a world of Chance. Leaning on that way of life, and by its falsehood ruining their souls and their reason, the Asuric men become the centre or instrument of a fierce, Titanic, violent action, a power of destruction in the world, a fount of injury and evil.

—The Gita 16:8,9

The fundamental tenet of modern Communism is materialism. It is claimed that the Marxist communists are progressive. But the humanism professed by them was founded in France at the end of the 18th century, and the world has already progressed much beyond that. The materialistic philosophy supported by Natural Science in the middle of 19th century was made the basis of Communism by Marx and Engels; but even Science in western countries has now definitely given up that attitude. The great scientists of the 20th

century are saying with Einstein that the existence of an infinite intelligence behind the universe cannot be denied, though that Intelligence cannot be made the subject matter of Natural Science which restricts itself to the study of things as they appear to the senses. But those who have realised the Divine and found direct proof of His existence say that though He is everywhere, He is not revealed to all. The Lord says in the Gita : "By Me all the universe has been extended in the ineffable mystery of My being ; all existences are situated in Me, not I in them."

Svetlana, the daughter of Stalin, the Russian dictator, says : "Since my childhood I have been taught Communism. And I believed in it. But with age and experience I began to think differently. In recent years, we in Russia have begun to think, to discuss, to argue, and we are not so much automatically devoted any more to the ideas which we were taught. Also religion has done a lot to change me. I was brought up in a family where there was never any talk about God. But when I became a grown up person I found that it was impossible to exist without God in one's heart. I came to that conclusion myself without anybody's help or preaching. But that was a great change, because since that moment the main dogmas of Communism lost their significance for me."

As a matter of fact without God life becomes meaningless, the source of all true joy dries up in the heart, life then becomes an intolerable burden. This is the condition of millions of men and women in the communist countries. The young men there

have become rowdy and indisciplined, when asked the reason, they actually reply : 'There is no meaning in life.' The young people in our country also are becoming lawless as they come under communist influence. It may be asked if such is the condition in Russia why people there do not rise in revolt ? We do not say that the economic condition of the people in Russia is bad. In comparison with our masses they get better food, clothes, living conditions and facilities for all sorts of athletics, sports and cultural activities such as dance and music. But for all this it was not at all necessary to uproot Capitalism. Countries like America, with a modification of Capitalism have been able to give such high standards of living to the masses as has not yet been even approached in socialist countries. The Soviet people observe this difference, still they do not revolt, thanks to the ruthless discipline of the Stalinist regime which has moulded their mentality in such a manner that they accept Communism as their Fate. As an Indian Communist says : "The main aim of Communism (doubtless achieved by Russia and China) is to build a better society where people are forced to behave properly towards their fellowmen."

Indeed the communist policy that Marx has given goes against human nature. "All existences follow their nature and what shall coercing it avail ?" (Gita 3,33), His main tenet is that man must give up all sense of "my" and "mine", they must be ready to undergo all sorts of suffering and sacrifice for the sake of social welfare. And as a means of achieving this fundamental change in human nature, he has prescri-

bed the abolition of private property. It is true that man must give up all egoism before there can be an ideal order of society ; but before man must develop his individuality and for that the ego-sense is a help. I-ness and my-ness are feelings through which men develop their individual personality. It is only after that they can rise above egoism and realise their unity with others in the Self or then. With the ego-sense we feel our separateness; with others, by surrendering the ego we realise our true self in which we are one with all beings. And for that the ego is to be surrendered not to a political party or a dictator but to God who is the supreme lord of all creation. By denying the co-existence of God the Marxists have taken away the very basis on which true Communism can be built. When Stalin began to reconstruct society on socialistic principles, the people offered stiff resistance. The ruthlessness with which Stalin suppressed that resistance is now a matter of history. His successors in Russia openly denounced him, but they have not been able to give up their blind faith in Socialism. It is quite true that in economics our aim should be to abolish poverty and reduce to a minimum the disparity in the distribution of wealth. But this cannot be achieved by socialist or communist state-ownership. The State may run some key industries, but private enterprise under State control should be given free scope to serve the country. A state of things in which only a few people will roll in luxury and the majority grovel in poverty must change, every-body must be given decent conditions of living and people should get equal chance to enjoy the national wealth.

But that such a condition cannot be reached through mere Socialism has been proved in Russia that most successful socialist country in the world today. Even after half a century of Socialism, the gap between classes has not become less than what prevails in the capitalist countries. It appears from available reports from Russia itself that 50 per cent of the people there have an average monthly income of 35 pound. And the highest class there, though not composed by capitalists but by industrial managers, topmost engineers, high-ranking political leaders, artists, scholars, who constitute about 15 per cent of the population have an annual income of varying from 2,000 to 9,000 pounds. Besides that the gifts and services they get on account of their position of power and prestige are of considerable value. Quite contrary to the Communist ideal a few people are getting much more than they need while the majority are not getting their bare needs. The open letter of the Communist Party of Russia says that "The programme of the Communist party has shown the way how the communist ideal of to each according to his need from each according to his capacity can be realised."

Those who after 50 years of undisputed socialism are still searching for an effective programme cannot be expected ever to find the secret. Let us now discuss how this ideal can really be reached. All people have not the same capacity for work, some have more some have less and some have no capacity at all such as children, sick people and the very old. All people in society can be given all that they need only when people work to their fullest capacity. But the *tamas* or inertia inherent in human nature acts

against that. How to get the best out of men has not been found out either by the capitalists or the socialists. The socialist method of compulsion or persuasion has failed, and the capitalist method of the lure of profit or more pay has also failed. The greed of man can never be satisfied, he always wants more. That is why everywhere overseers and supervisors have to be appointed to get sufficient work from people, and that itself is a great waste of man power. Only when people work from a sense of duty and not for compulsion or lure they do their best. But duty to society or country cannot rouse people generally to their best. You cannot radically change human nature by social or moral rules and principles. The theory of Marx that man's nature can be radically changed by changing the economic structure of society, known as the materialistic interpretation of history is quite wrong. History shows that man has changed and progressed through changes brought about in the psychology of man. This has been clearly and convincingly shown by Sri Aurobindo in his great book: *The Psychology of Social Development (The Human Cycle)*. Evolving out of the animal, Man still retains some of the nature of the animal, dominated by desire, anger, greed and these stand in the way of his further upward evolution. "Threefold are the doors of Hell destructive of the soul—desire, wrath and greed, therefore let man renounce these three." (Gita 16/21). It is specially these three passions in man which the Communists fan to serve their ends. These can be conquered by a psychological discipline which is known as Yoga in India and the preliminary discipline is to

cultivate the virtues of a Brahmin who represents the highest type of man in India. "Calm, self-control, askesis (discipline), purity, forgiveness, candour, knowledge, acceptance of spiritual truth are the virtues of the Brahmin." (Gita 18/42). This is real spirituality. What passes as religion now is quite different from spirituality, it is a mass of conventional rites and ceremonies which lead the soul nowhere. That is why in the Gita, the Lord, as a solution of the problems of human life and action tells Arjuna, "Therefore, O Arjuna, become the Yogin." As it is true that conventional religion acts as opium on people, it is equally true that Communism acts as wine on people, it destroys his higher possibilities and fosters the brute and animal in him. The animal also has joys of life but they cannot satisfy the human soul. The Lord says in the Gita: "When a man has known Me as the Enjoyer of sacrifice and tapasya (all men live and work for God alone), the mighty lord of all the worlds, the friend of all creatures, he comes by the peace." (5/29). There is no other way of getting peace, and if one has not peace how can he have happiness? The communists make people forget this proved truth and thus deprive them of the true source of peace and happiness. When people will believe that God is the creator and supreme ruler of this world, that we have got all our power and energy from him, it is He who is our Master and no one else, he will work sleeplessly and enthusiastically for the good of the world and humanity, knowing that to be the real service of God through which one can reach the highest realisa-

tion of the supreme Good and Ananda. Says the Lord, "Be it thy supreme aim to do My work ; doing all actions for My sake, thou shalt attain perfection." (12'10) When people will thus act to their full capacity as worship of God all poverty and want will disappear from earth.

Today everybody claims to be democratic, but true democracy has not yet been established anywhere not even in Britain, the Mother of Parliament, where what prevails in the name of democracy is really oligarchy. In socialist countries they do not have even adult franchise, only men belonging to the communist party can elect the government claiming that it is the communists who really represent the people. Modern Democracy was formulated in the great watchwords of the French Revolution, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. But as

under the present conditions of humanity unrestricted liberty leads to oppressions and exploitation, the control advocated by the socialists has its justification. But as social control also tends towards bureau-

cratic regulation of the lives of men, a compromise has to be found and that is known as Mixed Economy. But that also is not completely satisfactory.

Only when through spiritual transformation human nature by the practice of Yoga people will realise the Vedantic truth of the essential unity of all human beings in the self or Atman, the third ideal of Fraternity will be really attained. Love, instead of conflict and exploitation, will be the law of life and an ideal order of society will be reached at last. In the meantime all democratic forces stand united against all forces of tyranny and injustice. Both America and Russia are approaching this ideal from opposite sides. Russia has now to give up the slogan of Socialism and compromise with the USA, it is only in this way that their common aim of preventing a nuclear war will be fulfilled and the world will see for the first time universal peace under which alone the economic and other problems of human life can be ultimately solved.



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO CHANGES IN INDIAN RELIGION

IAN PROUDFOOT

Under the influence of the developing disciplines of cultural anthropology and sociology, few modern historians would dispute that there is a nexus between the social structure, the economy, and the ethical and moral standards of a society. But history, as the diachronic discipline *par excellence*, must go beyond merely describing the existence of such a nexus. It must concern itself with change and must therefore treat that nexus in terms of a mechanism of change.

On the question of how this mechanism works one may, with Marx, argue that it is man's fundamental material needs, essential to his very survival, which are the mainspring of this mechanism and which determine the forms of social organization in his society.

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

Or again, one may follow Weber, whose sociological leanings led him to emphasize the importance of a society's ideals and beliefs in patterning behaviour, arguing that this determines the manner in which man is able to exploit his economic environment.

Although seemingly contradictory, in application these two views become complementary. On the one hand, the Marxist approach is useful for describing the fundamental changes which recast a whole society when its mode of production, social order, and *Weltanschauung* are all interdependently transformed. And on the other, the Weberian is the more fruitful in describing how a society operates within the framework of its Marxist-determined *Weltanschauung*. Hence I have applied the Marxist approach in attempting to account for the basic changes in Indian moral and ethical outlook between the times of the Rgveda and that of the Manusmriti, while accepting Weber's scheme to relate the development of religious institutions to the social structures which

produced them, paying particular attention to the economic and social standing of successive priest-hoods as the status group most active in formulating and controlling the expression of the social ethos.

THE VEDIC PERIOD

Surviving evidence of the nature of religious life in the civilization of Harappa is still inconclusive, and so we must begin our account of the development of Indian religion with the Vedic tradition.

The Rgveda reflects the culture of the Aryans at a time when they were still moving across northern India and only beginning to make their first tentative settlements. Their economy was primarily based on cattle-herding and, although the importance of agriculture was increasing, it was still of the primitive shifting type which demands fairly constant burning off of new clearings.

This simple economy, the low productivity of which could support only small bands of people (*i.e.* tribal groups) living together, demanded a great deal of communal action both in herding cattle and in continually clearing, and thereafter working, new land. Since labour was communally contributed, the herds and territory which constituted the property of the tribe were held in common, the product of tribal labour being shared according to a custom accepted by all members. Accumulation of wealth in the form of chattels was impossible under these semi-nomadic conditions and before the development of a money economy. Consequently, the social differentiation within the tribal group, at least on standards of wealth, must have been negligible, and although the rajanya families of noble lineage monopolized political influence over the vis freemen, leadership within their circles was probably at root charismatic and by no means absolute.

Springing from these communalistic social

and economic institutions was an ideal which conceived ideas of morality on a group level. The simple internal social relations of the tribal group were based upon a concept of "man in the concrete, and not man in the abstract," and therefore, within the tribe, any ethical system had little relevance. The most highly developed example of morality within the tribe is the character of Varuna. But even his morality is primarily non-individualist: he is the guardian of *rta*, the well-being of the community, and punishes such acts as are detrimental to it. For Varuna sin is itself conceived of as a shared, not a personal, thing: he visits the sins of ancestors on their descendant's households.

There was even less place for ethical standards applicable to extra-tribal relations. The Aryans in their semi-nomadic state continually waged war with all other people with whom they came in contact. This behaviour has an economic explanation based on the fact that, as nomads, the tribe held wealth (mainly in the form of herds) which was portable and therefore, although more easily protected from raids than sedentary forms of wealth, was "more conveniently stolen." Conflict, not harmony, with outsiders was thus potentially profitable and considered the proper attitude. In the words of a hymn to Surya, "Giving my foe into mine hand: let me not be my foeman's prey." This attitude typifies the actions of the protagonists in the 'heroic' tradition which is enshrined in the secular core of the Mahabharata. This warlike external face of the Aryan grama is basic to the charismatic leadership ideal—the king, whose function was more that of a commander-in-chief than a monarch, had to bring wealth and success to his followers in war; success in this was virtue.

The morality operative on a tribal (*i.e.* social) level can be clearly illustrated from Persia in the application of the Zoroastrian quasi-moral values of *asa* (conventionally translated as 'truth') and *druj* ('lie')—a dualism also found less strictly delineated in the Rgveda. Zarathustra, speaking from the point of view of newly settled agriculturalists who were suffering at the hands of marauding cattle herders, characterizes them as *dregvants*, 'followers of the lie', which is identified with *aesma* or 'violent onrush' to typify their behaviour. In opposition to this

asa takes on a meaning similar to that of the Vedic *rta*. Obviously these are no moral values in the modern sense: they are judged not on an individual level, but rather are an evaluation of good as judged on the level of the social group only.

Institutionally the Vedic religion centred the community sacrifice, the *yajna*, which was focussed about the sacrificial fire as the link between men and gods and as the symbol of the corporate being of the social group. It appears from later Indian evidence that the *yajna* was performed on each level of social grouping by the leader of that group, *e.g.* for the extended family by the paterfamilies. But our Vedic sources make it plain that the tribal sacrifice was not usually conducted by the king, but had fallen into the hands of the brahmanic priesthood. In order to appreciate the form of the Vedic tradition on the tribal level, it will be necessary, therefore, to study the origins and social position of the priestly status group which came to control it.

There is sufficient evidence to be culled from extant literary sources to make a non-Aryan origin of the brahmanic priesthood likely. The *Aitareya Brahmana* says that brahmana is to be expelled at will by a rajanya ruler; Rgvedic brahmanas are often described as poverty-stricken. Such a state of affairs would be impossible if brahmanas were part of the Aryan tribal organization: no ruler could arbitrarily expel a member of the tribe, and property rights were shared by all. In the secular traditions of the Epics, despite heavy brahmanic re-editing, brahmanas play a peripheral part, the main themes being ksatriyas in battle or ideals of kingship. Furthermore, in the Rgveda many brahmanas are referred to by metonymic, whereas Aryan society was patrilineal and therefore Aryans bear a patronymic. Later tradition gives many of the legendary sages non-Aryan lineages and *pravara* prohibition of marriage in two *gotras*, which was upheld particularly by the brahmanas, can only have originated from a combination of the Aryan patrilineal tradition with a (native) matrilineal one. Drekmeier claims to find evidence in the Rgveda that the performance of the tribal sacrifices had then not yet become the exclusive province of the brahmana and indeed some Aryan groups seem not to have acknowledged brahmanic priesthoods at all.

This evidence gains strength in the light of what can be deduced concerning the religion of the Aryans before they reached India by examining the religious institutions of collateral branches of the Indo-European tradition. Now, while the subsidiary and less powerful *hotr* and *atharvan* priests of India find parallels in the Persian *zoatar* and *athravan* and must therefore have originated before the Aryans entered India, the *brahmana* is not attested. In Persia the *magi* came to fill a position similar to that of the *brahmanas* in India, but their origin is indisputably non-Aryan. Neither Greece nor Rome knew such priesthoods. It is relevant to recall here the origin of the powers of the head-priest in Rome. After the fall of the monarchy the religious functions formerly held by the *rex* were transferred to this *rex-sacrorum*. Such comparative evidence would carry little weight were it not that it so exactly matched with the forms of religious observance attested in India below tribal level.

What then was the origin of the brahmanic priesthood? As the Aryans spread into the Ganges Basin we learn from the Upanisads of *ksatriyas* who often knew more of *brahman* and *yajna* than their *brahmana* priests who respectfully learnt from them or journeyed to the Panjab to learn the secret intricacies of brahmanic ritual. Although this evidence is later than the time when the brahmanic priesthood first originated, it is significant in that it establishes a principle of inducting priests ignorant of the Vedic tradition into the ranks of the brahmanic priesthood. And there is no dearth of evidence for the existence of non-Aryan religious virtuosos who would be suitable material for, or at least inspiration for, the formation of the brahmanic priesthood: the later parts of the *rgveda* mention *munis* and *vratya* priests andutton sees the influence of native traditions in the magical emphasis of the *Atharvaveda*. There is no reason to doubt that there were non-brahmana holy men in the tradition of those later referred to by Megasthenes as *Sarmanes*, and by *oka* in his inscriptions, or in the *Ramayana* with its *sudra* ascetic who loses his head.

If, then, we assume that the Aryans came to India without a strong priesthood, it is possible to fix with some accuracy the time that the brahmanic priesthood first attached itself to

the Aryans. The most important stock-in-trade of any priesthood is an accepted canon by means of which the priest can establish himself as an authority on religious matters. The fact that the movement of the Aryans into India can be traced in the *Rgveda* as far as the area between the Indus and the Jamna rivers shows that until that time the sources of the *Rgveda* were still a living tradition, which was then suddenly frozen. This phenomenon is hard to explain without positing the intervention of a priesthood.

In the light of their precarious social position, it becomes clear why the *brahmanas* made their religious texts (which they necessarily adapted from the Aryan tradition) so esoteric, so formalized, and their rituals so complex. For this was their most powerful weapon in establishing themselves as an indispensable virtuoso class:

He who knows the property of that Saman [chant], obtains property.

He who knows what is the gold of that Saman, obtains gold.

The tensions, dating from this time, between *brahmana* and *ksatriya* become comprehensible when it is realized that in this process the *brahmanas* were trying to divest the *ksatriyas* of their religious functions, and thus of one aspect of their authority. The crucial factor which led to the *brahmana's* success was that, as the Aryan communities became increasingly agricultural and sedentary, conditions demanded the exercise of more power by the tribal ruler (as we shall see) who therefore needed sanctification of his new powers in order to legitimize his rise from his former position as a *primus inter pares*. The *brahmanas* with their costly and pretentious rituals supplied this sanctification and thereby made themselves indispensable. [This seems a more satisfactory explanation than Drekmeier's. He claims that because kingship was not a divine institution at that time, and because the king was in theory subject to *dharma*, the *brahmanas* were able to assert their position. This reasoning, in my opinion, begs the question since it is only valid once the *brahmanas* have gained a position of dominance.]

In short, while the basic ethic of Vedic society was determined by its economic foundation, the forms its religious institutions evolved

were the creation of a priesthood engaged in a political status struggle.

THE RISE OF INDIVIDUALISM

By the seventh century B.C. a swathe of Aryan settlements extended across northern India from the Panjab to Bihar. Continuing the process described in the previous section, agriculture slowly assumed a more important place in the economy of the tribal groups. They began to consolidate their tribal territories (*janapada*) and coalesce about a village which became the headquarters of a tribal state (*gana*). As sedentary agriculture brought about increases in productivity and made the holding of wealth (in land, grain, etc., and perhaps also as coin) more practicable, so it exaggerated the power of the ksatriya noble families. And as increasing population, dispersal of the now less mobile tribal members, and the areal expansion of the effective *janapada* made the convocation of the tribal council (*sabha*) less practicable, there arose a tendency to oligarchical rule. The most prominent examples of this development are the janapadas of the Mallas and Licchavis. While this process represents nothing more than the adjustment of the tribal power structure to more sedentary, agricultural conditions, the result was a loss of social homogeneity within the tribe, which, as the Arthashastra well knew, was a basic precondition of tribal politics. Finally, since sedentary agriculture, in contrast to herding or shifting cultivation, is not amenable to large scale collective working, the very *raison d'être* of the tribal system withered away.

Developments in Magadha and Kosala were more spectacular. The rapid transformation in these places was due to the combined effects of the shifts to sedentary agriculture, the widespread introduction of metals, the development of trade and the consequent introduction of a money economy. The impact of the shift to sedentary agriculture was greater in the Gangetic Basin than elsewhere because of the eminently suitable fertile soil, and was exaggerated further by the large areas of such land available for clearing. Centred on Rajagriha, Magadha was so placed that she led the northern Indian settlements in the introduction of metals, for easily exploited iron outcrops were found near her capital, and furthermore by

virtue of her position she dominated the copper and iron trade with south-eastern India. Kosala, later itself absorbed by Magadha, also benefited as a diversion point for the trade with the string of settlements along the Himalayan foothills. The importance for the Magadhan economy of its near-monopoly in the metals trade cannot be exaggerated, for although in terms of labour employed trade may be a minor sector of a given economy, it "always plays a strategically dynamic role" by facilitating specialization and the more efficient use of available resources. In this way the whole effect was multiplied, for specialization or expansion in any one sector of the economy created in all the others. As a result of this, the coinage filtering through to Magadha and Kosala along the trade route from Taxila in the sixth century B.C. gave rise to a money economy, which had developed by the time of the Buddha. The rapid growth-rate of the Magadhan economy, the result of the 'accelerator effect' of this time, is illustrated in the Digha Nikaya, which advises ploughing 50 per cent of the profits back into any enterprise, and the high interest rates of the time evince a strong demand for capital.

The social order was thrown into conturbation. A money economy enables an efficient and significant division of labour: commodity producers, like craftsmen, can readily exchange their goods for the necessities of life through the medium of money, and thus specialization arises. Former social groupings were eroded by new commercially-based ones like the guilds (*sreni*) or workers syndicates (*samghabhrta*) which formed the backbone of the new economy. With occupational specialization comes the concept of private property. An artisan must own what he makes to sell it: in short, money rapidly erodes the importance of communal wealth.

Another effect of a money economy is that it enables a division of labour between town and countryside. Able to exploit profitably increasing areas of hinterland once the uncertainty of barter and the necessity of transporting large quantities of primary produce had been eased by money exchanges, the *janapada* headquarter villages were transformed into cities, centres of commerce and primitive industry. Without th

lasis of a money economy, the Mauryan empire could never have been.

With the centralization of control that a money economy allowed, and for the stability that an increasingly complex economy demanded, a strong kingship emerged. The sabha is nowhere heard of: in theory the king's power was absolute, although in practice he was no doubt strongly influenced by the powerful and wealthy city dwellers of noble birth. The importance of these city dwellers cannot be understood unless their position is seen to have evolved from the tribal social order. They based their wealth upon the exploitation of what had been originally tribal land by virtue of their standing as leaders in the obsolescent tribal structure. With this income they indulged in personal investment in trade or opened new tracts of virgin land, this increasing their personal fortunes further. What is significant is that they appropriate the labour of their followers for their personal aggrandizement, and, most important, they own their political power to their economic and commercial strength, no longer to noble birth or class.

The increasing social stratification inherent in these developments must be understood in two aspects. First, social differentiation by wealth, which begins, as we have seen, with sedentary settlement, is accentuated by a money economy and the concept of private property: wealth can be amassed without fear of its spoiling, or it can be invested as capital which can be easily realized so that it is negotiable again. Secondly, in the close personal relationships of tribal society status is reckoned on a multiplicity of standards, skill in arms, prowess in battle, liberality, age, and so forth. Furthermore a man's standing is determined as much by the group he belongs to as by any personal qualities. Now, under the more impersonal conditions of post-tribal society, status becomes much more sharply defined. It is based upon the external criterion of material wealth almost to the exclusion of other criteria, and since by wealth is meant individual possessions a man's status is more amenable to adjustment by his own efforts. Hence his standing becomes a vital and personal problem. This whole question of status gains in significance when it is realized that with the rapid expansion of the Magadhan economy, as with any rapidly expanding economy, movement

up and down the social scale was easier than it is under more normally stable conditions.

Thus the departure from Vedic conditions was profound: larger numbers of people were living together than ever before; former social groupings had been sloughed off, and yet all members of the community became reciprocally dependant as individuals; the concept of individual importance had arisen; great differences in status arose for the first time. What changes in the Vedic Weltanschauung did these developments cause?

The religious upheaval of the sixth century B.C. produced a welter of new religious and philosophical systems of two main types: one primarily propagating a universalist ethical (in the modern sense) system; the other an individualist devotional religion.

Both these tendencies are evident in the later Upanisads, which belong to this period. These Upanisads evince the development off a personal relationship with God which portends the Saivite and Vaisnavite developments of theism. What Zimmer calls the introversion of Brahmanism developing in these texts signals the increasing importance of the individual. This individualism is rationalized into a rather negative view of ethics, significant only insofar as it is universal and individualist.

The development of a universalist-individualist ethic to rationalize the impersonal interdependence of the new economic dispensation (which Kautalya wished to order by a stringent legal code) is most clearly shown in Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism preached the attitude of *maitri* (good-will) in one's dealings with all men, emphasizing fair-dealing and justice at large. Asoka's dhamma involved a similar ethical attitude. Similarly again, the Jains stressed honesty in dealing with all men—a practice which can be connected with their position as important traders. This correspondence of ethics and livelihood points up the efficaciousness of the new ethical principles in 'lubricating' the new money economy. As well as that, the universalism of these ethical systems is clearly an adjustment to the obsolescence of the former tribal concept of morality whereby a man's only loyalty was to his own social group. In an interesting inscription, Asoka seems to suggest, as a means of adjustment to the new conditions, a universalizing of the tribal

order by substituting for the social group a (universal) community-in-Dhamma :

There is no gift that can equal the gift of Dharma, the establishment of human relations on Dharma, the distribution of wealth through Dharma, or kinship in Dharma.

A peculiar extension of the ethical principle which was adhered to, in some degree, by all the schools which arose at this time was the practice of *ahimsa*. This, too, can be seen as a development away from the tribal order, even a reaction against it. In references to *ahimsa* there often occurs an associated idea: namely, that of peaceful sedentary life. For example—

The monk Gautama has given up all injury to life, he has lost all inclination to it; he has laid aside the cudgel and the sword, and he lives modestly, full of mercy, desiring in compassion the welfare of all things living.

The sword and the cudgel are more than simply instruments which harm living creatures, they also symbolize the semi-nomadic condition of life in which tribes are constantly at war. This theme is developed in the legend of King Mahavijita as related by the Buddha. The king's fire-priest repeatedly advised him to discontinue the *yajna* sacrifice and encourage the peaceful occupations of trading and agriculture if he wanted to abolish banditry and thieving and to gain property. Asoka's main aim was the establishment of dharma. Is it then coincidence that one of his main preoccupations was the securing of his domain against the incursions of non-sedentary border peoples?

King Priyadarsi seeks to induce even the foreign peoples who have come under his dominion to adopt this way of life and this ideal.

It is possible to explain *ahimsa* as arising from belief in metempsychosis whereby all animals, even things, have souls and should not be killed. But an interesting feature of the *ahimsa* ideal was its special application with respect to the cow, and we have already noted the importance of cattle in provoking the raids

of Vedic times. It is therefore more likely that *ahimsa* should be seen primarily as a symptom of the necessity for order and security in a developed economy. In other words, *ahimsa* is on the political level what honesty is on the individual level.

The doctrines of *karma* and *samsara* are common to Jainism, Buddhism, and Sankhya-yoga, three systems of thought current in the 5th century B.C., and they also suddenly emerge in the Upanisads of this time. The origin of the belief is obscure. Whether or not it owes anything to an outside source the doctrine of *samsara* was certainly built upon an earlier tradition of metempsychosis with animals and plants which appears as early as the Rgveda, where it seems to have been an aspect of totemism which has been common to virtually all tribal societies, Aryan or not. The probability of development from such an earlier tradition gains in likelihood since it explains why *samsara* applied not only to the world of men but also included grades of animals and, for Jains and Ajivikas, inanimate creatures, and beyond that, why the principle of metempsychosis was accepted without comment while much attention was directed to propounding the mechanics of its operation—the very aspect distinguishing the hierarchical schemes of *samsara* from the simpler totemistic beliefs. It would seem then that in this we have another case of the remaking of a belief which had lost its meaning as the tribal social structure decayed, and extending it to rationalize the new circumstances.

The importance of *samsara* lies in this very hierarchical nature, for through this it was possible to provide an answer to the fundamental problem of all ethical systems: that of why good does not necessarily prosper. In view of the dramatic disparities in wealth and social stratification of the time, this problem must have seemed particularly pressing. Its centrality to the ethical systems makes its basic assumption all the more significant: *karma*, through *samsara*, gives each man an independent individual destiny; it repudiates the Vedic conception of shared or inherited sin. In the words of Nagasena, "it is *karma* that divides them into high and low."

Contemporary to the rise of these ethical philosophies was the development of theistic cults. The Vedic pantheon, which had been

sustained by the communal *yajna* sacrifice, became increasingly enfeebled, giving way to a profusion of new cult-gods, which eventually coalesced about two main divinities : Visnu and Siva. These new cults differed basically from the Vedic cult by assuming a personal relation between the individual worshipper and the deity. The essence of this relationship was *bhakti* (devotion) on the part of the devotees, to which the deity responded with *prasada* (grace). This intensely personal *bhaktiprasada* relationship was especially typical of what was to become the Vaisnava constellation of sects ; the Saiva tradition placed more emphasis on the individual yogic efforts of its adherents.

Although the individualist basis of the theistic cults expressed itself primarily in these emotional, and often a moral, ways, nevertheless the ethical preoccupations of the atheistic schools found a counterpart in the guise of moral standards. The central issue of the Bhagavadgita is the moral problem posed by the dissolution of family ties, which is rationalized with the ideas of *svadharma* and *karmayoga* : "Man attains perfection, being engaged in his own duty." Arjuna stands as an individual faced with the problem of his place in society. In the tribal scheme that would have been impossible.

Mahayanist Buddhism developed along lines similar to the theistic cults. Its Bodhisattvas take on the function of cult-gods, and the belief in transference of merit assumes individual merit, just as the sale of land implies individual ownership. Although Hinayana Buddhism had no equivalent doctrine, its approach to salvation was highly individualist. It demanded that "each being must be a lamp unto himself".

The very fact that there were many competing schools and not one single belief held universally was itself a symptom of the individualism of the time.

Owing to increased productivity, and the division of labour made possible by the money economy, a true leisure class emerged for the first time. In Vedic times there had been *rsis* who retreated into the forest with a small band of disciples in a tiny, secluded, almost self-sufficient society. The rise of Buddhism and the theistic cults, and the schools of philosophy—this great florescence of culture corresponded with the emergence of a fully-developed leisure class support-

ed by the labour of the rest of the community. The practice of endowment of religious institutions by both state and individuals dates from this time, and without such endowment the religious organization of Buddhism, even the mere building of *viharas*, would not have been possible, for although the *viharas* were in theory self-supporting this was in fact never the case. While individual monks were sworn to poverty, their *vihasa* soon came to possess great wealth, so that the monks' daily begging round was often neglected. The simple fact that large numbers of unproductive monks were able to gather together was only possible thanks to the more centralized economy, which was a *sine qua non* for an empire like that of the Mauryas.

The formal organization of the *vihara* is an excellent example of adjustment to post-tribal conditions by universalizing tribal institutions. By its rule of celibacy and the breaking of food taboos through begging incompatible with tribal society, the *Samgha* nevertheless adapted the tribal heritage for its form of government and also in a new unrestricted internal commensality.

Most of our earliest evidence for the theistic cults comes from the region of Mathura and the north-west of India in the period just before Kusana rule. By this time conditions in the area must have been similar to those described for Magadha and Kosala earlier. As trade contacts with the Yavana kingdoms to the west increased, so the development of a money economy was stimulated, with all the profound social and political consequences we have already observed in Magadha. The social order was probably further unsettled by the effects of conquest and immigration from the west.

Broadly speaking, north-western India took the answers to its problems from the east. Buddhism flourished and, with the theistic cults, extended to Taxila. Naturally in this process adaptation to local forms occurred, for example the Saurya sects were inspired by the Iranian Mithra and the use of icons was probably fostered under Persian influence. This opens up the whole question of from what sources the theistic cults drew their forms. The burgeoning leisure class, which was instrumental in formulating these, must have absorbed representatives of Aryan, non-Aryan and foreign cultural traditions, so that it had access to a variety of raw material

from which to mould its own creations. The fact that Vaisnavism and Saivism drew heavily from beyond the pale of Aryan culture cannot in any way be construed as a 'triumph of the native culture': forms were adopted, but the substance was changed completely, from an expression of the tribal *Weltanschauung* to one of an individualist *Weltanschauung*. Thus the Visnu who was a minor god in the Vedic pantheon can hardly be called the same god as that worshipped by the Vaisnavas. What forms were adopted is relevant only insofar as it betrays the background of the new leisure class.

Both the theistic cults, and Buddhism and Jainism spread to southern India as it too passed through the economic and social development attendant upon sedentary agriculture (although nature was here not so accommodating), a money economy, and trade (this time via Alexandria with Rome, and with the prosperous north). The development of this type of economy was accompanied, as in the north, by the springing up of kingdoms, like the Satavahana, Cola, Pandya, and Cera kingdoms, once central government became possible. It is clear from Buddhist and Jain cave dedications that social groups like the *sreni* were important in parts of a money economy. From the flourishing of southern India at this time, and that there was culture in the south, we may infer the existence of a developed leisure class. In short, all evidence points to similar conditions to those current in the north when the new ways of thought appeared, so it is not surprising to find them adopted in the south as well.

With trade from the north came Jain and Buddhist monks and brahmanas, who provided ready-made rationalizations of the changed social conditions and means for legitimizing, with their new religions, the emergent rulers. As in the north, the leisure class thus represented native as well as imported traditions and so new forms were added to old. And, just as the early brahmanas had codified the Vedic tradition to guarantee their own standing, so at this time the priesthoods began to sublimate orgiastic, sexual and fetishist practices into a ritualistic *pūja*-centred cult. On the one hand this had the effect of institutionalizing the new traditions, allowing the priesthoods to close their grip on them, and on the other hand it was symptomatic of the

change to the *Weltanschauung* of a sedentary community, as we have seen with the development of *ahimsa*.

This process has often been called the Aryanization of the south. But it should be understood that essentially the process is the adopting of a sedentary way of life with its accompanying civilizing attitudes. The Tamils in their tribal state were as wild and warlike as their Aryan counterparts, and both peoples, as they turned to sedentary occupations, underwent a parallel change in their social ethic.

THE RETURN TO STABILITY

We saw that the social upheaval described in the previous section was the result of an expanding base of production which resulted in the phenomenon known as the 'accelerator effect'. Once the rate of expansion of the economic base began to level off and population expansion filled out the increased productivity of the period of rapid expansion, the per capita output no doubt began to decline. The effect of this on capital accumulation was profound since, "given minimum subsistence requirements that might be considered necessary by the society, per capita surpluses potentially available may actually decline". In complement, demand for capital also fell as the expansionary accelerator effect gave way to the depressant effect of diminishing returns. The fall in per capita income available for non-subsistence consumption, together with the decrease in interaction between the various sectors of the economy, is sharp contrast to the conditions described in the last section, meant that the significance of commerce also declined.

Now, as we have seen, developed trade and its concomitant money economy allow a large scale division of labour, so, with contracting trade, the former broad, interdependent social organization began to devolve into ever-smaller self-sufficient units. This tendency culminated in the formation of largely self-sufficient villages whose economy was based overwhelmingly on subsistence agriculture, and whose specialist needs (like pottery and forging) were supplied by small professional groups attached to the village. The money economy became increasingly irrelevant since these specialists were supported by

contributions in kind from the village for their services.

Social groupings such as the *sreni* were incompatible with this new order and they survived only in the few large towns, which were supported by the trickle of trade (the most important being foreign trade) that remained. Inter-village trade fell into the hands of exclusive groups of professionals so there tended to be no significant economic contact between villages.

There is ample evidence for this economic change. The decline of the money economy is shown by the rise of appanage and corvee in lieu of expenditure and taxation on the part of the state. By the beginning of the seventh century A.D. this decline was so far advanced that today few, if any, coins from Harsa's great "empire" remain.

Politically, the result of the change was to loosen the control of a central government over the constituent parts of its territory. Obviously, where the parts of a kingdom are economically interdependent there is not only the need for a central government but also the opportunity for such a government to create for itself a strong economic basis, through taxing trade and through monopolies. But where the parts are independent economically any form of wider government is a superstructure without any base.

The effect of this new dispensation was to make the supra-village situation very unstable. The existence of peripatetic courts is symptomatic of a situation where it was found easier to mobilize the court than the kingdom's resources. The immobility of resources without a money economy, and the attendant practices of appanage or enfeoffment led to decentralization, the local authorities becoming entrenched, often hereditary. Local garrisons literally ate the kingdom's revenue while the central government found it onerous to support a standing army. The weakness of the central authority can be gauged from the kingship ideal of the *Manu-smṛti*, where the king is conceived of as a passive administrator of the diverse constituent elements of his kingdom:

A king who knows the sacred law must enquire into the laws of the castes (*jati*), of the districts (*janapada*), guilds (*sreni*) and of the families (*kula*).

Culturally, this political and economic disengagement of village and supra-village levels meant the increasing isolation of the court culture from the popular tradition. The accompanying involution of the Sanskrit court culture has been widely noted. Furthermore, as the money economy withered the productive base exploitable by any central authority contracted, and as per capita surplus production declined, former great centres of culture fell into decay, leaving a decimated leisure class in a petty court environment.

The rootlessness of the court culture was to have disastrous effects on Buddhism. We have already seen that the *viharas*, essential to the functioning of Buddhist religious life, were the product of centralized money economies, so that as the unit of production contracted to the village, the *viharas* were placed in a position similar to that of the petty courts. Consequently, and this is especially true of the Mahayanist Buddhism of northern India, Buddhism became increasingly indentified, in outlook and in language, with the courts upon which it relied for support. Although many of the *viharas* had by this time become very wealthy landholders, their position must have been impaired by their vulnerability to political vicissitudes. Hence, in the seventh century A.D. Hsuan-tsang and I Ching record that (with the notable exception of Nalanda, significantly a trade centre) many *viharas* and sacred sites were abandoned or in disrepair.

The specialization demanded of the Buddhist monk, viz. his celibacy, his poverty, and his life apart under the monastic regimen, became, like all occupational specialization, more and more out of step with the subsistence-orientated economy. This specialization, in strong contrast to brahmanic practices, effectively isolated the Buddhist tradition from the increasingly important village social unit except insofar as it became assimilated into the temple cults so well suited to the new order.

In the villages the theistic temple-cults increased in popularity owing to their economic viability and, incidentally, to the cheapness and simplicity of the *puja* offering. Indeed the temple became an important banking institution and storehouse in many villages, especially in the south.

The brahmanas were in a good position to take control of the temple cults since, not being celibate, nor sworn to poverty, nor having a church organization, they were able to take their place equally at court or in village society. Furthermore, since there was no set priestly training, they could strengthen their position by accomodating native tribal priesthoods within their ranks by the fiction of rebirth into Aryan society.

In this way, since Buddhism had become economically irrelevant, and since Jainism developed alongside its monkhood a temple cult served by brahmana priests, the brahmanas were eventually assured in their control of all the major religious traditions of India.

In the hands of the brahmanas the *smṛti* tradition was elaborated in many law books, of which the most authoritative was that attributed to Manu. These law books enshrine a new table of values arising from the stable social conditions and unchanging division of labour characteristic of the stagnant village economy. The ideal of *varnasramadharma*, conceiving of each man as having a specific role in society is not comprehensible except against a background of an immobile social environment.

It was this immobility also which allowed the caste (*jati*) system to crystallize. As a device for backing their pretensions as a status group to social paramountcy, the brahmanas rationalized the caste system into the *caturvarna* scheme of late tribal times in which the brahmana class had traditionally claimed to be the superior varna. The conflict between the economic reality of the *jati* and the artifice of the *caturvarna* ideal is belied by the recognition of such concession as *apaddharma* and change of *varna* with change of occupation.

The import of all this was that in the *smṛti* tradition, *dharma*, with all its ethical connotations, became synonymous with *varnasramadharma*. Consequently the morality of the period tended to confound the individualistic ethic it inherited from money-economy days with taboos arising from and reinforcing the village *jati* division of labour. This mixture of individualism and community interest is typical of the period: a man attains his individual salvation through *bhakti-yoga* and by acting according to his own *svadharma*—that is, as an organic part of the social organization—through *karma-yoga*. "Man attains perfection, being engaged in his own duty."



THOUGHTS IN AN ART GALLERY

K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

THE SRI CHITRA ART GALLERY at Trivandrum, situated amidst aesthetically most satisfying surroundings, opened by His Highness the Maharaja of the erstwhile Travancore State on the 26th of September 1935, provides a representative, reliable, though not comprehensive, epitome of the outstanding examples of Eastern Art, and fulfils, as best as it could, its laudable mission of providing to the visitors facilities for the enjoyment, education and development of artistic tastes. Organised by the eminent Poet and Art Critic Dr. James H. Cousins, who had also organised the equally famous Sri Jagat Mohan Chitra Sala at Mysore, the Sri Chitra Art Gallery is unique in its joy imparting, thought-inspiring, collection of Rajasthani, Rajasthani, Mughal, Tanjore, Indo-European, Indian Mural, Revivalistic Indian, Persian, Tibetan, Balinese, Chinese and Japanese Paintings. To get illuminating glimpses into the age-old art heritage of India and its tremendous impact on the culture of the far-flung nations of South East Asia, one should spend a few hours browsing amidst the Paintings displayed with taste and judgement in the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery*.

The highlights of the vast and varied collections in the Art Gallery comprise the Indian Renaissance, Indo-European, Balinese, and Indian Mural sections where accent has been laid alike on quality and quantity. After a period of quiescence consequent on the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, in the eighteenth Century, Indian Painting awoke from a long period of hibernation to a new life in Bengal under the leadership of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, nephew of Poet Rabindranath Tagore. Abanindranath and his first batch of brilliant students, Asit Kumar Haldar, Nandalal Bose, Kshitindranath Majumdar, and their pupils, who inscribed a brilliant and unique chapter of stupendous creative achievement in Indian Art history through the thoughtful revival of the almost lost traditional methods kept alive the tradition and culture of Bharat. This nation

wide movement which caught world wide attention has been incorrectly styled the Bengal Revival, whereas, it is, in fact, Indian Art Renaissance. Animated by a common and infectious idealism in theme and technique, but varied by locality and personality, it created a plethora of Paintings in the exquisite Wash Style. A few truly outstanding examples of Indian Renaissance Art, sublime in content, immaculate in technique, by such stalwarts as Abanindranath Tagore, Asit Kumar Haldar, Pramode Kumar Chatterjee, Devi Prasad Roy Chaudhury, Ardendu Prasad Banerjee, Kshitindranath Majumdar, Sarada Charan Ukil, and Ranada Charan Ukil and their disciples exhibited in the Art Gallery serve the purpose of revealing the genius of the Indian Art Revival. Tagore's *Alone*, Halder's *Spirit of the Storm*, Bose's *Chaitanya by the Sea*, Chatterjee's *Agniswaha*, Banerjee's *Spirit of the River Ganges*, Choudhury's *Jivan Sandhya* are, indeed masterpieces.

While the Indian Art Revival Movement was forging ahead in Bengal, the renegade artists like Poet Tagore, Gaganendranath Tagore, Jamini Roy, Amrita Shergil, Sudhir Khastgir, Manishi Dey and some others of lesser eminence, broke away from the Movement (at that time it certainly required enormous courage and conviction to do so) and gave a new orientation to Art in India which evoked admiration from the young and progressive Indian Painters. Just a sprinkling of such Paintings, dazzlingly original in subject and technique, such as the *Bird* by Rabindranath Tagore, *House of Mystery* by Gaganendranath Tagore, adorn the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery*. It is a serious shortcoming that the Gallery does not contain any work by the genius Amrita Shergil whose influence was most revitalising in Indian Art, who with perception and vision foresaw that too soon the Indian Art Renaissance will lose its glamour, and who inspired new trends in art which have been exploited by the contemporary Indian Painters. Also, there ought to be more works by the

staffwarts Asit Kumar Haldar and Khshindran Majumdar, in the Indian Renaissance Group to make the collection fully representative of that once popular but now outmoded style.

A fairly large, and obviously joy-imparting, group of Paintings, inspired to a large extent by the Indian Renaissance Style, by Gujarati, Madras, and Andhra Artists but possessed of individuality, are also seen in the Art Gallery. Of these, works by Kanu Desai, Chhaganlal Jalev, Ram Mohan Sastry, Ananda Mohan Sastry, deserve special attention. A group of Paintings of flora and fauna by the Kerala born artist K. Madhava Menon which are aesthetically most appealing, exhibited in the Sri Chitra Art Gallery leave an indelible impression in the minds of visitors who seek beauty in Art. Menon's sensitive studies of Cattle, Squirrel, Lotus, Monkeys, Bamboos, reminiscent of the superb achievements of the Chinese and Japanese Masters, and the Mughal and Rajasthani miniature Painters, should be considered as masterpieces of exquisite Wash Paintings which are poems in colours.

The revival of Folk Art in India, inaugurated in Bengal by Jamini Roy and Sunyani Devi, has spread to other parts of India. Though the Gallery does not have examples of the world famous folk art paintings by Jamini Roy, it does have a good collection of works by the famous Andhra born artists who have exploited the folk Art idiom in their own nostalgic manner. In this group, Srinivasulu's *Floods*, Narasimha Murli's *Village Craftsman*, Rajaiah's *Lullaby*, Madhusudhana Rao's *Struggle for Existence*, Paidi Raju's *Mali* and Doraiswami's *Horse* compel special recognition. One feels the absence of any folk art style painting by Kerala artists, especially the Master K. C. S. Panikker who had sometime back executed a few arresting folk art style Paintings depicting Kerala themes.

The Rajasthani and Mughal sections cannot claim to be comprehensive, yet they are fairly representative of the various periods. The three Basholi Paintings of *Gita Govinda*, *Rag Malhar*, *Abhisarika*, *Penance of Parvathi*, *Krishna and Radha*, are excellent examples of Rajasthani miniature paintings, homely, religious, lyrical, romantic and charming. Some of the remarkable examples of the courtly, personal, and

decorative Mughul Art Exhibited in the Gallery, are *A Chained Monkey*, *Tansen and Haridass*, *Ladies and Birds*, *Princes Watching the Full Moon*. The illuminated manuscript of *Mahabharata* in Persian, translated by Poet Faizi of Emperor Akbar's Court, and *Dasama Skanda* in Gurmukhi script, are rare and important items in which the art crafts of painting and calligraphy reach heights of excellence.

The group of fourteen paintings by humble peasants and fishermen of Bali Islands, acquired in 1937 by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore during his visit to Java and Bali Islands, constitute a very rare, significant, and impressive collection of unsophisticated Folk Art which illustrate in a simple, direct, manner, the day to day religious and secular life of the masses and their colourful and weird pastimes. Such a collection of Balinese Paintings is not to be found in any other Picture Gallery in India. *Cock Fight*, *Purification of Sita*, *Balinese Cremation*, *Jungle Scene*, are some of the outstanding pictures in this collection.

The eight old Tibetan *Thangkas* exhibited in the Gallery are finest examples of Tibetan, Lamaistic and theological art, very elaborate and intriguing in conception and decoration. The *Thangkas* of *Dharma Raja Avalokiteswara*, and *Rahula and Tiger* merit special attention as splendid examples of the brilliant and flawless stone *Tangka* colour technique.

The few examples of Chinese and Japanese Art in the Gallery do not, on the whole, attain heights of adequate representation or quality. Yet, they serve the purpose of making the visitor appreciate the genius of Chinese and Japanese Artists of old. *Branch of a Tree in Blossom* is a Chinese masterpiece, remarkable for its well balanced composition, sweeping and graceful touches. *At the Well* by Kunisada, and *Fujiyama* by Hiroshige, world famous Japanese masters, are finest examples of Japanese Art which express the spirit and form of subjects with minimum effort and maximum effect through sensitive lines and subdued colours.

The most extensive and representative examples of Indo-European Painting in Kerala by the Kilimanoor family of painters, which reached a high state of excellence, exhibited in the Sri Chitra Art Gallery, is, in many respects, unique and rewarding of a careful study. Gorgeous

works by Raja Ravi Varma, who won international fame while he was alive and his brother C. Raja Varma, continue to be quite impressive and popular with all classes of visitors. The large number of Oil and Water Colour Paintings and pencil sketches by Raja Ravi Varma, and the Landscape Studies in Oil Colours by C. Raja Varma display in full measure the rare and resplendent genius of the artists who were essentially self taught. Raja Ravi Varma's world famous religious paintings *Hansa Damayanti*, *Sakuntala*, *King Virata's Court*, *Mohini* and *Rukhmangada*, portraits of C. Raja Varma, Justice Krishna Iyer, H. B. Gregg, Rana Pratap Singh, and subject studies *Poverty* and *Docking the Bride*—to mention but a few of the magnificent Oil Colour Paintings—are masterpieces of Indo-European Art which illustrate his genius as a world master. The large number of pencil sketches by Ravi Varma (no other Gallery has such a fine group of sketches) display his unique gifts as a keen observer of man and nature, and as an accomplished draftsman. Of particular interest in the group of three unfinished paintings of Mysore Keddah, the last paintings by Raja Ravi Varma, exhibited in this Gallery with loving care. C. Raja Varma excelled as a painter of charming landscapes, remarkable for their local colour and atmosphere. At the *Tank*, *Vegetable Seller*, *Arrack Shop*, *Udaipur Palace*, *Secunderabad*, are some of his outstanding works displayed in the Gallery.

A significant, colourful, and inspiring portrait study, in Oil Colours, of Dr. James H. Cousins, who organised the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery*, painted by the World Master Dr. Sbetoslav Roerich adorn the Gallery as a fitting tribute to the Poet-Artist-Philosopher, and the artist who loves India. A masterpiece of portraiture, this painting dominates the room where it is exhibited.

An important, historical painting, in Oil Colours, exhibited in the Gallery is that of the famous Hero and Freedom Fighter Velu Thampi Dalawa, painted by a Kerala artist Sri N. N. Nambiar. This portrait evokes inspiring memories in every one who loves India.

The Sri Chitra Art Gallery is unique in that it is perhaps the only Picture Gallery in India having a very extensive and fully representative

collection of Indian Mural Art, ranging from the pre-historic Wall Painting at Hosangabad in the Narmada Valley, to the Kerala Murals of the 9th to the 18th Centuries. A carefully chosen collection of well executed and faithfully rendered copies of Mural Paintings from Ajanta, Bagh, Amaravati, Sittanavasal, Somappalle, Lapakshi, Kerala, and Ceylon, is exhibited in a striking manner as to thrill every Indian and provoke thought in students of art. Of the considerable number of copies of old Mural Paintings from the palaces, temples and churches of Kerala, only a few are exhibited in the Gallery due to limitations of space. The wealth of Mural Art treasures of Kerala is so great in quality and quantity and of perennial interest and inspiration to students of Indian Religion, Art, History and Culture, that it would be useful to have an entire Picture Gallery devoted exclusively to Kerala Mural Art.

Graphic Art has made considerable progress in India and there are quite a few Artists who have won national and international reputation in the media of Graphics, such as wood and Lino Cuts, Etching, and Print making. Though the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery*, has in its collection, a few superb Etchings by the German Master Rohannes Brauer, Graphics by Indian Artists are conspicuous by their absence. The creative genius and aesthetics of Indian Graphics need to be exhibited for the appreciation of the public.

Though the *Sri Chitra Art Gallery* is one of the best in India and all those who are officially associated with it are striving their best to make it a dynamic centre of artistic inspiration and attraction, it needs such improvement in quite a few directions. It is true that the State, with its several financial commitments on more vital, pressing and indeferrable needs, may not, at present, be able to grant more allotments for the development of the patriotic, art-loving, wealthy, people in Kerala, to give handsome gifts in money and Paintings for the betterment of the Picture Gallery, as the rich people in the United States of America are doing. In the U.S.A., there are quite a few leading Art Galleries ran entirely on public donations.

Several eminent personalities who have visited the Art Gallery have recorded their high appreciation of the exhibits. They have not failed to draw specific attention to the inadequacy of wall

space and the concomittant overcrowding, the poor and unsatisfactory lighting arrangements, the non-availability of an illustrated catalogues, and colour and monotone reproductions of the more outstanding paintings exhibited in the Gallery. The most pressing need of the Gallery is an up-to-date, scientifically constructed, building to display to best advantage the large and rare collectinos of Paintings.

The well informed visitor who knows about the modern art trends in World Art and their mighty impact on the Art and Artists of contemporary India will be totally disappointed to find that this well-known Picture Gallery does not have in its collections any work by such great Indian Masters with international reputation as Hussain, Raza, Panikker, Chavda, Gaitonde, Samant, Gujral, Sauza, Rama Rao, and several such others, without whose works no Gallery can claim to be modern and truthfully reflect the current art trends which have created, or are creating, art history. How good and useful will it be if some of our business magnates and wealthy people purchase works by the leading living Indian Artists and give the pictures as gifts

to the State Gallery as their counterparts in other lands are doing?

Latest scientific methode of display, cataloguing, preservation, restoration, and care of the great treasures, frequent Gallery talks, illustrated, have to be adopted, so as to make the Gallery serve its purpose better and fuller, and to reproduce the life giving qualities, inspirations and impulses of the objects of *Satyam*, *Shivam*, and *Sundaram*, to enable the looker on to intensify his emotional and mental awareness and absorb the *quick* of those objects, the rich and perennial inheritance of Art and Culture which speak to us in the language of immortal John Keat's *Grecian Urn* because they are a part of the education of human sensibility for all time. Knowledgeable people all over the world have, therefore, stressed the immediate and indeferrable necessity of quickly transforming the half dead ware—houses of art treasures exhibited in Mausoleum looking, antiquated, buildings, into dynamic art centres, and to develop the art of *looking* and not more *seeing*, to have real *Darshana*. In this noble, dedicated, and urgent task, public co-operation in full measure is called for.



Humayun. At one time, Kamaran went so far as to threaten to throw the infant Akbar from the ramparts of Kabul fort when Humayun lost the battle against his brother. The unlucky Emperor was chased from place to place until he reached Persia.

On his restoration after the death of Sher-Shah in 1545, Humayun's treatment of his brothers continued to be lenient. Despite the advice of his councillors to put Kamaran to death owing to his past deeds, Humayun with great hesitation contented only in depriving him of his eye sight and sent him to Mecca on a pilgrimage. Humayun's other brothers shared more or less the same fate. In essence, leniency was one of the traits in Humayun's character. But it may be noted that the foundation of fratricidal wars was laid even before the birth of Akbar, the Great Moghul.

Akbar's Empire too, was not a bed of roses. Though an imperialist, his tolerance, kindness, tact and diplomacy saved much blood-shed. Even his reign witnessed a fratricidal war. Akbar had only one brother, Hakim by name who proved to be a rival. After Hakim's death, his kingdom was annexed with the Moghul principalities.

During the last years of Akbar's reign an open clash between Jahangir and Khurum took place. An elephant fight between Jahangir and Khurum was arranged by way of a sport event to please the ailing emperor. The elephant belonging to Jahangir was called Girambar while that of Khurum was named as Apsara. The fight was in full swing and when the rescue elephant was coming in

triumph, the people shouted in ecstasy. A confusion then followed in the midst of which prince Khurum lost his temper and rushed to the Emperor (Akbar) and protested for the dastardly behaviour of Jahangir. Akbar deeply felt over the incident, but could not give his opinion, as he died soon afterwards.

A conference was convened immediately after Akbar's death and it was decided that Jahangir shall rule over the country, but no punishments were to be imposed on the dear and near relatives.

The reign of Jahangir marks an important chapter in the history of Moghuls as far as the fratricidal struggle is concerned. The claims for the throne in favour of Prince Khurum who was none other than the son of Salim was set aside owing to the re-conciliatory attitude of Raja Man Singh and Jahangir. The Emperor then granted a lakh of rupees to his son, but the relation between father and son despite the best diplomatic manoeuvre lasted only for a short time. Before dealing with the struggle between Prince Khusru and Jahangir it will be apt to trace briefly the antecedents of Khusru. The cordial relations between the Moghuls and the Rajputs were cemented during the reign of Akbar by marriage alliances with the Rajputs. Akbar's son Salim was married to Manbai, the daughter of Raja Bhagwandas. This marriage resulted in the birth of two children, viz. Sultaniisa Begum and Khusru who was born at Lahore on August, 6, 1587.

Khusru grew to be a handsome boy and everyone admired the child's behaviour. In 1595, the third Jesuit Misson visited Akbar's court. The leader was Rev. Pinheiro. He

remarked on seeing the child: "Bright eyed and truly lovely". When pictures of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary were brought in the hall, the little prince bent his knee and clasped his hands in prayer.

Prince Khusru was trained under the patronage of Abul Fazl and Shiv Dutt Bhattacharyya who initiated him to Hindu Mythology and Philosophy. Within a few years he became a robust youth, proficient in the art of war and peace. He was married with the daughter of Aziz Koka, premier lord of the realm.

As far as the character and habits of the prince are concerned, he was gentle and popular, says Terry. He was contented with only one wife. "With all his personal charm, natural talents, fine education and blameless life", Beni Prasad writes, "he was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgements—just the type of mind, which, joined with the the advantages of high station and popularity forms the most convenient for intrigue and conspiracy",

The circumstances leading to the young Prince's attempts to overthrow his father needs some elaboration.

On April 6, 1906, evening, he escaped from semiconfinement under the pretext of visiting his grand-father Akbar's tomb; really he made his way to the Punjab gathering troop with the help of Mirza Hasan (son of the powerful noble Mirza Shah Bakh). The prince was supported initially by 350 horsemen.

Although the rebellious prince was only following in the footsteps of his father, the reflections of Jahangir on his recalcitrancy are worthy of notice, if only as a sample of the charge that authority brings over the

character and outlook of persons. (In the first year after my accession, he writes, "Khusru, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companion, got some absurd notions into his head... They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The supreme power of Justice give this high mission to whom he chooses, and it is not everyone that can becomingly wear the robes of nobility". The vain dreams of Khusru and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace.

Jahangir in his memoirs further describes the events culminating in the defeat of the young Prince (Khusru) thus :

"I despatched Sheikh Farid Bokhari in the service, directing him to take all the manasabdars and ahadis he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day... The news came in that Khusru was pressing forward to the Punjab, but the thought came to my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Raja Man Singh who was in Bengal, was Khusru's maternal uncle and many thought that Khusru would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Punjab. Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything..."

He further states : "My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, disatis-

fed and trubulant men could support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Usbegs or Kazilbashes and thus dishonour would befall upon my throne."

The struggle between father and the son for the throne lasted three to four weeks (April 16-27, 1606).

When the young prince reached Mathura, he was joined by Hussain Beg Badkshani with nearly 3,000 horsemen. They plundered and looted the neighbouring country and the mercenaries who had joined his banner, tried to satisfy their greed for gold by practising tyranny and oppression upon those who came in their way. In the couree of his journey, the prince met Abdur-Rahim, the Dewan of Lahore, at Panipet. The Dewan was made Wazir and was conferred the title of Malik Amber. Flushed with the initial success, the rebel prince thought of marching towards his father's capital. On his way at Taran he was blessed by Guru Arjana, the editor of the Granth Sahib. Besides, the Guru also gave Rs. 5,000 to Khusru. The Guru rendered this help to uphold the ideal of "dharma" and to perpetuate the memory of Akbar the great Moghul. He was not opposed to Jahangir. Some historians are of the view that he opposed Jahangir's rule. This fact is not there in the records and documents of Moghul India under Jahangir. With this help received from the Sikh Guru and with the small army, young prince marched towards Lahore which was well guarded by Dilwar Khan who reached the city well in advance. "The bastions of the fort were repaired, and cannons and swivel guns were kept in readiness for battle. Dilwar Khan was reinforced by Said Khan, who

happened to be encamped at this time on the bank of the Chenab."

On reaching the city, Khusru sieged it and even burnt one of its gates and told his men that after the capture of the fort he would give the city upto plunder for seven days and throw the women and children into prison".

The siége lasted for 9 days till he was informed that his father was within the reach of Lahore with a cavalry force.

Having placed Agra in charge of Nazir-ul-Mulk and Itmad-ud-doulah, the pursuit of the rebellious prince began by the Emperor himself. For a time, negotiations were opened with the prince, but it served no purpose. The prince was of full spirit and was eager to capture the throne by the sword. A battle was therefore fought at Bharowal and the imperial army was successful in killing 400 of the followers of Khusru. Those who had survived were subjects to severe punishment. Although Prince Khusru was able to escape from the field, treasure containing the jewel and other precious articles were seized. The unfortunate prince was, however, caught by the Jahangir's army while crossing the river Chenab. It may be stated here that the arrest of the prince was affected mainly due to divided counsels among his followers and the disloyalty of the Afghans.

The factors leading to the arrest of the prince and the latter's pathetic condition are best described in Waquat-i-Jahangiri thus :

'Before the defeat of Khusru, an order had been issued to all the foreigners, road-

keepers and the ferrymen in Punjab, informing them what had happened, and warning them to be careful'.

On the third of Moharum 1015 A. H. Khusru was brought into my presence in the garden of Mirza Kamran, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Chengiz Khan. I attributed my success gained in this expedition to Sheik Farid, and I dignified him with the title of Murtiza Khan. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city and that the rebels should be impaled thereon and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The landholders between Chenab and Behat who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each of them some lands—a madad-mash.

The Sikh Guru Arjan was involved in this episode owing to his allegiance to the unfortunate prince. He was therefore accused by Jahangir for helping Khusru in effecting a *Coup de tat*. It is true that Jahangir in the first instance had only fined him 2 lakhs of rupees and ordered him to expunge from the Granth Sahib, passages opposed to the Hindus and Musalmans. But to this Guru Arjan replied: Whatever money I have is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger. If then ask for money, then mayest take what I have; but if then ask for money, then ask for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a kauri (shell), for a fine is imposed on wicked, cowardly persons and not on priests. And as to what then

hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the Granth Sahib, I cannot erase or alter an iota.....The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or Mohammedan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets and priests and incarnations are the hand-work of the immortal God whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great and good fortune."

Beni Prasad commented thus: "The melancholy transaction has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Moghul Emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimising the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to recognise that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjan himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of Rebel".

Vincent Smith is of the opinion "that the punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy and was not primarily an act of religious persecution".

Prince Khusru was ordered to be blinded and imprisoned. Though he partially recovered his sight, he did not regain his liberty. The unfortunate prince met a cruel death in the régime of Shah-Jahan.

The blinding of Khusru was the result

of another insurrection attempted in his favour. The plot was hatched when Jahangir had been away in Kabul, to assassinate him in one of his hunting expedition and place Khusru on the throne. The blinding of Prince Khusru is well illustrated in the *Inti-Khab-i-Jahangir-Shahi* thus :

"His Majesty ordered prince Khusru to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him that is beyond all expression. The prince, after being deprived of sight was brought to Agra and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians from Persia, Hakim Sadra by name undertook, to cure the prince within six months. By his skill, the prince recovered his power of vision, in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to his Majesty, who showed the physician great favour and honoured him with the title of *Mari-Muz Zaman*". Beni Prasad observes : "After all available evidence my conclusion is that the version of the *Inti-Khab-i-Jahangir* comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge".

Having settled the succession issue, Shahjahan came to rule on the throne of his father, but his throne was not left with the bed of roses. He had several rivals, among them the followers and sympathisers of his brother prince—Khusru. Languishing in prison and deprived of his sight, though partially restored by his father, that unfortunate

prince had but little chance of liberty. To make his life miserable, there were news conveyed to him of plots of murder. And it did happen. The story of the murder of Khusru is evident from the account given in the "*History of Shahjahan of Delhi*" by Beni Prasad. The author derived his sources from the Mohammedan historians of Shahjan's period. The account gives the following incident:

"It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders spiritual and temporal justify the total eradication of the rival claimants to the fortunate throne (therefore) on grounds of expediency and common weal, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Sultam Khusru whom the Emperor Jahangir had, in hour of drunkenness, handed over to the Shah Buland. Iqbal (Shahjahan) was translated, on Monday the 22nd February, 1621, from the ditch of prison to the plains of non-existence. To avoid suspicion, the dead body of the late prince was taken with due honour and respect round the city of Burhanpur. The notable officers accompanied the hearse chanting prayers, and muttering incantations. He was buried in Alamgar on the night of Wednesday".

With the death of Khusru, Shah Jahan had no other rivals to fear, though the feudalistic tendency continued to gain sympathy for the dead prince. And above all, the Moghul rulers had become accustomed to murder even their own kith and kin which proved ruinous to the unity of the empire,

so labouriously built by Babar and Akbar. The reign of Aurangzeb saw the beginning of the decay of the Moghul empire, for his successors were not only weak, drunkard and incapable rulers but did not maintain unity and filial bonds between their dear and near relatives and other classes of people including the Rajputs. The skeletal remains of the empire, however, continued to linger until the dawn of the British rule which swept away the last remnants of the Moghul dynasty viz. Bahadur Shah.

By way of conclusion we may give the following lines from the book "Dara Shukoh" by Prof K.R. Qanungo :

"Islam never contemplated the rise of a hereditary monarch within its polity, and therefore provided no definite law of succession to a kingdom of the faithful. On the other hand by refusing any religious sanction to the universal law of primogeniture it weakened the only safeguard, however frail against the arbitration of the sword. Besides, rebellion had lost its odium and disgrace in the house of Timur, every member of which considered himself a Mirza—a prince with the title to rule and to seize the heritage of every other. There was no check on the personal ambition of princes and usurpers in the Moghul empire as in every other Muslim state".

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Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

New Imperialist Menace

President Lyndon B. Johnson's policies in Vietnam have earned undying notoriety for his administration in almost all the countries of the world. Even in the U. S. A. itself, his policies have proved to be quite unpopular with a not inconsiderable section of the population including some of the most eminent intellectuals of the new world. Nevertheless there has been no let up in increasing U. S. involvement in Vietnam and all peace parleys by friendly neutrals, including those by U. N. Secretary General U. Thant, himself a noted South Asian, have so far shattered on the rocks of Johnson's conceited intransigence—or, was it really that of his Secretary of State, Robert McNamara? Johnson is known to have ambitions for a further four year tenancy of the White House and that does not so far appear to have toned down his belligerence so far as Vietnam is concerned,—on the contrary it appears to have been progressively hardening over the years since his first accession to the Presidential throne following the tragic assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. It may not be impossible, therefore, that despite his policies of belligerence in Vietnam Lyndon Johnson may yet have a further lease on the White House.

To be quite fair, it may not be right to call the policies of the present American Administration those of President Lyndon B. Johnson alone. They are, in fact, the

expression of the thinking and attitudes of what, for lack of a more comprehensively expressive term, may be described as the present ruling elite of the U. S. A. During the comparatively short period of his tenancy at the White House President Lyndon B. Johnson has been accused of many things both nice and ugly, but even his most uncritical and fulsome admirer could never claim that he has any real capacity for thinking. Johnson appears to be an excellent showman, but thinking would never appear to have been his forte; and this leaves his administration particularly vulnerable to the enticements of those who have been endeavouring to build up for U. S. expansionism as one of the fundamental articles of State policy in the post-World War II period.

Looking at South Asia, it would be difficult to deny that Vietnam was an inheritance in the earning of which Johnson had absolutely no part to play. The seeds of the Vietnam imbroglio were sown as early as in the fifties in the Korean flare up and the fuse of conflict was deliberately lighted by President Truman to push forward his puppet Syngman Rhee so that the Communist sponsored North Korean regime be liquidated and replaced by his own nominee and puppet.

Not long afterwards things began to develop around Vietnam, the Americans sponsored a puppet democratic order under

their own wings. Following the close of World War II, the U. S. A. has been pouring in a lot of social and financial investment in South East Asia and other backward regions. It was generally put down to the usual American ebullience and generosity. But soon enough illusions were dispelled and many of those who had welcomed their assistance to rebuild their never too well off but now completely war shattered institutions—hospitals and schools and a host of other things as well—began to realise the real nature of American generosity. Many little newly emancipated states in South Asia realised what this might eventually lead to and were driven to the other extreme. Some again, were adroit enough to take what was offered in terms of financial and economic assistance while at the same time guard effectively against American infiltration into their political institutions and decisions.

So far as Vietnam is concerned, therefore, it would be idle and unrealistic to blame him for policies in the shaping of which he had no hand. These policies were shaped for him and perhaps, for generations of his successors long before he ever dreamed that he would, one day, be among the chosen and be able to pace about the imposing halls and corridors of the White House. All he can be said to have been trying to do is to escalate the chronic conflict in Vietnam to sufficiently large proportions to enable it to be brought to a speedy conclusion—one way or the other. With characteristic peasant unimaginativeness he, perhaps, believed that by accelerating the tempo of the war in Vietnam and by escalating its proportions to a sufficiently imposing magnitude it may be possible to bring the unfortunate episode to a speedy and satisfactory resolution.

What may not, however, be quite so clear to a really dispassionate auditor of events is the real reason for U. S. involvement in the tragic Vietnam war which, apart from its costs in men, money and materials to the nationals of the region, has also been costing a great deal in American lives, even if the question of U. S. financial outlays in this behalf were to be altogether ignored. The plea that the U. S. has been disinterestedly involving herself in such huge and, apparently, never ending commitments in U. S. dollars but what is far more important and politically explosive—young American lives,—with a view to containing the widening escalation of Communism so that democracy may be saved for the Asians, would not wash down with even a particularly credulous child.

If the U. S. is the most powerful country in today's world and her people the most affluent, they have also their own especial problems to worry about. The very affluence of the American people poses special problems which need wider areas and additional communities to find satisfactory resolution. In short to sustain its own standards of economic affluence, it is necessary to find overseas capital and commodity markets to exploit to maintain American affluence at the peak it has already attained. It is a very sensitive point of economic ascension. For, statistically minded as the Americans are, they have long since discovered that, nationally every visitation of economic recession has always and invariably arrived at the apex of a period of prosperity. In other words, they have discovered that prosperity has a *saturation level* or, there is a level in *individual* prosperity beyond which it tends to become a *cause for disincentive*.

What can, presumably, push this saturation level higher is wider and more extensive commodity and capital markets beyond the boundaries of the U. S. A's national territories. It is important to understand that the U. S. A. is not really interested in selling consumption goods abroad, a large proportion of her industrial potential is tied down to manufacturing capital goods to meet a wide variety of industrial and economic demands. Unfortunately, however, the demand for such commodities tend to become comparatively inelastic in the end. Apart from selling goods, one of the U. S. A's insistent and developing economic needs has been to sell capital abroad, the one is, in effect, complementary to the other. All the agencies of the U. N. especially the IDA, IMF and the World Bank, where American influence predominates over those of other original members of the U. N.—have been exploited to finance the newly emancipated and generally, badly misled backward countries and their rather vague and badly confused development plans.

It should be underlined that where U. S. capital finance offers aid to a backward country, the condition—not always written but well understood nevertheless—is invariably that the bulk of the overseas purchases relative to the particular aid project, should be made in the U. S. A. One very noted house of industrialists who, some time ago, carried out an extensive capital expansion programme to their plant with a view to doubling its production potential, was also compelled to purchase U. S. know-how and supervision at a cost which pushed up the gross cost of the plant expansion programme by very nearly 25 per cent,

while, all the while, the organization from within its own resources, could provide all the know-how and the expansion-supervision that was needed.

This is a wholly new, but a not less sinister kind of imperialism that appears to being pursued by the U. S. A in the post World War II period. Vietnam is only a case in point, there may be others to cite as history unfolds its own ponderous processes. In another part of Asia something similar had begun to build up for quite some time. Here the involvement may not be that of U. S. A. alone, indeed, there is not the least doubt that Britain is equally involved. But whomsoever may be involved or otherwise, the result to the victim particularly and generally, to the cause of world peace and international stability, would be equally inimical.

A World War Again?

Apart from the significance of the new imperialist threat to Asia, of which Vietnam would appear to be an unmistakable example as well as implication—it may also provide the spark for yet another world holocaust. The dangers of U. S. Chinese confrontation over the Vietnam imbroglio and the Johnson Administration's increasing commitments there, would appear to have been rapidly increasing. In the event of such a confrontation, it may be impossible to avoid sparking off yet another global conflict.

At least Secretary General U. Thant says so and he has special facilities to correctly assess future probabilities in this direction. U. Thant's thinking in these lines would seem to have been inspiring the special efforts he is known to have been making to bring America and Hanoi to the conference

table with a view to induce a negotiated and political settlement of the conflict. His efforts have so far proved abortive, mainly on account of the hard-line views of the Pentagon on which President Johnson seems to be completely dependent in this affair. The Pentagon's views—and that is Johnson's own views also in the matter—clearly are that the Vietnam conflict must and can alone be settled on the battlefield by a decisive military victory. This is a point of view which does not seem to be shared by strategists elsewhere in the world and there is not an inconsiderable section of intellectual American opinion which feels that a negotiated political settlement with Hanoi is the only possible way out of the present imbroglio. In fact what this section of American public opinion seems to apprehend is that unless early steps were taken to arrive at such a solution of the Vietnam impasse it may be impossible, eventually, to prevent direct Chinese participation in the conflict. In that event the escalation of the Vietnam war to world proportions may be quite impossible to equally avoid.

World opinion as a whole has been quite outspoken in its condemnation of U. S. policy in Vietnam generally. But what it has been lacking so far is that purposive action which alone might effectively deal with American intransigence in the matter. The issues are clear enough in their frightful implications but the economic empire which appears to have been established by the U. S. practically over half the democratic and almost throughout the underdeveloped world may have been one of the factors which may have been preventing the

present rather amorphous anti-American world opinion on Vietnam from crystallising into purposive and meaningful action.

U. S. BRINKMANSHIP IN WEST ASIA

The notorious U. S. policy of *Brinkmanship* appears to have been building up towards trouble elsewhere in Asia also. Ever since the establishment of the State of Israel in West Asia under Anglo-American sponsorship, trouble has been brewing in West Asia, especially between Israel and the Arab countries of the middle east and notably Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and South Arabia. What initially started as a home-State for the Jews of Europe, has been rapidly developing an expansionist attitude which, apart from the numerous causes of conflict with the bordering Arab States, has been providing serious provocation to the Arab world.

To understand the position in West Asia clearly it is necessary to realise that British policy in this region, which was mainly directed towards keeping the Muslim world divided has become largely obsolescent in the context of current political stresses and strains in the region. This was a policy popularly ascribed to the legendary Lawrence of Arabia and which was mainly directed towards preventing an alignment of the Arab world alongside of the growing Turkish power by sponsoring the creation and maintenance small separate Muslim Kingdoms under independent rulers. This helped to effectively keep the Muslim world in the middle east divided and to reinforce the political and economic influences and dominance of the British in the region.

When king Farouk of Egypt was deposed

and Nasser took control over the State, he was also invested with the leadership of the entire Arab world. His close relations with the U. S. S. R. and the Eastern European Socialist States invested him with a halo of power and foresight which enabled him to gradually evolve a pattern of common policy and action and eventually to the emergence of the United Arab Republic. This was something of a self-defence and self-preservation measure for the Arabs who visualized in the growing expansionist ambitions of the newly sponsored Zionist state of Isreal a threat to their own independent existence. There are two distinctive factors in the Arab-Isreali relations which are significant in this connection : first, that for the Arabs West Asia has been their traditional homes for centuries past, not so for the wandering Jews whose real homes have been in various countries in Europe and whose desire for a home state of their own was inspired by the oppressions and injuries they had suffered in the racist politics of Western and Eastern Europe ; secondly, this new state of Isreal was a creation of the Anglo-Americans and which posed a potential threat to Muslim solidarity in the middle east which was regarded as potentially inimical to the large vested interests of the British in the region. Additionally, the increasing areas of exchanges between the Arab States—under Nasser's leadership—and the Soviet block was regarded as a disturbing element in the power dominance in West Asia and Europe, sought to be achieved through the *Cento* and even the *Nato*. Israel, on her own, appeared also to be too ready to cash in on any ad-

vantage that may present itself to her predatory opportunism against the Muslim world.

This was, perhaps, largely due to the fact that Israel has really been an interloper in the region. Additionally, her socio-economic ideologies were directly opposed to the ideological metamorphosis that the politics of the region had been increasingly passing through under the Soviet's influence. It would not seem surprising therefore, that when Britain and France jointly mounted military operations against Egypt some years ago, Israel although she was not a party to the conflict in any sense of the term, went out to attack Egypt in the Suez region. It was obviously a premature exercise of the show of Israel's might and 'a miscalculation. Equally obviously Israel felt that Egypt had not yet been able to build up her military resources to a sufficient level to be able to withstand the might of Anglo-French joint operations against herself. It was not obviously considered possible that the U. S. A. would so determinedly intervene and stop the fight so decisively and so early in the operations, so that most if not all of the losses had to be borne by the invaders and all the gains apportioned to Egypt.

But Israel has been pressing for both political and territorial advantages which the neighbouring Arab States mainly Jordon and Syria, could not possibly afford to concede. The pressures on Egypt have also not been inconsiderable. Israel has been growing increasingly belligerent, obviously basking in the borrowed might of her Anglo-American sponsors. The situation has changed considerably since Suez and the current political climate in the region seems to demonstrate increasing American interest in what

may generally be pleaded as anti-Communist involvement also in this region. The Johnson Administration's imperialist designs in Asia would appear to have been spreading westward from the jungles and marshes of Vietnam and contiguous South-Asian regions to the arid and craggy but rich oil bearing lands of West Asia. And just as Marshal Ky provides an admirable puppet and excuse for American military operations in Vietnam Israel provides an even more dependable and powerful instrument of U. S. imperialist policies in West Asia.

The position is quite murky as we write. Attitudes on both sides, however, have been

so increasingly hardening that the threat of an eventual military outburst cannot be altogether ruled out. One thing has, however, become amply clear. That is it has become urgent that the new imperialist threat posed to Asia by the U. S. has 'got to be contained and, if possible destroyed at the very roots ; or else a new period of colonialism—perhaps economic in its expression with distinct political overtones—would again be ushered in. The underdeveloped countries, who have accepted large measures of economic assistance from the U. S. Government and its various agencies,—and among them a noted one is India—should be especially aware of this potential danger.

The Approximate Cost of U. S. Economic Assistance

The Approximate Cost of U. S. Economic Assistance

Annual interest rate —	5.75%	(average for 10 years	57.50
Debt Servicing charges—	1.00%	per annum for 5 years	5.00
Consultation Service —	1.00%	" " " 10 "	10.00
Cost of Know-how —	5.5%	" " " 5 "	27.50
Cost of operational Assistance—	2.00%	" " " 10 "	20.00
Purchases in U, S, A (usually 80% of capital assistance—but U, S, prices are about 40% higher than global standards)			80.00 (112.00%)
			Total cost 200.00
Add burden of devaluation at 57% on half the capital loan on an average			28.50
			Total 228.50

No Comments !

THE BACKGROUND OF ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT

While on the subject of the present growing Arab-Israeli tension, it would be interesting and helpful to review its historical background. It would be obvious that the seeds of conflict and tension were inherent in the insidious manner in which the new State of Israel was sponsored by the imperialist powers of the West.

By about the concluding periods of the

First World War (1914-18), Great Britain had over-run and occupied the Levantine areas of the former Turkish Ottoman Empire. With a view to gaining all-out support for their war effort, the British Government began to cultivate the Zionist factions in England and, in pursuance of this policy of encouraging the growing Zionist ambitions, proclaimed what has been known in history

as the Balfour Declaration which claimed to recognize the legitimate grounds for the establishment of a national state for the Jewish people in Palestine. The Balfour declaration pledged support to Zionist efforts towards such an end subject to the protection of minority rights and assured that nothing would be done which may "prejudice existing civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in the Palestine region."

Even before the Peace Treaty was concluded in 1919, Dr. Chaim Weizmann on behalf of the Zionist organization and Prince Faisal, the Sheriff of Mecca were induced to sign a joint statement agreeing that Arab independence and the creation and establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine were not incompatible. But as eventual developments turned out, Prince Faisal could not be held to have been "answerable" for what had happened.

Palestine itself had, at that time a total population of only about 700,000 of which only a tenth comprised of Jews with an equal number of Christian Arabs and the remainder, covering very nearly four-fifths of the population, comprised of Arab Muslims. Centuries of stagnant Turkish rule had left the area socially disjointed and economically poor and underdeveloped; there was hardly any intellectual life among the Muslim Arabs and they were generally the playthings of conflicting political ambitions and aspirations. Among the Palestinian Jews, however, there was already a greater measure of social cohesion, a comparatively better living level and a dawning political consciousness of the great potentialities of their race in the region.

In 1922 the League of Nations handed over to British mandate the whole of

Transjordan and Palestine which was also in conformity with the preconditions set out in the Balfour Declaration for the eventual establishment of a Jewish national state in Palestine. Britain, immediately upon taking over the mandate, encouraged a policy of immigration and settlement of Jews in Palestine ostensibly with a view to speed up the development of the region. In 1928 Transjordan was granted *limited independence* under the sovereign rule of King Abdullah. The British mandate in Palestine endeavoured to set up in 1923 an elected legislative council comprising of Jews, Christian Arabs and Muslim Arabs in accordance with a given pattern of proportional representation in the council for the respective communities, but the scheme could not be worked and had eventually to be dropped when the Arab leaders stubbornly refused to cooperate.

This, however, induced the Jewish community in Palestine to organize its own separate legislative forum; this was specifically provided for in the British mandate for Palestine. This Jewish Agency, as an integral part and arm of the world Zionist movement, drew up a programme for the expansion of the economy so that more and more jobs might be offered to Jews and which would encourage further Jewish immigration into the area. This impetus towards economic expansion of Palestine, needless to say, benefited the Jewish community in Palestine without question, but its benefits also travelled beyond the limit of Jewish communal interest and also benefitted the entire economy of the region.

In the following year, that is, in 1929 the Arabs recorded their first major pretest against increasing Jewish immigration into

Palestine in the shape of the Wailing Wall riots. An initial official inquiry compelled the British authority to limit the incidence of further Jewish immigration into the area ignoring vigorous Jewish protests against such a legislation. Later (1930) the Passfield White Paper reaffirmed British responsibility to both communities, noted the tragic plight of the landless Arab peasantry and recommended that Jews be forbidden to acquire more land while the Arabs remained landless and suggested that the immigration of the Jews be regulated by the absorptive capacity of the land based on the incidence of unemployment in both communities. This led to a loss of Jewish faith in the British mandate and Zionist leaders in London resigned from the Government.

During the early part of 1931 Ramsay Macdonald, Prime Minister of Britain, in an open letter to Chaim Weizmann clarified the Government's interpretation of the Passfield White Paper. This led to resurgence of faith in British pledges among the Jews while the Arabs felt that they had been grossly betrayed and that the door to a possibly acceptable mutual compromise was, thus, firmly shut.

The comparative lull that had followed the 1929 Wailing Wall riots, started to again break down. An unsuccessful Arab request in 1933 that the British followed up its policy of restrictions against Jewish immigration be implemented, led to repudiation of British policies in the area by the Arabs. Almost simultaneously, Jews started to protest against the British policy of immigration and organized riots and demonstrations and pressed for increased immigration of Jews in the region. The situation became

even more explosive and assumed a measure of criticality after Hitler's accession to power in Germany followed up by his inhuman pogromme against Jews. With all the impediments against large scale Jewish immigration into Palestine notwithstanding, the period intervening between 1923 and 1936, saw Jewish elements in the population of Palestine steadily increased from about a nominal 10 per cent in 1923 to well over 29 per cent by about the end of 1936. Alongside of this steady increase in the incidence of Jewish immigration, economic development under Jewish aegis also continued and, along with it, Arab unrest which was really based upon the apprehension of an eventual Jewish empire over the Arab countries of West Asia. This led to the formation of the Arab High Committee in 1939 with a view to uniting 'all Palestinian Arab parties under its aegis although it was not a very effective organization until after the end of the Second World War when, in 1945, it was recognized as a member of the Arab League. It should be noted, however, that organizationally and, consequently, also politically, the Arabs remained weak and ineffective mainly because it had no comparable organization which could match the efficiency, activity and world political influence which the Jewish Agency had.

Following the formation of the Arab High Committee, the Peel Commission was appointed in 1937 which, for the first time, recommended that the area be partitioned into three units, (i) a Jewish State comprising a third of the area of Palestine and having a population of some 300,000 Arabs; (ii) a British mandated territory of Jaffa and Jeru-

salem including the connecting railway strip running between the two and, (iii) an Arab State to be joined to the Transjordan. The report was accepted with some reservations by both the World Jewish Congress and the League of Nations, but a Pan-Arab Congress (consisting of some 400 non-official delegates from the Arab world) voted against it. They rejected the scheme for partitioning Palestine, demanded an independent and unified state, end of Jewish immigration and sale of land to Jewish immigrants and the guaranteeing of minority rights to the Jewish community.

The violence of the Arab terrorists steadily rose and the British eventually exiled the members of the Arab High Committee and began to take strong repressive measures against the Arabs generally. This, however, did not seem to have much effect and in apprehension the British authorities suspended the implementation of the Peel Commission's recommendations favouring the partition of Palestine and ordered fresh investigations of the economic and financial implications of the scheme and of the boundaries between the proposed separate states. The Woodhead Commission which was appointed in 1938 towards such an end declared the scheme of partition as infeasible and recommended instead the convocation of a joint conference in London. To this conference, convened early in 1939 were invited Jews, Palestinian Arabs and other Arab interests. This conference proved to be wholly infructuous as neither the Arabs nor the Jews were agreeable to accept the British proposals; the former maintained their intransigence even after mediation by other Arab nations.

Two months after this Conference ended in a stalemate, the British Government published their own plan about the future of Palestine; (i) an independent State of Palestine was to be set up in ten years' time; (ii) Arabs and Jews would share in the Government in such a way as would safeguard and protect the rights and privileges of both communities, (iii) During the transitional period both communities would share in the administration alongside of the British and after the expiry of five years a Constituent Assembly would be convened, (iv) immigration would be stopped at the end of five years by which time the Jewish population should comprise a third of the total population of Palestine. Both communities summarily rejected the British Plan, but the outbreak of the Second World War brought the Zionist Organization alongside of the British against Hitler's Germany.

Nevertheless U. S. Zionists repudiated the British Plan on Palestine and, in 1942, produced their own Biltmore Programme which envisaged the establishment of a Jewish National State and an Independent Jewish Army. In 1945 President Truman requested special immigration be granted to the one million displaced Jews in Europe, victims of Hitler's brutal racial policies. By this time, however, both the Jews and the Arabs had set up and were maintaining their own respective military organizations—an extension of the War effort during the years of the holocaust—and as time went on, they became more and more active.

In 1946 an Anglo-American Joint Inquiry recommended a unitary state with provincial autonomy. This became the subject of ano-

ther joint conference in London which, however, proved to be as infructuous as its predecessor before the War. Great Britain, then, referred the matter to the United Nations. The U. N. Special Commission on Palestine recommended partition with economic union between the separated States; a minority recommendation favoured the adoption of a federal political structure and by the end of 1947 the U. N. General Assembly had accepted the recommendations of the Commission. The Arab members of the U. N. however rejected it and the Arab League declared that, if necessary, it would use force to prevent the division of the Holy land. Terrorist activities multiplied on both sides as the dead line set for the end of the British mandate around the middle of 1948 approached nearer and nearer. The U. N. sought unsuccessfully to arrange for a peaceful transitional period while Britain, unable to contain the steadily worsening situation in Palestine, Britain withdrew her armed forces from Palestine and advanced the date of the end of her mandate to May 14. On the same day a provisional Jewish Government was proclaimed and set up headed jointly by Ben Gurion and Chaim Weizmann to which diplomatic recognition was accorded by both the United States of America and the Soviet Union only two days later.

War broke out immediately between the newly proclaimed State of Israel in Palestine and the Arab League and it was not possible to bring about a truce between the belligerents by the United Nations until July 1949. Although a truce was at last concluded at the instance of the U. N., it was only an uneasy truce and constant friction continued.

The Arab States were largely divided among themselves and although they made common cause against Israel, they were unable to bring enough strength and cohesion to their dispute with Israel. Eventually, however, the Arab world was brought together under a United Arab Republic under the leadership of Col. Nasser who, with the deposition of King Farouk, had assumed the Presidentship of the New Egyptian Republic. The Arab-Israeli disputes remained in a state of virtual suspended animation and armed neutrality for some time when, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by President Nasser's Government, Egypt was attacked by Anglo-French forces. Israel was not, in any sense of the term, a party in this particular dispute, took the opportunity to attack Egypt, especially along the Gaza strip and the Sinai peninsula. At U. S. intervention the British and the French governments were eventually compelled to call off the invasion of Egypt and Egypt's right to nationalize the Suez Canal Company was internationally recognized although Egypt's obligation to keep open the Canal for the passage of international shipping had also to be accepted at the same time. The Arab world could not, however, either forget or forgive the role assumed in this short-lived war by Israel against Egypt and Jordan and the U. A. R. was clearly beset by anxieties on account of the obvious expansionist ambitions of Israel and with the problem of how to contain them. It became increasingly clear both within and without the United Nations that Israel was being encouraged and materially assisted in her constant intrusions upon Arab territories and privileges by the Anglo-American powers. Ten

reason was clear enough. The U. A. R. was increasingly becoming a serious threat and a menace to the extensive oil interests of the Anglo-American financiers in West Asia and even further East and Israel was being used both as a pretext as well as an instrument of Anglo-American policies in the region.

MR. MORARJI DESAI'S NEW CENTRAL BUDGET

For the first time in many years Mr. Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister and Union Finance Minister has been able to produce a balanced budget. But this new and, on general principles highly commendable piece of budget making could not, however, be achieved without a new tax budget intended to raise Rs. 115 crores to balance the budget.

The new taxes proposed are mostly in the nature of excise duties and the commodities affected are, again, mostly consumer goods of more or less common consumption. Thus cigarettes have been very badly hit and so have coffee and tea, fine and superfine cloth and footwear of all descriptions. Among important items of commodities which cannot be described as articles of direct consumption but which would be bound to have some corresponding effect upon the general price level which have been included among new excise levies, are petroleum, diesel oil kerosine, etc., fortunately, has been spared.

It is claimed by accredited Government spokesmen that the net effect of the simple fact that it is a balanced one for the first time in many years will obviate the need to resort to any further deficit financing in the near future and, to that extent, will be bound to have a disinflationary influence upon the general price level. This, in turn, it is

claimed, will gradually induce a trend of stability in the price mechanism and to that extent, begin to provide urgently needed relief from the burden of constantly increasing prices over the past many years, especially since the middle years of the Third Five Year Plan, since when prices have advanced by very nearly seventy five per cent with more than a 100 per cent advance in the corresponding essential commodities sector.

So far as the new levies on cigarettes, footwear, fine and superfine cloth etc. are concerned, it has been claimed that they do not constitute articles of essential consumption by the common man and there is, therefore, no need to ignore these commodities for purposes of the needed revenues of the State especially when they are estimated to contribute to a balanced budget which, as already explained, would be expected to contribute to a measure of stability in price movements. So far as tea and coffee are concerned, the new levies, it has been claimed, would have the effect of automatically restricting consumption of these commodities and thus yielding surpluses for export purposes.

On general principles, a taxation system should avoid indirect taxation of the people as far as it may be practicable. In any case indirect taxes like excise levies upon articles of essential common consumption should be avoided like the very plague, for they would not merely be bound to distribute the burden of the tax upon different economic levels of the community far less equitably, they would also be apt to create other difficulties for the less affluent consumer. That is why the salt tax used to be regarded by Mahatma Gandhi as so inequitable and illegitimate.

The demand for salt remains wholly inelastic at all economic levels of the society with the result that poorest was compelled to share the burden of the the tax quite equally with the richest which is obviously inequitable.

The only virtue,—if it can at all be regarded as a virtue,—of indirect excise and similar other taxes is that they enable the Government to gather the desired quantum of revenue with a greater ease. That is, obviously, what motivated successive Union Finance Ministers of the Government of India ever since Economic Planning was first launched in 1950-51, when they went on more and more heavily resorting to this type of taxation since 1951. As we have already pointed out earlier in this note, in 1951 the proportion of such indirect to the total taxation in the country was approximately 7 per cent only. By 1963-64, its proportion had risen to as high a level of around 70 per cent. In the 1966-67 Budget of Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari this proportion went up higher to around 74 per cent although in his Budget Speech, the Finance Minister acknowledged that such heavily loading the tax structure with indirect taxation was most undesirable in that it adds heavily to the inflationary pressures inherent in the economy. With the new excise imposts now levied by Mr. Morarji Desai, this proportion would now go up still further. What is even more significant in this context is that very nearly one half of the revenue from indirect taxation is derived from excise and similar other imposts upon articles of common consumption. How in these obviously deterrent circumstances it can be claimed that Mr. Desai's current

Budget would be expected to induce a gradual trend of price stability is more than the ordinarily intelligent and educated person is wholly unable to fathom.

One further claim made on behalf of the Budget and the new taxes proposed to be levied thereunder is that so far as the new taxes on tea and coffee are concerned, they would help to restrict consumption of these commodities within the country and would, thereby, yield an exportable surplus. Such a claim is not merely absurd, it is highly sanctimonious. For, it is impossible to believe that the Union Finance Minister and those persons in his Ministry who help him to formulate his annual Budget proposals are so ignorant of those elementary economic laws that they do not understand the primary fact that in sellers' market such as has been raging in this country for more than a one and a half decade now, price rises by way of additional taxation on articles of common consumption could have any possible deterrent effect upon the quantum of consumption. It is only in buyers' market where supplies are sensitive to demand and where the cost factor in conformity with the demand curve determine the price level that demand is found to be sensitive to prices. In a market such as has been prevailing in this country it is only prices which are sensitive to demand, and consumption-demand is only conditioned by supplies not the price level. In such a situation it is quite absurd to claim that a new excise levies on such articles of common consumption such as tea and coffee would have any possible effect upon the actual quantum of demand and consumption and would, thereby yield export surpluses.

CASTE STEREOTYPE IN A PEASANT SOCIETY

H. C. UPRETI

The word "stereotype" has been derived from the Greek word "STEREO", which means solid. It means the ideas which bear the rigid attitude. The term was introduced by Walter Lippmann in his book, 'Public Opinion' (1920). He used the word in the broad sense of a determining tendency or a composite of ideas and attitudes which make up the "Pictures of our heads". They are individual attitudes and strongly inter-conditioned by collective contacts. Stereotypes as defined by Fichter are a "combination of attitudes and prejudices—the stereotype combines an attitudes of either favour or disfavour with a number of prejudices concerning the same person, or class, or category of persons. The result is a "mental picture" of others that is inaccurate both in its details and in its total generalization." Young points out that stereotype is a "False, classificatory concept to which, as a rule, some strong emotional feeling of like or dislike, approval or disapproval, is attached". He further states that though they are logically false concepts, but since men live not by logic but by love and hate, fear and anger, anxiety and a sense of superiority, these verbal forms are as normal and useful as any others in our relations with our fellowmen.

The concept of stereotype according to Krech and Crutchfield refers to two things :

1) It may refer to a tendency for a given belief to be widespread in a society. This is a sociological and statistical concept

and can be illustrated by the studies that count the number of people who believe, for example, "the blondes are less intellectual than brunettes," or that workers are more honest than the capitalist'.

2) The concept may refer to a tendency for a belief to be over-simplified in content and unresponsive to the objective facts. This is a psychological concept. But all organisations show the levelling and sharpening effects and therefore all beliefs are to some extent stereotypes.

Thus the stereotypes are mental constructs, based upon the characteristics that are imagined to exist in the people to whom they are applied. It is not necessary for stereotypes to be based on the rational thinking. Neither it is possible to verify them with the objective reality of life. They form our attitudes. The habit of using these stereotypes is widespread in all the societies. "Stereotypes denotes beliefs about classes of individuals, groups or subjects, which are 'preconceived', i.e. resulting not from fresh appraisals of each phenomenon but from routinized habits of judgement and expectation. No general statement can be made about the degree or kind of distortion, exaggeration or simplification manifested in such beliefs."

To the social psychologists, stereotypes, are thought to provide a vocabulary of motives both for individual and concerted action of prejudiced persons. They signal the socially approved and accessible targets

for the release of hostility and aggression, and they provide the rationalizations for prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour. "In providing a common language of discourse for prejudiced persons, stereotypes function as any special language to reinforce the beliefs of its users, and to furnish the basis for the development and maintenance of solidarity among the prejudiced."

Thus the stereotypes are the socially conditioned habits of thought, acquired by the people from the common stock of widely prevalent and readily available verbalised concepts. They take form of generalisations concerning the members of a particular group.

As pointed out by Simpson and Yinger, "Stereotypes are found in the folk thought of a dominant group; they are found in its humour, its superstitions, its aphorisms..... Stereotypes of the majority group also abound in the thinking of minorities, so that interaction is, not among the individuals as they are but among individuals as they are thought to be." Stereotypes are easy ways of explaining things whether by the majority or minority group member. They take less effort and generally give an appearance of order without the difficult work that understanding the true order of things demands. The traits designed to a stereotype are selected for their ability to produce some derived effect or on the basis of an emotional predisposition.

There is no doubt some truth in many stereotypes but the common place application of them as descriptive of the behaviour of all the members of a group is in error in several ways.

Family is one of the important determinant of the stereotypes. As Young points out, "With regard to stereotypes—as cultural products—the parents and other family members provide the growing child with his first source." Other sources according to him are newspapers, magazines, books and other printed materials, play-mates and other people, these are some of the important sources, which determine the stereotypes.

Generally adjectives are used to characterise the individuals or a group of individuals. Daniel Katz and K. Braly in their study demonstrated the place of stereotypes while characterizing various nationalities: about Germans, their analysis was that they were "Scientifically minded, solid and industrious;" Italians as 'artistic, impulsive and passionate'; Negroes as "superstitious, lazy happy-go-lucky and ignorant"; the Jews were characterised as "Shrewd, mercenary and industrious." The Americans, "Industrious, intelligent, materialistic and ambitious"; Chinese were designated as "Superstitious, shy, and conservative"; the Japanese were considered as "Intelligent industrious and progressive;" the Turks were cruel, religious and teacherous". In the words of Klineberg, "we form stereotyped ideas purely on subconscious level and never on the basis of inductive collection of data, but on rumours, or so to say on the basis of such generalization, which lack evidence. They may occasionally contain some truth, but if they do so, it appears to be largely by chance."

Racial and ethnic stereotypes have captured and subordinated the interest of the social scientists since the introduction of

the term by Lippmann and the pioneer study of racial and ethnic stereotypes by Katz and Braly in 1933.

Indian society is caste ridden. They are so much caste conscious that they associate different traits with their own caste and with the other castes. When we designate a caste by a particular name, or when we associate with it a particular trait, it means we are thinking on the basis of caste stereotypes. The caste system, as a matter of fact, provides for the ordering of groups in the society. Professor N. Prasad has pointed out that "Caste stereotypes are seldom true. They are generally false, generalized ideas formed on experience, emotion, or prevailing opinion. Like national or racial stereotypes, caste stereotypes are also standardized ideas about the members of different castes. They characterize all members of a caste in a single uniform way ignoring individual differences as an exception rather than a rule. They are always inspired by some strong emotional feeling, tone of like or dislike, approval or disapproval. Fantasy, prejudice and superstitions fit in quite naturally in the general pattern of stereotypes direct, often misdirect and distort human judgement."

As a matter of fact caste defines our occupations, duties and obligations. It provides its members with a particular status in which the higher castes always have a privileged position. It is generally observed that all the higher caste have a sense of hatred with the Sudras and the untouchables. Their children from an early age develop such traits. In all the castes the stereotypes are prevalent which are gene-

rally favourable to the superior castes excepting a few subcastes. Generally the upper castes associate such traits for the lower castes which are of inferior type and place the higher castes at a higher level. Very rarely the lower castes dare to associate such traits for the upper castes.

The following caste stereotypes would give an idea of the nature and type of 'Stereotypes' which are prevalent among the Kumaoni peasantry castes of Uttar Pradesh. For example a Brahmin caste, Joshi, there is a stereotype ["Desh Khew Ghosil—Pahar Khew Joshil"—(Desh Khoya Ghoshio Nee—Pahar Khoya Joshis Nee) which means that Joshis were responsible for bringing the Kumaon under the foreign domination. Another caste stereotypes for Brahmins is "Aghen Bamme—Bhesen Kheer" (Aghaya Brahmin Kee—Bhesen Kheer), which indicates to the greedy nature of the Brahmins.

Similarly for Khasias or Khas Rajputs there is a saying that "Khali Khasi—Boori Patan" (The agriculturists of Kumaon, Khasias, if sit idle or if they go to any body's house empty handed, they are to be counted among the old women folks.) which indicates to the beliefs of other castes that the Khasias of Kumaon are very industrious and never sit idle. There is another trait associated with the Khasias of Kumaon—"Khasia Ko Chelo—Upat Saho-Khapat Ne Saho" (meaning thereby that the son of a Khasia is very hard working and has equally a big heart). The third trait for the Khasias is "Khasiable pe Bhesak Doodh We Kini Soojh Ne Boojh" (Khasia Ne Pia Bhes Ka doodh—use Soojh Ne Boojh). Generally the people of peasantry Kumaon have this

notion that the milk of buffalo is inferior to that of cow and it makes people dullard. As the Khasias generally keep buffalows that is why they are dullard and have an inferior mind.

For Baniyas (Vaisyas) there are also a few caste stereotypes. They are "Shyapak Ji Khuar mee—Banik Ji Dhepu Mee" (Shap Ka Jee Sir Mee Banik Ka Jee Paisa Mee) which means that for a Bania, money is every thing. It is more important to him than anything else. Another trait for Bania is "Baitha Bania Ka Kare, is Kothi Ka Dhan Us Kothi Dahare (A Bania how so idle keeps himself busy with one thing or the other). For untouchables (Doms) the saying is "Bith Ko Sikai Doom atyara Paro" (Dwij Ka Sikhaya doom Nas Ko prata Ho), which tells that a Brahmin should not preach to an untouchable or it can be interpreted that Sudras are incapable of getting higher education or they are incapable of doing any mental work.

A survey conducted by me in the interior of Uttar Khand, District Pithoragarh reveals the caste stereotypes which have been assigned to the each caste group and the attitude of all the castes towards these traits has been indicated. The castes have been grouped into the following categories :

1. *Brahmins* : Those who are migrants and do not plough the land. They work as priests and enjoy highest position in the society.
2. *Khas Brahmins or Chot Dhotia or Pitalia Brahmins* : They plough the land and like the higher caste Brahmins, they do not have any say in the religious matters. Neither Khasas and the Rajputs re-

cognise them as their Purohits (priests) nor do they accept Kachha food from them.

3. *Rajputs* : They are similar to the Rajputs of the plains. Like Brahmins, they are also migrants from the plains. There are only a few Rajput Villages in Kumaon. They do not reside in the area where the present survey was conducted.
4. *Khas Rajputs or Khasas* : It seems they are the original inhabitants of Kumaon. They are agriculturists but mostly they work on the land of Brahmins and Rajputs as Asamis (Khaikers). They plough the land and are found in large majority.
5. *Untouchables* : They are landless people, reside in all the villages and work as ploughmen for Brahmins and Rajputs. Lohar, Agari, Tamta, Bauri etc. have been grouped in this category. People associate the concept of purity and pollution with these people.
6. *Panchamas or Horkias* : They are on the bottom of the caste system. They are musicians. Their daughters and wives dance and sing songs on ceremonial occasions and in return they get money. They are a sort of beggars. Even the untouchables (Doms) treat them with the idea of pollution and purification. They do not accept water from them. These Horkias are defamed due to their bad character.

The following traits were mentioned for the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, untouchables and the Horkias.

Brahmins—1. Religious, 2. Orthodox, 3. Literate, 4. Peace loving, 5. Generous, 6. Poor, 7. Greedy 8. Intelligent

Kshatriya—1. Brave, 2. Courageous 3. Proud, 4. Orthodox, 5. Literate, 6. Rich, 7. Generous,

Vaishyas—1. Poor, 2. Cunning, 3. Miser, 4. Enterprising, 5. Timid 6. Untrustworthy, 7. Dishonest,

Sudras—1. Hardworking, 2. Timid, 3. Dirty 4. Dullard, 5. Poor, 6. Careless, 7. Backward, 8. Honest, 9. Untouchable,

Horkias—1. Timid, 2. Untouchable, 3. Dishonest, 4. Untrustworthy, 5. Backward 6. Musician 7. Corrupted,

All the interviewed caste individuals were asked to select these traits for their own caste as well as for others. Table (No. 1) shows the traits which have been assigned to Brahmins. In this table we find that almost all castes have considered the Brahmins to be religious minded. Only the percentage indicating the attitude of the Vaishyas is lower in this respect as compared to other caste categories. So far as the 'orthodox' nature of the Brahmins is concerned, 86.8 per cent Brahmins have considered them as orthodox whereas 100.0 Khas Rajputs are of the opinion that the Brahmins are orthodox. Other castes also associate this trait with the Brahmins. Similarly almost all the caste groups have the feeling that the Brahmins are literate. Next trait assigned to the Brahmins is their 'peace loving nature!' Here the response by the other castes (other than Brahmins) is contrary to that of the previ-

BRAHMINS

TABLE No. 1 :—

Castes	Religious	Orthodox	Literate	Peace-Loving	Generous	Poor	Greedy	Intelligent	Total
Brahmins	66 (97.1)	59 (86.8)	62 (91.2)	65 (95.6)	64 (94.1)	67 (98.5)	28 (41.2)	60 (88.2)	68 (100.0)
Khas Brahmins	46 (90.2)	50 (98.0)	42 (82.3)	38 (74.5)	35 (68.6)	51 (100.0)	30 (58.8)	44 (86.3)	51 (100.0)
Khas Rajputs	79 (100.0)	79 (100.0)	78 (98.7)	48 (60.8)	50 (63.3)	32 (40.5)	72 (91.1)	72 (91.1)	79 (100.0)
Vaishyas	10 (66.7)	14 (93.3)	14 (93.3)	8 (53.3)	7 (46.7)	3 (20.0)	13 (86.7)	12 (80.0)	15 (100.0)
Untouchables	85 (97.7)	72 (82.7)	75 (86.2)	45 (51.7)	40 (45.9)	15 (17.2)	76 (87.3)	79 (90.8)	87 (100.0)
TOTAL :—	286 (95.3)	274 (91.3)	271 (90.3)	204 (68.0)	196 (65.3)	168 (56.0)	219 (73.0)	267 (89.0)	300 (100.0)

our three traits though 95.6 per cent Brahmins and 74.5 per cent Khas Brahmins believe that they have a peace loving nature. The percentage of the Khas Rajputs is 60.8 and this percentage in the lower castes still decreases. 53.3 per cent response from the Vaishyas and 51 per cent untouchable respondents believe that the Brahmins are peace loving. Thus about 50 per cent of the other castes respondents (other than Brahmins) believe that the Brahmins have a peace loving nature. Almost similar response is for the trait 'Generous'. All Khas Brahmins and 98 per cent Brahmins believe that they are 'poor' people, but the response from Khas Rajputs, Vaishyas and the untouchables is 40.5, 20.0 and 17.2 per cent respectively. Which means that lower castes do not admit that the Brahmins are poor people. 41 per cent Brahmins and 58 per cent Khas Brahmins agree to the greedy nature of their caste people. On the other hand this trait is supported by an overwhelming majority of the other castes. 91 per cent Khas Rajputs have responded to it. Similarly 86.7 per cent Vaishyas and 87.3 per cent Sudras (untouchables) respectively, believe that the Brahmins have a greedy nature. Almost all the caste groups have recognised the intelligence of the Brahmins. Thus from this table it can be concluded that in the opinion of other castes unfavourable trait associated with the Brahmins is that they are 'greedy', of course the Brahmins have opposed this traits to be associated with them. Other two traits are peace loving and generous. Here we find that nearly 50 per cent of the members of other castes have not favoured this trait. Thus in all we find that most of the caste stereoty-

pes associated with the Brahmin are favourable to their caste which indicate to their superior position in the caste hierarchy.

Next important caste group is that of Kshatriyas (Table No. 2). As mentioned earlier, the Kshatriyas have not been included in the sample as they do not live in the area where the field work was conducted, otherwise it could reflect the views of Kshatriyas towards these caste stereotypes which have been associated with them as well as with other cast categories. The first trait assigned to them is 'Brave'. All the lower castes, with a greater percentage, admit two quality in them. The percentage of Brahmins and Khas Brahmins is 80.9 and 82.3 per cent respectively. All the castes have the feeling that the Kshatriyas are courageous and proud. The Khas Rajputs who usually consider themselves as Rajputs or nearer to the Rajputs, support the first two qualities ("brave" and "courageous") with a greater percentage. So far as the orthodox nature of the Kshatriyas is concerned, there is a difference in the response of various caste-groups. The percentage varies between 40 to 66. Similar is the response for the next trait 'literate'. Majority of the response from all caste groups except Khas Rajputs have stated that Rajputs are 'rich'. The response of Khas Rajputs is only 45.5 per cent where as all the other caste groups with the maximum response support this view that the Kshatriyas are 'rich' people. There is a little feeling among the various caste group regarding the 'generosity' of this caste. As expected, the Khas Rajput with 63.3 per cent responses supported this

KSHATRIYA

TABLE No. 2 :—

Caste	Brave	Courageous	Proud	Orthodox	Literate	Rich	Generous	Aggressive	Total
Brahmins	55 (80.9)	62 (91.2)	67 (98.5)	29 (42.8)	30 (44.1)	49 (72.0)	32 (47.1)	64 (94.1)	68 (100.0)
Khas	42 (82.3)	47 (92.1)	51 (100.0)	34 (66.7)	20 (39.2)	39 (76.5)	21 (41.1)	49 (96.1)	51 (100.0)
Brahmins	73 (92.4)	75 (94.9)	68 (81.0)	42 (53.1)	46 (58.2)	36 (45.5)	50 (63.3)	76 (96.2)	79 (100.0)
Khas	15 (100.0)	14 (93.3)	15 (100.0)	6 (40.0)	8 (53.3)	12 (80.0)	5 (33.3)	14 (93.3)	15 (100.0)
Rajputs	78 (89.6)	76 (87.3)	82 (94.2)	54 (62.1)	42 (48.3)	65 (74.7)	25 (28.7)	80 (91.8)	87 (100.0)
Vaishyas									
Untouchables									
TOTAL :—	263 (87.7)	274 (91.3)	283 (94.3)	165 (55.0)	146 (48.7)	201 (67.0)	133 (44.3)	283 (94.3)	300 (100.0)

trait. The response given by Brahmins and Khas Brahmins is 47.1 and 41.1 per cent respectively. The response given by the lower castes is still lesser. Only one third of Vaishyas (33.3 per cent) have supported this trait for the Rajputs and the percentage of untouchables is only 23.7 per cent, which is lowest among all the caste groups. The last trait associated with the Khasatriyas is their 'aggressive' nature which is overwhelmingly supported by all the caste groups including Khas Rajputs.

The third table (Table No. 3) indicates the traits 'cunning', 'enterprising', 'timid', 'untrustworthy' and 'dishonest'.

Except Vaishyas all other castes seems to have the feeling that the Vaishyas are rich persons. On the other hand only 40 per cent of the Vaishyas admit this fact. Similar are the second and third traits viz. 'cunning' and 'miser', where too they (Vaishyas) have responded with a low percentage which is 46.7 and 33.3 for the traits cunning and miser respectively. All the caste groups admit that the Vaishyas are enterprising, though the percentage indicated by the Vaishyas is greater than that of others. Similarly all the other castes (except Vaishyas) admit that they are 'timid'. Only 26 per cent of them have responded to this trait about their own casts. It is seen the other castes also treat them 'untrustworthy' and 'dishonest' but not a single Vaishya responded to these traits. Thus to the Vaishyas there are several other caste stereotypes which on the whole prove unfavourable to them.

Regarding the Sudras it is noted that they are 'hardworking', 'timid', 'dirty', 'poor', 'careless'

VAISHYA

TABLE No. 3 :—

Caste	Rich	Cunning	Miser	Enterprising	Timid	Untrustworthy	Dishonest	Total
Brahmins	68 (100.0)	62 (91.2)	63 (92.6)	53 (78.0)	55 (80.9)	50 (73.5)	32 (47.1)	68 (100.0)
Khas	50 (98.0)	44 (86.3)	49 (96.1)	31 (60.8)	46 (90.2)	47 (92.1)	40 (78.4)	51 (100.0)
Brahmins	75 (94.9)	74 (93.6)	75 (94.9)	58 (73.4)	70 (88.6)	76 (96.2)	68 (81.0)	79 (100.0)
Rajputs	6 (40.0)	7 (46.7)	5 (33.3)	12 (80.0)	4 (26.7)	—	—	15 (100.0)
Vaishyas	84 (96.5)	80 (91.8)	73 (84.0)	66 (75.8)	68 (78.1)	58 (66.7)	60 (69.0)	87 (100.0)
Untouchables								
Total :—	283 (94.3)	267 (89.0)	265 (88.3)	220 (73.3)	243 (81.0)	231 (77.0)	200 (66.7)	300 (100.0)

'backward', 'honest', 'untouchable'. Almost all the interviewed people of various caste groups agree that Sudras are hardworking. The next trait is timid. Even half of the untouchables agree that they are timid. 69 per cent of them (Sudras) state that they are dirty and 51.7 per cent have the feeling that they are dullard. The savarnas have highly ascribed these traits to the untouchables. Similarly all the castes including the untouchables believe that they are poor and backward. Only 59 per cent emphasise to the carelessness of their own caste. All the untouchables and Savarnas think that they are backward. The Savarnas seem to have doubted the honesty of these people. The percentage given by Brahmins for this trait is 58.7 (including both Brahmins and Khas Brahmins). Only 48 per cent Khas Rajputs believe that they are honest whereas the percentage of Vaishyas is 66.7. The untouchables, having the highest percentage, which is 91.8. The savarnas think that the untouchables are untrustworthy and even 25 per cent of the untouchables assign this trait to their own caste.

Lastly, the caste group, which can be placed on the bottom of caste hierarchy, are the Horkias (Panchamas) and Dholis. They are also untouchables, but are regarded as inferior by the other untouchables. Among the Savarnas, they are known as Doms of doms, as the other untouchables do not accept food or water from them. The stereotypes associated with them are 'timid', 'untouchable', 'dishonest', 'untrustworthy', 'backward', 'musician' and 'corrupted'. The survey regarding the Horkias indicates,

that there is not much variation in the response of various caste groups, regarding the association of the above mentioned traits with these people. But regarding the trait, 'corrupted' the response of various caste groups differs. Nearly 60 per cent each among the Khas Rajputs believe that the Horkias are corrupted. The percentage of the Vaishyas is 93.3 per cent. On the other hand only 40.2 untouchables have supported this view. As Horkias and other Doms have been grouped in one category of 'untouchables', it is necessary to point out that no Horkia supported such trait for this caste

though other Doms have such feelings about these people.

Thus in all, we find that mostly the favourable caste stereotypes are associated with the higher castes except in a few cases. Sometimes a particular subcaste suffers from the negative caste stereotypes. Mostly the unfavourable traits are assigned to the lower castes and the untouchables. The rural people have a very strong feeling about the caste stereotypes. In their opinion, these caste stereotypes indicate the characteristics of various castes and in spite of many socioeconomic and political factors, such beliefs are yet unchanged.



KAUTILYA AND HIS ARTHASASTRA

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

The history of the tradition of Indian politics is as old as the Vedas. Politics was known in the early Smritis and Puranas as 'Dandaniti', the contents of which were a crystallisation of Artha Sastra and Dharma Sastra tradition. Kautilya's Artha Sastra is the quintessence of Aryan political wisdom as was interpreted and expounded by previous masters, like Brihaspati, Bharadwaja, Sukracharya, Vatavyadhi and others.

In order to appreciate the Arthasastra of Chanakya, it will be profitable to cast a bird's eye view of the natural evolution of the concept and the practice in state-craft before him. Such a survey should naturally commence with the Indus valley civilisation period. The State, during this period, appears to have been highly organised with a theoretical tinge. From the evidence, afforded by the findings at Harappa and Mohendajoor, it has been concluded that "in essence, the picture is one of a rigid and highly evolved bureaucratic machine, capable of organising and distributing surplus wealth and defending it, but little conducive to the political liberty of the individuals". It was a State ruled over by priest-kings, wielding aristocratic and absolute power.

When the Aryans came into India, they brought with them a pattern of political organisation, which was essentially tribal. Living in a rural agricultural-pastoral milieu, the Aryans were rapidly undergoing a transition, wherein the tribal society was changing into the aggregate of tribes or the

'Folk'. The organisation of the society was divided on the basis of a JANA, that is, people with the VIS or Canton, formed by a number of families, as the basis. Kingship was already emerging into a divine institution. Two institutions, namely, Sabha and Samiti exercised an effective check on absolute kingship. In later times, the Samiti is no more than a gathering of scholars, and the Sabha is transformed into the King's Court. The State, as an institution, provoked much theoretical speculation, and manifested a varied development in ancient India. From the Rig Veda to the Sukra-niti, in every period of ancient Indian History, the phenomenon of the State, which controlled an all-ing organisation of power, and which was an enduring expression of social will has attracted the attention of the ancient Indian theorist. From the simple question: "How is it that the king, who is one, is obeyed by the people, who are many?" which Yodhistirs asks of Bhishma, this question and the reply there to, are to be found in the epic Mahabharata to the elaborate account of the Divine Creation of the State, the speculations ranging over all ramifications of the problem.

In ancient Indian thought, the State is defined as the anti-thesis of Mastya-nyaya the rule of the big fish swallowing the small. It symbolises conditions of Order, law, justice, security and welfare. The theories of the origin of the State give us a clue to its nature.

The Mahabharata tells us, once upon

time men were living in great peace, and there was no need of State. With the efflux of time men turned wicked. The law of the jungle became the law of the land. Men prayed to God to be saved. Brahma created a code of law, and enforced it through his son Virajas. Thus the State and the first king were born. The story implies that the State is a Divine creation.

The Buddhist text 'Digha Nikaya' starts with a hypothetical Golden Age, where men were inherently good, and the State was superfluous. Men became wicked and avaricious, people gave way to fear and strife. Weary of oppressive conditions the people elected a king, acclaimed by the many, and requested him to enforce law and order among men in return for which they would pay him a part of their agricultural produce. In this account, no divine intervention is implied, and it is made clear that the king, to justify his right to collect revenue, had to perform a specific set of tasks. Thus the origin of the State, both in the Mahabharata and the Buddhist literature, smacks of similarity with that of the French Revolutionary Jean Jacques Rousseau in his great work, 'Contract Social', writes that the man was born free and chained afterwards, and contrary to that of the British political philosopher, Hobbes, who opines, in his Magnum Opus 'Leviathan', that men were born poor and brutish.

Unlike most other writers on polity, Kautilya is unique in ancient Indian Political thought, for he was both a thinker and a statesman. He participated in the social and political revolutions of his age, and abstracted from his study of the conflicts, tensions and emotions of the Age, certain general princi-

ples, capable of universal application, and effective at all times and Age. Like Aristotle, he corrects his knowledge of theory with practical experience of the forms and practices of Government of his time.

Vishnu Gupta, who was known as Changkya or Kautilya, was a learned Brahmin of Taxila. In quest of recognition for his learning, he had gone to Pataliputra, where he was insulted by the Nanda King. He swore vengeance, and quitted the Capital. On his way, he came upon the young Chandra Gupta, an exiled scion of the Nanda Dynasty struggling for his existence in a wood. Foreseeing signs of promise in the youth, he took Chandra Gupta along with him, and had him trained in the arts of war and Government. It is said that he and his disciple met Alexandar, and took advantage of the improved methods of warfare of the Greeks. An army was recruited and properly trained, and Chandra Gupta, under the guidance of his preceptor, stormed the gates of Pataliputra, and put the wicked Dhanananda to the sword. Chanakya was happy that his ambition was fulfilled, and that destiny had chosen his ward for an imperial career.

There are ample evidences to bear out the authenticity of Kautilya and his Artha Sastra. In the text itself, he is referred to as the saviour and preceptor of Chandra Gupta. Kamanadaka, another celebrated author of polity, several centuries after Kautilya, reestablishes the same theory. Dandin in his "*Des Kumara Charite*" reported that a Vishnu Gupta composed a political treatise for the benefit of Mauryan rulers in the administration of the Empire. The Artha Sastra is described by Bana, the celebrated author of Harshavardan's court, as the science and art of diplomacy.

The author of Pancha Tantra mentions that the author of the Artha Sastra was the Brahmin Chanakya. The author of Artha Sastra was named Kautilya, because he was of Kautila Gotra. Since he was born at Chanak, he was called Chanakya. His parents baptised him as Vishnu Gupta. Kautilya was the preceptor of Chandra Gupta, and lived in his and his son Bindusara's court, like his cotemporary Aristotle in the court of Alexander the Great.

The Artha Sastra commences with a salutation to the previous masters Sukra and Brihaspati. It is a compendium and a commentary on all the sciences of polity that were then in vogue. Kautilya composed the text on the basis of the scriptures, his personal experience and observation, and the science of weapons and of the earth, which he rescued from the Nanda Kings. It is a guidance to the sovereigns in acquiring and maintaining the earth. In the light of this Sastra, a king can not only perform righteous economical and aesthetical acts, but also can suppress unrighteous uneconomical and unpleasant ones.

Artha Sastra contains thirty two paragraphical divisions. It has fifteen *Adhikaranas* with one hundred and fifty chapters. It is an illustration of a scientific approach to problems of politics,—satisfying all the requirements and criteria of an exact science. There are (1) the statement of prima facie View (2) the rejoinder and (3) the conclusion. In the determination of the conclusion, all the different steps, involved in reaching it, are adopted. Facts are discussed with reference to place, procedure, doubt, implication and contrariety.

The Artha Sastra begins with the scrutiny of the end of societies in order to determine

the place polity occupies in the scheme of human existence. Distinction is made between natural and artificial discipline, between *Dharma* and *Adharma* and *Naya* and *Annya*. Varnasram plan is elaborated as the foundation of the social order, duties common to all, are prescribed like the practice of harmlessness, truthfulness, purity, absence from cruelty, toleration and forgiveness. The observance of one's duty leads one to the paradise and infinite bliss.

After indicating the general lines, along which a prince should be trained for the onerous responsibilities of Government, the work describes at great length the composition of the Government. Military organisation and strategy occupy a prominent position and the collection and disbursement of revenue, from all possible sources, are treated with a keen eye to detail. The inherent contradiction is sought to be resolved by giving the whole edifice of the State a pyramidal structure, built upon a system of intricate checks and counter-checks, through an extensive espionage system.

The State, as envisaged by Kautilya has seven links. There are the king, minister, territory, fort, treasury, army and ally. He resolved these further into the following main topics, viz kingship, ministry and the administrative apparatus—central, provincial, district, and villages, sources of revenue and disbursement, justice and interstate relations.

The Sovereign or the Swami should be well-educated, disciplined, and devoted to good Government of his subjects. Kautilya describes the life of a saintly king, and the importance of his restraint of the organs of sense.

The Sovereign is beset by internal a

external troubles in his attempt to consolidate his empire. Internal troubles are due to Mantri, Purohita, Senapati, Yuvaraja, Sanga, Guides, Corporations and Atmadosh (personal Fault). The Swami or the king has to be eternally vigilant, for the obstructions to success are passion, anger, timidity haughtiness, desire for the other world and the faith in the auspiciousness of lunar days and stars. The monarch has to scrupulously avoid what are intensity of desire and passion, which provokes people and impolicy which invites external enemies.

According to Kautilya, the most formidable impediment to extension and consolidation of an Empire was factious spirit and strife fostered by corporation and ministers. Kautilya was hostile to Republic of strong Government.

The most serious of all dangers to king's authority and source of peril to the Empire was the inordinate and insensate-ambitions of ministers, on whose sense of duty and responsibility, rested the safety and integrity of the dominion. He lays down a high and an exacting standard-form ministers. The qualifications of ministers, prescribed by him, are high birth, knowledge, foresight, wisdom, boldness, eloquence, intelligence, enthusiasm, dignity, purity of character, firmness, affability, loyalty, devotion and freedom from procrastination, from feeble-mindedness and sentimentalism, and lastly perfect self-control. These were high qualifications, worthy of the splendour of the end in view, and commensurate with the maintenance of an order of society on a truly spiritual basis. It was the minister from whom all activity of the State emanated, such as, the successful accomplishment of the

works of the people, the security of the person and property from internal and external enemies, remedial measures against calamities, colonisations, improvement of wild tracts of land, recruiting for the army and collecting the revenue and the bestowal of favours. Realising the importance of ministerial power, Chanakya recommends that the king or the Swami should be vigilant and protect himself against the machinations of ministers. The Swami was also to realise that in case defeat was certain against internal and external enemies, he should flee the country for self-preservation for the time being, as an expediency, to return to power after sufficient preparation in the nick of time. The king should guard himself against all sorts of calamities and treachery.

Internal troubles, due to the power of ministers, might be more dreadful than external troubles. For such troubles work like a snake. Mutual hatred, partiality, rivalry and divided rule destroy the State. The control of internal and external troubles is possible-effectively by the people whom they recognise as their rulers, a high-born Prince. The king was the symbol of State, and of all mundane and spiritual duties. Rulership was the highest in society for all times for he was the standard of sovereignty to rally royalty and to hold the Empire together. Kautilya is unequivocal in his acknowledgement of the paramountcy in the State, of Dharma, Law and Swami.

Kautilya regards that Dandaniti is the source of all *Purusarthas*, and that it is only in a well-ordered, well-administered and independent State that security of property and of life, material and spiritual *Varnashrama* existence, as a support of Dharma, are feasible.

The *Dandadharar* sustains the Universe of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, and so long he is capable of supporting them, they prosper and vivify, if he is weak and is bereft of the elements of sovereignty, these achievements (Sashanas) of earthly and immortal existence disintegrate and undermine life. Absence of royal power creates the condition of weariness of the human spirit, lassitude and corruption of body and soul, the very similitude of the phenomenon of State of Nature. Power (Nayas), rightly and judiciously exercised, promotes virtue, and renders 'Dharmic Life' attainable. Accordingly Kautilya pleads for the exaltation of royal authority, for the defence of Varnashrama dharma and Artha and Kama, as these are the bases of culture and civilisation. Deterioration, stagnation and progress are the steps, ordained by the Nature in the evolution of Statehood, and the king should therefore attempt to secure that which is mentioned later in the order of enumeration "KSAYA STHANA VRIDDHINAM CEHTTAROTTARA LIPSITA".

Accordingly, Kautilya envisages the birth and expansion of an Empire of righteousness under the hegemony of a high-born and noble monarch, supported by and enlightened high-souled and selfless ministry. He defines the imperial fields as lying between the ocean and the Himalayas, and uses the terms 'Desh' and 'Chakravarty' to emphasise the idea of the territorial sovereignty, within which the fundamental unity of janapada was to be secured by bureaucratic centralisation, and the development of an unilateral authority under the inspiration of one outstanding personality.

This was the dream of Kautilya. He witnessed during his own life the irresistible ex-

pansion of the Mauryan Empire under Chandra Gupta and Bindusara after Alexander's invasion and chaotic condition in North-West India. Most of the polity, enunciated by him were adopted by the Maurya administration. The Artha Sastra turned out to be a text book for the princes. Like the rain of night, it restored colour and force to political ideas, which had been blanched and wearied by the acute religious controversies of contending religions, Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism. With gentle fertilising power, it awakened within the mind of his contemporaries many latent elements, and gathered round them materials for the future, and image for the use of talent. The Artha Sastra brought the lagging side in all the vitality around the individual. It asserted for man, the worth, the meaning and the possibility of human life. The reigns of Chandra Gupta and his son Bindusara saw the efflorescence of an Empire-building within the four corners of the Indian sub-continent with a centralised administrative machinery, unknown before or perhaps not equalled or bettered later on. The period of Asoka witnessed the fulfilment of Kautilya's dream of a "DHARMA-RAJYA", which vivified the experience, the knowledge and the matured reflections of the past, and opened out the far vistas of moral possibility. The Maurya period gave the individual, some conception of the solemnity, the vastness, the unity and the purpose of life. It offered opportunities and scope to search after some of the essential relationships of man to man. Chandra Gupta and his son built the vast Empire on the basis of the secular side, as preached in the Artha Sastra, and Asoka the Great supplemented and graced the same by his righteousness and

love and fellow-feeling to humanity on the foundation of the spiritual side of the Magnum Opus of the master. Thus Kautilya is the prophet of Chandra Gupta's and Binusara's secular kingdom, and Asoka's kingdom of righteousness.

In assigning the each individual, a station in the social order with corresponding duties and responsibilities, Kautilya resembles Plato, who also in his picture of the ideal State, provides for three classes of people, the Statesman, the Warriors and Artisan Labourers, with duties peculiar to their stations. Justice was the principle of harmony, permeating the social organisation, with the result each class attended to its own duties and was forbidden from meddling with the duties of the other two. The essence of social justice was to be found in the view that individual was no isolated self, but part of the order, and that he was intended not to pursue the pleasures of that isolated self, but to fill an appointed place in the social order.

Kautilya, like Aristotle, has had the same fearlessness of intellect, the same passion for truth and courage to put faith in reason. To reason and not emotion, Kautilya addresses the final appeal. Like Aristotle, Kautilya stresses the importance of individuality and individual responsibility, and the value of human endeavour in securing the best in his life. Kautilya is philosophic, not as a speculative philosopher, who has a system to expand, but as one, who looks beyond the peculiar phenomenon which he is dealing, and discerns the universal type in and through individual monarch. There is striking resemblance between Kautilya and Aristotle, as regards their concep-

tion of Statehood. According to them, the State rests on definite and enduring relations, which were above the caprice of individuals. To both, the State was not an organisation but an organism. To Aristotle, the State was indistinguishable from society, but, Chanakya sees the democratising lines between the two. Aristotle did not contemplate an Imperial State or envisage federation. Kautilya was far ahead of him in this respect. To Kautilya, Ethics and politics were part of historical studies. His mention of Dharma Sastra as sources indicated the need for moral and material approach in the understanding of history. The real contribution of Kautilya to historical thought is his analysis of historical change. The principle of divine determinism seems to have haunted ancient and modern historiographers from Herodotus, and later on even Hegel in the reading and determination of human affairs. Economic determinism simplified history to Karl Marx to one formula of class-war. Though interpretation of human life in terms of the divine was popular with Indian thinkers. Chanakya brought to his logical conclusion a sort of Royal determinism in place of divine determinism. Aristotle and Kautilya believed in the immutable and unchanging human nature, and looked upon history as a store house of examples, rather than a field of general experience.

Kautilya introduces a formula of elasticity in political action, conducive to the correction of whatever inconvenience and defects that might arise from too rigid a pursuit of either course of action. He (Kautilya) has great insight into the unpredictable elements, changes, complexities of history, and discovers that political tactics in a fluid world must be flexi-

blatant. Machiavelli glorified the State, and emphasised the right of the state to the loyalty of the individual. Man has no fight against the State, and he reaches the greatest height in subordinating himself to the community. Machiavelli believed that the State was necessary to the development of mankind. Kautilya too glorified the State, and regarded the king, the spokesman of the State, as morally and legally the foundation and source and the embodiment of all sovereign authority, and all *Dharma* disappears in Raj-Dharma. Both while conscious of a broad philosophic basis for their doctrines, confine themselves entirely to questions of immediate practical concern. The principle of practical philosophy for given conditions are substantially identical in the minds of the two philosophers. Kautilya, like Machiavelli, relaxes the rigidity of practical canons in accordance with the changed circumstances, and the suitability of political conditions. The ideal of both is a State whose ends are expansion and attainment of widespread dominion. Both learnt the lessons from the then condition, the invasion of Alexander in the case of the Indian and the unstable and chaotic condition in Florence and Italy in that of the Italian. The retrospect of the past revealed to them the passion of history, and the essential features of historical process. If Machiavelli suffers from what Nietzsche designated as the malady of history burying his head in the past and being merely the channel for Classical Roman influence, Kautilya is merely an admirer of the past of

his country. He is not in the grip of the dead hand of the past, but looks to it for occasional warning and inspiration. History to him, is rationalised record of human experiences, and his lessons are valuable as and when occasion arises. Machiavelli assumes a separation between state-craft and morality and pre-supposes the corruption, venality and baseness of mankind. He recognises force and fraud among the legitimate means of attaining high political ends, and makes success alone the test of conduct. The State is an end in itself, and has no higher duty than to maintain itself. Kautilya and Machiavelli were the originators of systematic politics and conceived it as a scheme co-ordinate with cardinal science. The comparison between the two seems to be inappropriate in some respects. While Kautilya deems the private character of the Prince almost entirely out of sight and treats him as the personification of the State, wherein the private individual is inevitably merged in the politician. However the Indian traditional politics, including that of Chanakya, amounted to self-Government, depending on self-control, truthfulness of speech, absolute devotion to duty, inner rectitude, piety, without superstition, and tranquility and self-restraint. Thus Machiavelli and Kautilya are two planets in different parts of the firmament with a different gravitational pull. Kautilya, in his conception of State-hood and kingship, inclined towards Plato and Aristotle, who regarded States as a moral institution, and attempted at a moralisation of individual ends through the benevolent agency of the State.

Indian Periodicals

Ferewell To Planning

Arjun Sen Gupta, writing in the *Now* presents a view of the eventual fate of development planning in India with which many may feel inclined to heartily agree :

It was almost inevitable that the structure of economic planning we built without the necessary political scaffolding would collapse with the first shock of serious crisis. Even in the second year of the Fourth Five Year Plan, the country is left with merely a draft document. The sterile debate is still going on about the size of the Plan, while the small expenditures provided for in the two annual Budgets have already settled the issue for a small plan, or rather ad hoc programme for public investment. The deepening crisis of the last few years has set the stage for an unceremonious euthanasia of economic planning in India.

We thought we would achieve wonders—we would transform the vast mass of poverty of this semi-feudal, semi industrial society into self-sustained prosperity without touching the political relations. The economic equations that Mahalanobis solved and which provided the frame of our plans resembled a Soviet exercise. But the political equations that Stalin worked out were not even posed by Nehru, let alone his trying to modify them to suit the Indian conditions. We thought we were building a social pattern which we euphemistically called socialistic, without affecting the class relations. The fruits of public investment, we expected, would flow merrily to the common man while the vested interests would stand by in harmless passivity. For fifteen years we indulged in the luxury of wishful thinking that we could achieve things just because we would like to achieve them.

Naturally, with the passing of years, there developed a 'feasibility gap' between what we set as targets and what we could actually realise. We tried hard to cover this gap in many different ways. First we begged the foreigners to pour in as much aid as they could. Never before in human history was so much foreign aid available to any developing country. Imagine what would have happened if the Soviet Union had received even a third of such aid in those trying years of the thirties. But in India we used up this aid in a way that made us so dependent on it that withdrawal of commitments of aid for a few months led the economy to a virtual collapse.

Secondly, we introduced all sorts of annual rituals and were fully satisfied, true to our Hindu tradition, with the purely symbolic nature of those controls. They came as off the cuff responses to specific problems in a haphazard, uncoordinated way. Where they mattered, they were seldom enforced and where they were enforced, their only purpose was to create little pockets of power in the bureaucracy that functioned in close liaison with vested interests.

Then we tried to convince ourselves that what appeared year after year as the actual phenomenon was only temporary, that basically the targets were nearly achieved and it was either the statistics that failed to record them or some unforeseen external factors that created the problems. We are told that we achieved a potential of food-grains production in 1965-66 of 90 million tonnes. The calculations of the Fourth Plan were made on the basis of that figure, though the actual production in that year

was only 72 million tonnes, and the next year was only 76. Drought was responsible for this discrepancy between the apparent and the real, and it was drought, we were reminded, that contributed most to the present crisis.

The production potential, one would have thought, was calculated on the basis of the average performance over a number of years of good and bad weather, with the average application of inputs and other factors. In the fifteen years of economic planning, only once in 1964-65 did the production figure hover around 88 million tonnes. This fact plus some paper calculations were enough to make us accept the figures dished out as the potential achieved. Further, we never stopped to ask: how come that after so many years of planning, drought remains an external factor that pushes the whole system out of balance? As if drought was a rare phenomenon in India—so rare that the policy-makers never bothered to count it in their calculations. Why did we not prepare for it in the years when nature was less unkind? Why were no stocks built in the days of relative plenty and abundant supply of imported grains? Why was there no mechanism to procure whatever we produce and to distribute them equitably over the country?

Gandhian Revolution'

The answer to all these questions lies in the first proposition we made—no one cared to touch the political relations. For no development of agriculture can occur without overthrowing the network of old vested interests. We performed the ritual of enacting land reforms on paper and congratulated ourselves for achieving a revolution in the Gandhian way. The poor peasants were

left with as little incentive for raising production as in the old days. The rich peasants continued to control the production and the markets of the surplus grain.

The solution we offered to our present crisis in agriculture also reflects the unmistakable quality of our approach to planning. It is too difficult to do anything about the country's whole agriculture without affecting the entrenched interests. So let us try to bring about a technological revolution in an area of about 33 million acres—hardly eight per cent of the total cropped area in the country—with imported seed, fertilizer and know-how, if not also the peasants. The vast remainder of our agriculture may remain, with small marginal changes, almost as it is, enmeshed in poverty. But technology will yield wonders in that small chosen area and solve all our problems. The foreign exchange cost of inputs may be a bit too high but we shall beg of the foreigners and offer them all the concessions they ask for so that they can come and help us. Losing self-respect, we were told by an honorable gentleman, is a very small price to pay for feeding ourselves. He did not tell us what happens if in the process we lose self-respect and also remain unfed.

Scarcity of foreign exchange is the other factor that, according to the official diagnosis, has caused the present crisis. Foreign exchange was always scarce during the years of planning in our country. Indeed, such scarcity is the common feature for all developing countries. But the enormous flow of foreign aid to India blunted our sensitivity to this problem. We knew that foreign aid was a much easier way to solve our payments problem than meddling with the structures of imports and exports and

the interests that operated there. And somehow we grew complacent that whatever happens foreign aid would continue to flow to us.

It was only when the flow of foreign aid suddenly stopped after the last skirmish with Pakistan and the growth rate of industrial production sharply fell to zero that the foreign exchange problem was exposed to us in its naked form. Again our response to this situation conformed to our general approach to all such problems. There was no attempt to search for the root cause—to ask how much we could do without foreign aid and what changes in our policy were urgently called for. We chose the simplest measure. We devalued the rupee—raised in one day the value of all our past debts by 57%, and appealed more vigorously for further foreign aid.....

When the rupee was devalued last year one argument was tossed at us. Since the abuse of the import controls and export subsidies had in effect reduced the external value of the rupee, its devaluation only formalised what had already happened and offered a more rational substitute for the previous policy. This piece of logic is again typical of the Indian approach to economic planning. It is true that the policy of discriminating import control and export subsidy was abused, but no one asked why it was abused. Instead devaluation—a policy of uniform import-tax and export subsidy—was accepted as a substitute. As if a uniform tax-subsidy policy can be an answer to our problem. Does not planning necessarily imply discrimination, that some industries should be more encouraged than others? A properly worked out plan should tell us which in-

dustries in the long run will be more efficient than others, and the current market cost-price relations can seldom indicate this long run efficiency. In a planned economy, a tax-subsidy policy has to be discriminating, those industries which have the potential of long-run comparative advantage have to be encouraged more than others, and the economy has to be managed in the short run so that the current profit-cost relations do not push it off its long run course of planned development.

In fact, the industries benefiting so far from the mess of the official policy of export-subsidy soon started exerting pressure, and the Government, a bit awkwardly, admitted that devaluation could not be a substitute for subsidies. And so, the subsidies were again introduced, in the same haphazard, uncoordinated manner as it was done before devaluation. No one bothered whether there was a plan in the country, if the subsidies were calculated on the basis of long-run efficiency of different industries or whether the policy conforms to notions of priorities, so important for any exercise in planning. To be sure, the word "priorities" was used in the official edict, but in the peculiar Indian way. Fifty-nine industries that accounted for as much as 75% of the industrial output were declared priority industries. It is a pity that the other 25% was left out.

The experience of the last one year after devaluation was miserable performance in the field of exports. The glib official answer was again "drought". It was academic to ask that even if there were no drought what guarantee was there that the increased output would be exported abroad, and not consumed at home. Is it possible to increase

exports without reducing domestic consumption? But that is an uncomfortable question. For, any policy to raise the rate of savings has to affect the pattern of income distribution and wasteful consumption. And it is difficult to do it without bringing in politics and interference with the interest groups that have been pampered so long by the total absence of a proper income-consumption policy.

And so, we are left with the mess we are in today. We have grown into a habit of drifting without direction. We have lived too long with ad hoc measures, uncoordinated sporadic responses to immediate prob-

lems. It is too difficult to change now, too troublesome to try a coordinate policy for implementing the plan, and covering the gap between what we aim at and what we realise. For economic policy is only partly economic. The rest is political; we cannot implement planning and change the present drift of the economy without altering the political relations. The easiest course left for us today is to follow the primitive instinct of giving up the thing which is hard to attain. That is why, when planning is the only answer to our problems, we have let it disappear from the national stage.

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Foreign Periodicals

No Defense Of Waste

The following article lifted from the *Time* presents a novel view of the economy of waste that would prove, interesting and not a little instructive to our readers. The main thing is to understand the real meaning of progress in terms of human resources and not so much in those of mere economic postulates :

Visitors are invariably shocked. They see Americans cheerfully discarding cars, refrigerators or washing machines from which a French peasant, say, or a Greek shopkeeper would still get years of use. They are amazed at the serviceable suits that an American sends off to the Salvation Army the minute an elbow gives way or a knee frays. Tin cans that would roof a million Caribbean cottages are tossed onto scrap heaps. Perfectly good buildings are torn down and replaced by new ones with an economic life expectancy of only 50 years. Waste, outrageous waste, cry the critics—and by no means only foreign critics. U. S. social commentators loudly deplore the “waste makers,” as do politicians and poets. “In America everything goes to waste,” complains Poet Karl Shapiro. “Waste in the States is the national industry.” “I regard waste as the continuing enemy of our society,” Lyndon Johnson has warned.

Different critics mean different things by waste. The most obvious definitions are heedless opulence, which, as it were, drops too much from the table, and the readiness to discard the only slightly old. A secondary target is the artificial stimulation of the consumer to buy in vast quantities things

he never wanted until he was told. Often such complaints sound highly plausible, particularly when reinforced by a wrecking ball hitting an old landmark or an infuriating commercial peddling a clearly needless “improvement” in some trivial product. Yet waste is not what it seems to be. The term implies a moral as well as an economic judgment, and its meaning varies with both setting and purpose.....

TIME V. TROUBLE

The concept of waste still held by most of the world grows out of scarcity, a situation in which materials are short and labor is the cheapest thing around—a situation that in many cases socialism has helped to perpetuate. In the U. S., the notion of waste also grows from the Puritan belief that negligent use of material things is sinful “Waste not, want not,” saith the preacher, and the phrase still echoes in the minds of older Americans not too far removed from the time when wax drippings were conserved to recast into new candles, or when boys made pocket money by straightening out bent nails.

Today people who save string or old clothes in attics are likely to run into psychologists who tell them that such hoarding is neurotic, or economists who prove it uneconomical, or architects who simply do not provide enough storage space for it. The new American maxim, Columbia University's John Kouwenhoven has suggested, should be “Waste not, have not.” This does not signify that waste has become accepted in the U. S.—on the contrary. It is only that its meaning has changed. Neither Cotton

Mather nor Malthus nor Marx anticipated a society in which only 15% of the population would produce all the food and goods that the whole nation could reasonably need or, for that matter, a society so productive that could afford for the first time in history, to have more people in services than in production.

The result is that the modern American is not bothered by the waste of materials. What concerns him is time—his time in the abundant U. S. economy, materials are relatively cheaper than labor. If something he can buy and throw away can save an American time, he does not feel it is a real waste.

Viewed in this light, much that appears materially wasteful becomes economically unwasteful. The American businessman, whose profits may depend on his avoidance of waste, has known this for a long time. The consumer is now learning it on a broad scale, and the evidence can be found in any American kitchen. Take the case of the housewife who reels out a yard or so of expensive aluminum foil to catch the drippings from her Sunday chicken. Her husband may argue that this is waste. The wife will contend that it saves her the work of scrubbing the oven. Worth it? In a peasant economy the wife's time would be worth very little, the aluminum a lot. But in the U. S. the husband can afford the aluminum, and his wife sets a high value on her time.

Throwing out bottles may seem wasteful but considering the total cost of the time and trouble it takes to return, store, ship back and re sterilize a bottle, it is often cheaper to use a new one. In the case of appliances, a dishwasher might cost \$150; after some years, it may cost \$100 to repair it, since a highly paid repairman's indi-

vidual labor is immensely less efficient than the assembly-line labor that produces the machine. In this instance, it would clearly be wasteful not to buy a new washer. Says Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset: "The day may come when it is more expensive to launder a shirt than to buy a new one. Which is more wasteful then—to clean the shirt or throw it away?"

BEST V. LATEST

Americans are buying not only time but use. Social Security, unemployment insurance and now Medicare relieve them of the once-imperative necessity of squirreling away savings for times of trouble. Instalment buying has contributed to the notion of having the good things of life while you are living it, not waiting until you are too old to enjoy it. The curious result is that the modern American is in one sense much less "materialistic" than his father or his father's father. He is more interested in the use of things to give him the good life than in the possession. Says Buckminster Fuller: "Man used to feel secure when he owned things. Now he may feel insecure when he owns something like a house because it makes him feel encumbered."

A dramatic illustration is the proliferation of disposable materials from cutlery to paper dresses that last for a couple of enchanted evenings (and how many times can any single dress enchant?) One of the latest manufactures to enter the field cheerfully labels his new line Waste Basket Boutique. Some economists argue enthusiastically that disposable togs may become great waste and money savers, particularly as once-only dresses for a graduation or wedding—thus casually dismissing an older generation's tradition of laying away wedding dresses as semisacred

household *lares*. This may be the utter limit (there are still girls who like the idea of walking to the altar in grandma's wedding dress), but the principle of use rather than possession is evident all over, particularly in the fact that people rent everything from skis to dance floors, at great savings of space and trouble.

There is undoubtedly too much buying for show, status and the sheer pleasure of expensive gadgetry. Perhaps the audio addict spent ridiculous amounts of money on massive monaural hi-fi rigs. But he later switched to stereo and small speakers not out of mere faddism but because they were better. Basically, the American wants what is best, not what will last forever. What upwardly mobile American really wants a car that will last 30 years, as he watches newer models go by, with power steering and brakes, pushbutton windows, et al. Or the refrigerator without automatic defrosting? The stove without a self-cleaning oven?

If it seems outrageous to tear down a handsome masonry building dating from Victorian times, one must consider the waste of energy and efficiency that would result from having people work in its non-air-conditioned rooms—or alternatively, the expense of air-conditioning them. Today, one in every four Americans changes houses each year, and a majority of them move within the same community or market area—They have simply traded in the old house for a better one. The same is true in all other fields. Less developed countries may welcome a hand-me-down DC-3, even in the time of the jet. But the U. S. expects the best and can produce it. The price may seem like waste to some, but it can also be

construed as “research” cost from which the whole world may ultimately profit.

LUXURY V. NECESSITY

What spoils this picture of constant improvement is the sneaking suspicion that the improvement is not always real—in other words, the old boggy of planned obsolescence: advertising, so goes the argument, not only exaggerates the improvements in many products but also relentlessly creates demands that never existed before. Obviously this is true; yet there is a limit to the process. Detroit may be able to get away with a mere face lifting on its cars for a season or two, but sooner or later there has to be genuine innovation, or else the consumer will simply not respond. Similarly, Madison Avenue may create less-than-essential needs from deodorants to wigs, but somehow, somewhere, products must appeal to genuine human wants. Yesterday's luxury is today's necessity, and tastes are real even if they are acquired tastes. “The biggest waste in our society is feeding grain to animals,” says Harvard Economist Thomas Schelling. “We lose nine-tenths of the calories in the grain. As for the proteins, we could easily get all we need out of soybeans. But we like the taste of meat, and we can afford to produce it. Is this waste?”.....

But considerable ingenuity goes into the recovery and reuse of waste materials. Some industrial waste is saved and reprocessed at the plant itself, the rest comes through the scrap and salvage industry, which buys up wastes from plants, offices and homes. The copper in a skillet, for instance, may have an indefinite series of incarnations over cycle of many years, moving from smelter to refinery to brass mill to the factory to housewife's kitchen to junk collector to a secondary refinery where it is smelted into ingots and sold back to the factory. Overall, only an estimated 15% of all the copper ever mined has been lost.

That most conspicuous waste—paper—is

less serious than it looks. Paper that starts as office stationery may be reprocessed several times to reappear as wrapping or wall-board. Some 25% of all paper now derives from this "secondary forest," and there is so much reforestation that 60% more timber is maturing every year than is cut. A new process breaks up old cars into tiny bits and magnetically extracts the steel to produce a 97% pure scrap, offering a hope that most of the nation's automobile graveyards can eventually be eliminated. Fly ash is converted to make lightweight bricks, panels and construction blocks. Celotex is using blast furnace slag to make mineral wool.

The slaughtering industry has long boasted that it used up everything but the squeal. Together with the utilization of other wastes—such as corn-cobs and tobacco shreds to produce face powder and insecticides—the agriculture waste industry is a \$5.9 billion business. The squeezings from soybean oil are used for oral contraceptives. Hiram Walker says, only half in jest, that it recovers "the hangover from whisky"—fusel oil, usually blamed for hangovers, can now be largely removed from whisky and sold to paint and perfume makers. Poultry processors, confronted with smothering stockpiles of chicken feathers that would not burn, came up with a new process that breaks down the feathers into a mealy, protein-rich substance. Today, many chickens are growing fat faster on the feathers of their predecessors.

Even in the lowliest problem, the disposal of municipal and industrial wastes that pollute the air and the streams of the U. S., there has been some progress. In a process now being established in Houston and three other cities, tin cans and other ferrous-metal objects are separated magnetically from other wastes. Rags, paper, plastics and aluminum, wood and rubber are hand-picked from the conveyor belt, each for assignment to reprocessing and recovery. The remaining organic material is "cooked" and deodorized to produce fertilizer. The object in view is that each city will become a closed loop—like a space capsule—and completely reuse all the

water and solids that pass through the system.

The ultimate concern is that waste will end in consuming basic resources. It is an insistent theme of conservationists, but it does not presently worry serious economists. Herbert Schiller of the University of Illinois speaks for most of his colleagues when he says flatly: "We won't be overwhelmed by the disaster aspects of waste." Not only is the U. S. constantly developing substitutes (aluminum for iron, oil for coal, synthetic fabrics for wool), but detection and discovery techniques have so greatly improved that the reserves known to be available are actually larger than before.

The only real waste that bothers Americans is not of material but of human resources. Lack of education for gifted children, the 24.9% of draftees rejected for "functional illiteracy" or other educational deficiencies, the victims of all kinds of diseases that could be cured or alleviated—these represent human waste. On a different level there is immeasurable wasted energy in bureaucracy, both in Government and in private business. There is waste of time, if nothing else, in the innumerable non-books published and in countless empty entertainments. Some modern puritans see shocking waste in the fees paid to chic hairdressers or in the salaries handed to television comedians, which includes paying them not to perform for somebody else. But it would take an intolerable regime of tyrannical book-keepers to determine which activities, which pleasures, are wasteful and which are useful.

No society has ever solved the problem of waste—as archaeologists from Iraq to Denmark can testify, as they rummage through ziggurats and kitchen middens. The crucial thing is to keep alive a sense of freedom, possibility and enterprise—and in that sense the U. S. is the least-wasteful society in history. Essentially, nothing is waste that helps fulfill a legitimate purpose. With their wild wheeling economy, a phenomenon so extraordinary that they cannot quite believe it themselves, Americans can do anything they choose. All they have to do is make their choices.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

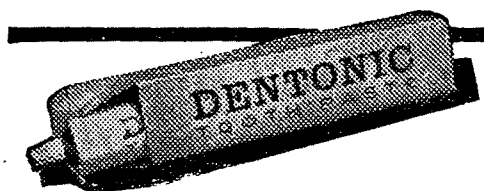
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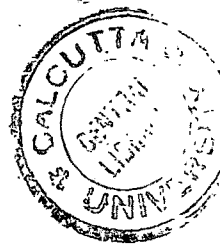
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NOTES

Israel and Arab States

The conflict between Israel and the Arab States has its roots in the international injustices which the British, the United States of America and other Western nations committed in the past in Asia and Africa, with a view to make things advantageous for the Euro-American races. These same races have also been guilty of starting most of the wars of modern times as well as of the imperialistic domination of other countries and exploitation of all backward nations. The millions who now lead a very bleak existence in Africa and Asia, do so mainly because Europe and America used them and their ancestors as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the last two hundred years or longer. Dire poverty and spectacularly pompous wealth cannot exist side by side without creative mass emotional unrest in the poverty stricken areas and causing the growth of some kind of militant nationalism in these places. The Arab States are mostly the products of this sort of political reaction and European imperialists have been mainly responsible for such developments in the Middle East after the break up of the Ottoman Empire. Israel was created by those Europeans and Americans who were anti-semitic and wanted the Jews to leave their homes in Europe and America and to go back to Palestine after an absence of two thousands years. Artificial stimulation of Zionist feelings among the down-trodden and persecuted Jews of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, Britain, the United States and other "white" countries of the West helped the Western anti-semitic races to set up this new State of

Israel to which all Jews could eventually go in order to liquidate Jewish competition in the economic set up of Europe and America.

So, the Arab States were created out of the broken pieces of the Sultanate of Turkey and the remains of the Royal houses of Arabia; but the peoples of these States did not remain satisfied with their problematic rebirth. They developed along the lines laid down by the Chinese, Indian and other militant nationalists of Asia and soon became problem States for themselves as well as for the rest of the world. Israel developed in the economic field much more than the Arab States and their affluence was eyed with jealousy by those who had been forced or induced to give up their lands for the settlement of the Jews in that artificially created land of the Jews. The Arab countries specialised in *coups d'etat* and occasional assassinations but achieved little in the sphere of material growth, except what came through Western capital invested in the oil wells of West Asia.

The present conflict began with some Israelis shooting down Syrian planes and with the United Arab blockade of the Gulf of Aquaba. As to who did what and when we cannot be very sure; but generally speaking, one can be sure that neither side lacked the urge to start a fight. The Israelis probably beat the United Arabs to the punch and thereby gained some advantage militarily speaking. They were also much better prepared for war and worked overtime while they spoke little. General Nasser, on the other hand, was unlucky in having shakey and unreliable allies and we have not been able to ascertain whether Syria, Iraq and Jordan at all

fought in a whole hearted manner. They announced many paper victories during the first forty eight hours of the war, but somehow their advancing into Israeli territory did not cause any discomfiture to the Jewish Army. There were a lot of accusations against the British and the Americans for helping the Israelis; but the Jews, to all appearance, never required any assistance from outsiders to push the Arabs back to wherever they wanted them pushed. The Russians too never got a chance to be of any assistance to the Arabs and merely manouevred in their naval vessels on the high seas and away from the battle fields. Other nations including India, made announcements and never got beyond that. The Indian contingent of the U.N. got strafed from the air by Israeli planes and lost many men in killed and wounded. This was bad business, but Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been doing her best to protest against this out and out breach of international law in a smooth and unprovocative manner. The U.N. have not taken any action against the offending Jews either. In short, the Jews have retained their hold on Palestine, the United Arabs have once again proved their lack of Unity and military ability and we have as a nation, got some of our innocent soldiers killed by our eagerness to get involved in what does not really concern us. During the first few days of the war the Israelis had made some very significant gains and the war looked like ending in their favour. But the Syrians said they had just begun to fight and it would not do to end the war so soon. Some other States too had claimed to have begun to fight belatedly and wanted further time to deploy their forces. But wars usually do not wait for those who are too slow to join the fray in time and this Arab-Israeli war too showed symptoms of finishing as soon as one side achieved their objectives. At the time of writing the Israelis were certainly moving fast and looked like winning.

The Americans and the British had been the greatest sponsors of Jewish nationalism during recent years and they were naturally assisting the Jews to the best of their lawful capacity. The Arabs complained that Americans were sending planes over Egypt and Jordan, but no evidence was produced to prove the accusations. The Russians moved some ships of war into the Mediterranean Sea, but they did not actually aid or

assist the Arabs after the commencement of the war. When Israel reopened the Gulf of Aquaba to traffic the Russians were the first to take advantage of that. It would therefore appear that the four days war ended in favour of the Jews and there would now be long drawn arguments as to the rights and wrongs of the cases that would be prepared for and against all parties. The Israelis will try to hang on to whatever they have gained and the others will ask them to give up and to go back. And so it will go on.

Israel's Crime

The death of and injury to many Indian soldiers who were with the U.N. forces in Egypt due to air attacks made on them by the Israelis raises certain questions which must be answered to our satisfaction by the Israel Government. Were there any grounds for the Israel Air Force to mistake the U.N. forces as Egyptians? The Indians certainly displayed the U.N. flag as well as the white flag of a Peace mission. How could then the Israeli make any mistake and launch a full scale attack on them? The Indians did not counter-attack the Israelis so that when the Israelis continued to fire on the Indians they did so knowing full well that they were not attacking Egyptian forces. Later on when the Israelis came to know that they had killed many neutral soldiers, why did they not express regret and offer compensation? Why did they keep arrogantly silent as if it were beneath their dignity to express regret for murders committed by them? When they attacked some Americans by mistake they lost no time in offering apology. The Indian people think that the Israelis have behaved towards India in an inimical and discourteous manner after they had knowingly killed and injured many Indians on a peace mission. India cannot allow Israel to get away with such lawless behaviour and Israelis must be taught to respect the United Nations Flag even though they may feel angry with India for sympathising with the Arabs. The moral position of Israel is not too good and even if The British and the American support them they will remain answerable to the peoples of the world. We do not know what steps the Indian Government will take against Israel for their criminal action against the Indian Peace Contingent, but the Indian Nation

will not swallow Israel's insult to India and to Humanity in an abject manner.

The Government of India described the attack on the Indian Contingent by the Israelis in the words of the UN Secretary General as "brutal, callous and deliberate." They could have been no mistake. It was a "deliberate and calculated" attack. The contingent was flying the U.N. flag and yet they were strafed from the air first and thereafter subjected to sustained artillery fire. The number of persons killed were thirteen and those injured were twenty seven. So that the affair was not just the casual firing of a few automatic weapons or the dropping of a misdirected shell or two. Trained soldiers do not suffer forty casualties just in a matter of seconds. The attack must have been made and continued in a planned manner for a considerable length of time. Israel therefore had been guilty of a first degree offence against the United Nations and the soldiers of Israel concerned in this criminal affair must be accused and tried in the manner of criminals who commit murder. The Indian people must see that their Government do not allow this matter to pass in a casual manner by disbursement of a few rupees to the families of the dead persons and to the injured. And the more so when the money is being paid by India's Prime Minister. The Israelis are shamelessly defiant and they must be made to answer for their crime in a manner which will satisfy the Indian public.

Political Parties of India

The thinkers of India have always been profound, deep and abstruse. That is, they thought with great analytical perfection wherever the subject matter demanded and permitted a search for fundamentals. In spheres of thought where open three dimensional realities predominated the Indian sages had gone in for clear classification and detailed catalogueing of facts; and had avoided such forced smoke screening of sensory impressions as they might easily have engaged in with their intensive metaphysical training. We therefore find realities treated as clear cut facts of creation where their metaphysical analysis yielded no spiritual values; and the practical wisdom and effectiveness of ancient Indian thought was surely of a high degree of excellence. Architecture,

sculpture, painting, drama and dance attained heights in form and style which any civilisation could be proud of. Agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, ship building, the various crafts and economic planning were dealt with an eye to their usefulness and value in the manner of experts in technique and skill. The various realistic science, like anatomy, physiology, dietetics; metallurgy, chemistry etc. etc., were studied as they should have been by people who had no illusions nor created any to make truths obscure. When India fell from the intellectual heights she had reached due to the Muslim invasion of India and Indian thinkers drew away from the practical things of life to deal exclusively with sloganised wisdom (*Sutragata guanam*) and ritualistic practices, our national outlook on material achievement and progress suffered a great deterioration too. The Iranian element in the new Indo-Iranian arts, crafts and styles became actively progressive while the Indian part remained fixed as befitted a basic or source inspiration. When, after the fall of Muslim power in India, Western Orientalists began to study the civilisation of ancient India, they devoted more time and thought to the religious and philosophical thoughts of the sages and gave the world an impression that ancient Indian civilisation was predominantly spiritual. Indian revivalist thought also concentrated on our theological and metaphysical thoughts and depended on Western Sciences and Techniques for the material side of their national aspirations. Only a certain section of our cultural revivalists went deeper into ancient Indian life and found the sources of the material inspiration that moved the peoples of those days to build great cities, elaborate centres of learning, grand edifices adorned with magnificent statuary, and to achieve a remarkable superiority in the various arts and crafts that were integral parts of the economic life of a nation. The Swadeshi movement stimulated this way of thinking and the Indian businessmen began to take up production as against agencies for British manufactures. The "threads of wisdom" with which we had been tying ourselves in order to reach inner perfection yielded place to other contacts which gave us material and scientific consciousness. Our political outlook however hung on to spiritual or ideological illusions of our own or of foreign make and rendered our leaders more or less ineffective

in achieving material gains for the nation. Even after two decades of floundering in the muddy waters of rejected standards and ideas, our political parties are still quoting and misquoting what our or other peoples' ancestors had regarded as the essence of progressive thought. Science, techniques and machinery have changed, but the ways of political party men have not. They have their own threads of wisdom which tie them hand and foot to their particular political superstition. Political organisations do not exist by divine right. They are set up, maintained and improved upon so that human communities can exist and prosper in an orderly manner in an atmosphere of individual freedom and liberty. The rules and regulations made for the prevention of lawlessness and disorder are made for free men who are ethically wide awake about their rights and obligations. They are not Prison Rules for the guidance of persons who have no freedom of thought and action. It is a pity that quite often political ideology go against enlightened human ideals of social life. That happens because some men want to impose dictatorial rule over their fellow human beings in order to realise some strange ideals of human freedom and liberty which slowly block up all outlets for individual feelings, thoughts and action and replace the same by official directives.

U.S.A. and U.K. Against Arab Freedom

The U.S.A. and the U.K. have been openly assisting the Israelis in their fight against Arab Nationalism. The U.S.A. are doing this because of all countries in the world the largest number of Jews live in the U.S.A. and the American Whites strongly desire that the Jews should have a home country of their own outside the U.S.A. They like that this Jewish land should be in Arabia no matter how many Arabs lost their homes in the process. The United Kingdom also wanted to build a Jewish State in Palestine so that the Jews could leave their European homes and go over to their own State. The British further wanted to drive a non-Arab wedge into the Middle East so that whenever the Arabs got too strong and united, the British could always have a base in a nearby place. So that the role that Israel plays in world politics to-day is mainly one of a hired mercenary paid

and ordered about by the U.S.A.—U.K. bloc. This has become a very live organisation on account of the fact that the U.S.S.R. and China are acting in a pro-Arab fashion since some years. Their pro-Arab attitude is however not quite so substantial as the pro-Israel program followed by Anglo-America. The Russians and the Chinese always have more intention than action. So that the Arab war potential has not increased to the extent of the Israeli military preparation. The U.S.A. and the U.K. further maintain enormous forces in the Mediterranean area and these forces can be used in many ways to help the Israelis in case of war. Friendly fleets in nearby places can be very useful. They can carry war material and even soldiers if necessity arose. The Russians and the Chinese have not been so resourceful in rendering military assistance in an underhand manner.

Indiscriminate Use Of Force

Political parties have differences of opinion, arguments, mutual recrimination and offensive propaganda against one another. But they do not, in civilised communities, throw bombs, shoot important members of antagonistic parties, stab one another or go in for mass rioting to establish their contradictory ideologies. The killing of a member of one party by members of another party will prove the moral poverty of the offending group. Attempts to establish a so-called social ideal by the use of violence against those who do not believe in the ideal will also prove the weakness of the ideal. Lately we have been noticing a tendency among organised groups of persons holding particular political views to make use of force against all who do not agree with them. Where economic interests clash the violence becomes more intense and ruthless. This sort of tendency to fight it out does not help to maintain the Rule of the Law and is very bad for national progress. All our parties have some peculiarities of point of view which have no real bearing on the Nation's well-being and progress. Rather, some parties have very strong bonds of fellowship with certain foreign countries which are not even friendly to India. The parties take a lead in creating disorder within the country and people suspect that they do this in order to help the foreign enemies of India. Whatever

that may be the Law must be the basis of our political, social and economic life and it must be maintained at any cost.

Anti-Human Developments

There was a time when great men with a prophetic vision thought of organising the entire human race as one community, ignoring all differences of race, colour; language or religion. But thereafter came Two World Wars which intensified antagonistic feelings among small groups of men and stimulated narrow sectarian ambitions at the sacrifice of wider humanistic ideals. New national bodies came into existence in order to strengthen the political strategies of victorious blocs and great empires were divided up into many small racial, linguistic or religious communities. The most important instances of such dividing up of great communities were the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian multiple monarchy. The disintegration of great empires as a result of the political struggle for freedom carried on by the peoples constituting the empires, also added to the number of small units into which mankind got divided. The British Empire provided enough material to create a large number of States and where such States did not develop out of the natural urges of the communities concerned, the British political engineers took great pains to create new States where there had been none before. The case of Pakistan is outstanding example. Thoughtless action of leaders in search of newer ideals of liberty and freedom often create political entities out of self seeking groups and coteries. Pandit Nehru's creation of autonomous States in India had begun the slow development of a political separatism which might eventually destroy Indian Unity.

Communism begun as a political ideal that might have unified the whole of humanity. But the forces that had broken up great empires in the past continued to function even in a communist set up, and narrower groupings began to take shape everywhere which soon dissipated all ideas of a greater unity. To-day there are Communist nations and blocs, same as there are capitalist hegemonies; and we no longer hope to see One World replacing the many worlds of clashing interests. China having absorbed the poison of

imperialistic adventurism has become a menace to human freedom; and thinking men now foresee the eventual break up of the Chinese empire into many States. America and Britain have been trying their level best to keep antagonisms alive where there might have grown some unity among warring interests. They have created States like Israel to satisfy their own anti-human designs; and the ineffectiveness of the Communist blocs have been a source of strength to the Anglo-American bloc. The Russians cannot risk diverting forces in a manner which could be taken advantage of by China and their preoccupation with the Chinese menace makes their foreign policy weak and unreal. The Anglo-Americans have gained by this split in the Communist camp and are likely to continue to do so for some more years. Any student of international politics will see that human ideals no longer influence the foreign policy of the numerous nations that have come into existence during recent years. Ordinary ethical considerations do not any longer prevail in mutual dealings among nations. Standards of behaviour have deteriorated and the codes of conduct which have been punctiliously followed by representatives of all nations are no longer maintained. The result has been an amazing fall in the standards of good manner. The people who now represent their nations are distinctly sub-standard. Some are no better than hooligans and toughs. In such circumstances coming to blows over small differences of opinion will be common and easy and the maintenance of peace a difficult task. Secret arming of unscrupulous gangs of power seeking men in the name of aiding their underdeveloped countries is yet another method adopted by war mongers to keep the marauders fully employed. China and America may be supplying arms to smaller groups somewhere to keep a fight fully on, or, Russia may be aiding those who want to fight some stooges of the British. There are therefore numerous fronts where small national armies equipped and maintained by the big powers are fighting against one another. This will go on until the big powers feel that they could go all out and deliver the *coup de grace* directly to their enemy. That last phase might not develop until several years of indirect warfare had gone on for softening up the enemies' defences and weakening their war potential. There is also the question of propaganda. World

opinion requires to be built up by a steady and prolonged publicity campaign. Wars on a large scale will certainly spread and involve many nations. The powers that start world wars therefore require to convince the world in advance of the rightness of their cause. Democracy and totalitarianism, capitalism and communism, free and planned societies therefore carry on propaganda about their individual lives of thought and action. For the world will eventually select that way of existence which will appear to be capable of giving the maximum benefit to the peoples of the world. There is a great clash of cultures and ideals and the little wars are the skirmishes among the advance guards of the great armies that are mobilising in the background.

War At Any Moment

Recent trends in international relations and the unrestrained manner in which certain nations permit their representatives to break universally accepted rules of conduct both at home and abroad, suggest that there might be a total breakdown in international relations at any moment. Certain nations have a distinct animosity for certain other nations and they cannot any longer keep up even an outward show of civility and ordinary courtesy. Grown up men have begun to behave like rowdy street-urchins and it is becoming more and more difficult to maintain international relations at a proper level of polite and courteous behaviour. Everyday incidents are occurring which may start a conflagration at any time. We have therefore to be prepared for war and organise our lives in a manner which will grant us the maximum security, self-sufficiency and military strength without any loss of time. The people must come forward to achieve this with or without the assistance of the government. This quick and all round preparedness will decide whether we shall survive if one or more nations simultaneously attacked us and other nations failed to keep their promises of aid to us, either partly or entirely. There will be in all possibility a concerted move from several nations to bring India down to her knees and all nationally minded and self respecting Indians should be prepared to hold their own if such an emergency came about. The entire nation should start to mobilise in the economic field and work hard

in any capacity that all individuals may find possible. Younger persons must develop their ability to participate as combatants, as producers of war materials and as workers in all such capacities as they may be required to in order to carry on a total war.

The main difficulty in creating a realistic sense of the utter danger that India is facing in the mind of the Indian people lies in the false beliefs that some of our political parties harbour and try to spread. That there can be educated men and women in India who believe that India should cultivate the friendship of China and emulate her ways in social philosophy is unbelievable but true. There are quite a few persons in India who are Sinophil and some act as secret agents of the Peoples' Republic. There are other apparently rational citizens of India who think it is our national mission to propagate ideas favouring the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are according to these people also specially responsible for the ideals that the U.N. preach but seldom practise. At least some leading members of the U.N. are really war mongers and we should not waste our time over what the UN preach. Between these two groups of unrealistic thinkers, Indian nationalism is quite frequently pushed into fantastic channels of irrational thought which delays the nation in having any proper and speedy reactions in its international political relations. The vast majority of the Indian people are not easily bamboozled; but political leadership being what it is, the idiosyncracies of a few extreme types interfere with the clear thinking that many could achieve. There are no doubts that if any nation attacked India we would have a clear idea in advance as to the identity of those nations. Our defence preparations are no doubt realistic and we have no illusions as to the moral scruples that our probable enemies would have before or after they attacked us. Unfortunately for us many of our leading public men suffer from totally mistaken ideas about our supposed friends and well wishers. Nations which have never befriended anyone without some ulterior motives, rouse hopes and faith in the hearts of these public men as our dependable allies. We should not however put our faith in the friendship or support of any nation. Self-sufficiency and self-reliance should be our forte and we should totally discard

all ideas of receiving foreign assistance in case of war. As war is more or less certain to come within a short period, we should lose no time in getting the entire nation on a war footing. Actual soldiering comes last. The nation should start its preparations by calling upon all able-bodied men and women to work according to their ability for the production of essential commodities, for road building; for cleaning water ways and tanks; for building underground shelters, evacuation centres; and for making all such arrangements as will strengthen the nation's offensive and defensive potential. Physical fitness is another important factor of national preparedness. All boys and girls and young men and women must immediately take up physical culture. Cross country hiking, long distance cycling, swimming, running; boxing, judo, wrestling, lathi, archery, rifle shooting and commando training can be taken up by all who wish to help in case of war. Nursing and other medical work can be learnt by intelligent and capable persons. Production of food, medicine and other essential commodities should be arranged for in an adequate manner in a country-wide fashion. The nation's vitality must be made full use of as well as sustained and developed.

Food Supply for the Nation

Those nations which have a good export trade can arrange for their food supply in required quantities by importing food material. India cannot do this through the ordinary channels of international trade because her exports are inconsiderable and can barely pay for the interest on her foreign loans and for such essential imports which she must obtain anyhow. India therefore obtains food from abroad either as free gifts or by incurring debts on various terms and conditions. At home India tries to uphold economic principle which she is not really and truly pledged to uphold. As a matter of fact India in her economy is full of variety and contradictions. It is the land of money lenders who charge 150 per cent interest although the law fixes a maximum of 8-12 per cent. A black market exists in food, clothing, housing, medicine, school books etc. and extortion is practised by doctors, teachers and all kinds of persons who apparently exist by reason

of their service relations with this great democratic (Socialist) Republic. In fact, no where in the world are the servants of the State so widely suspected of corruption as they are in India. Even then we find the Government of India preaching socialism and begging for food from the declared enemies of perfect socialism and making contracts for securing goods on credit all from countries steeped in capitalist practices, all in the same breath. Such contradictory behaviour can perhaps be expected from a government which is composed of legislators, ministers, officials, subordinates and underlings from a variety of classes, castes, tribes, communities and ideological groups. There is no uniformity in faith, belief, loyalties or preferences in the various States and among the extremely heterogeneous personnel that they employ for different purposes. So that no ideological citations have any deep and fundamental significance and one may expect anything anywhere at any time. In the circumstances the people of India should proceed to make their own arrangements without any loss of time for the development of their cultivable lands and for the proper cultivation of the same within the limits set by the law. Unless this is done immediately the food supplies will remain short of our requirements for ever and the people will starve to some extent as a permanent feature of their standard of living. At least another 100 million acres of land must be brought under cultivation and minor irrigation arrangements must be made to serve about 250 million acres of land. All this may cost the nation about 30,000 crores of rupees and when carried out the annual increased yield from all this may be worth an extra 10,000 crores. So that even if the 30,000 crores were mobilised in a grossly capitalistic manner @ 10 per cent per annum rate of dividend or interest the annual cost should not be more than 3,000 crores. As all this is likely largely to go back to the people concerned themselves, there will be no risk of exploitation of the people. For legal as well as social precautions can be taken to prevent big money from coming into these agricultural projects in a controlling manner. If the people contributing to these projects are prevented from exceeding any investments of more than Rs. 100,000/-, and if average holdings come to about Rs. 25,000/-, the 30,000 crores will require only about 12 million share-

holders. The big cities of India can easily induce 6 million persons to invest in agriculture and own personally farms of the size of 10 acres more or less in the schemes that may be developed. The other six million investors will be easily found among the rural people, many of whom possess fairly large farms which can come into these schemes.

We have come to know of one scheme that is being made for the development of about 3,000 acres of land. In this scheme new land will be brought under cultivation by preparing hitherto virgin soil for cultivation and by arranging for irrigation. The money required will be largely given by the owners of the land, but some persons will join the scheme who belong to the urban class but desire to possess small farms in a healthy rural areas. In the scheme, there is provision for the share holders to build small cottages in the area to which they can go for holidays or which they can use for evacuation of their families in case of war. It has been calculated that a person investing about Rs. 10,000 can own about 3 acres of land which will be cultivated on the Collective Farm basis and this amount will include a two-room cottage. The sponsors of the scheme have in their mind the development of further such Collective Farms which may eventually cover about 30,000 acres. These Collective Farms will be parts of various urban and industrial complexes and the required funds will come easily from persons whose ancestral homes were in these regions and who have now achieved a certain degree of prosperity by joining industry or through other kinds of gainful employment. There are only a few cities in India which have a really large population and among them Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Madras, Ahmedabad and Kanpur have more than a million inhabitants. Between them they have 17 million inhabitants. There are another hundred or more towns with populations of more than 100,000. These towns have a total population of about 22 million. So that we have about 40 million urban people who may help in developing our rural areas and agricultural potential. Among these people those whose monthly family incomes exceed Rs. 200/- would

be more than 60 per cent. Persons with monthly family incomes of Rs. 300/- or more per month would be more than 40 per cent. Those with Rs. 500/- or more would be about 20 per cent. There are therefore many people among the urban population who can invest in farms. And with the proper development of 400 million acres of land India's food problem should be solved, her national product increased by 50 per cent and the value of her farms doubled.

An annual return of 30 per cent or more on the extra investment of 30,000 crores should be recognised as good investment. With the development of mechanized cultivation, dairies, poultry farms, fisheries, piggeries and animal husbandry together with modern ways of storage, milling, canning, grading, refining and making things ready for consumption, it will be possible to employ large numbers of skilled personnel at a higher wage rate. In fact, what capital intensive industrial planning has failed to achieve in creating fuller employment could be made possible by the development of agriculture and allied undertakings. Rs. 10,000 crore worth of production can pay proper wages to about one crore men and women working with reasonable mechanical aid and in a scientific manner. The capital required for this is available within the country and there should be very little need for imported machinery to commence work in this direction. The capital required to employ one worker should be about one tenth of what would be required in a highly mechanised factory. That is the employment of the same number of persons through industry would require a capital of Rs. 3,000,000 crores. This would be an absurdity in our present state of economic development. The marketing of the product of all these conjectural factories will not be possible within the country without a proportionate development in the various other branches of the nation's economy. A most important and fundamentally essential branch is agriculture and its associated institutions. So that, even if we wanted to develop an industrial organisation worth Rs. 300,000 crores, we would have to begin the work by starting with an agricultural plan of a suitable dimension.

THE THIRD EYE OF SIVA

VIJAY LAKSHMI RAJIV

"Most of the writers on poetics lay down the things essential to the making of a true poet are three, Pratibha (Imagination), culture and Constant practice. There were other writers who regarded pratibha as the sole equipment required for the making of a genuine poet.... The Vyaktiviveka also employs equally sublime language about the poetic pratibha, which, he says, is the intellect of the poet that has become absorbed in selecting words and sense appropriate to the rasa he wants to evolve, that Prajna rises after touching for a moment the Real Essence (viz. the Highest Spirit) and that pratibha is the third eye of the Divine (Siva), whereby the poet perceives the shape of things, past, present and future."

—P. V. Kane : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*

Etymologically the word Pratibha (Imagination) is the joining together of two words—Prati and bha. Bha means light, splendour, lustre, beauty, shadow, reflection, likeness, resemblance.¹ As a verb it means "To shine, be bright or splendid, be luminous, to seem, to appear, to be, to exist, show oneself."² A closely connected word bhati means light, brightness, lustre, splendour, perception, knowledge.³ It is in conjunction with Prati that the word Pratibha took shape. Prati as a prefix can mean towards, in the direction of back, in return, again, in opposition to, against, counter, upon, down upon.⁴

Thus Pratibha can mean a light that shines either towards something, a light that shines back or shines in opposition, or shines upon. The nature of Pratibha has the quality of illumination. In special cases it signified 'perception', 'knowledge' but in their special sense as they occur in Yoga. It was often identified with mental activity as for example its usage as 'Intellect, understanding' in Kiratarjuniya and Vikramankadevacharita. In the Upanishads the word meant 'flash upon the thoughts.'

Pratibha is used again in derivatory senses in the works of Kalidasa notably Sankuntalam, Raghuvamsa, Kumarasambhava. The wide usage of this word from Upanishadic times, through the period of Sanskrit drama represented by Kalidasa (about the 4th century A.D.), not to

mention its specific theories of the tenth century Kashmir philosopher Abhinavagupta, throws light on the nature of the influences that shaped the ethics of the Hindu dance. Always, the word Pratibha was associated with the characteristic of illumination.

Earliest Vedic speculation occupied itself with the principle that united Aham (I) and Idam (This).⁵ "The Seer is perplexed as to the identity or otherwise of the nature of the exact relationship between Aham and Idam... This is a mystery for him..."⁶ In order to comprehend this mystery the Vedic seers started with a three-fold classification Life-Mind-Matter. They saw in the human organism the microcosmic nucleus of the three principles of Life, Mind and Matter. The macrocosm would be the immeasurable larger field of the operation of these same principles—in so far as men's mind could comprehend the totality of God. Life, Mind and Matter are called the "Three Lights" in the Vedas.⁷ The exact relationship is never made very clear.

However the "principle of Mind (Manas)" was known to the ancients by many names in their doctrine, and ultimately, ... Mind or Consciousness is of the nature of Brahman.... The puranas take up the subject in greater detail and give many more synonyms of the principle of Mind..."⁸

It would seem then, that all mental activity was roughly classified under Manas (Mind). The later distinctions did not obtain at this period. At this stage the importance of Manas is that it partakes of the Cosmic Mind. In the formula Life-Mind-Matter the highest importance is given to Mind. On the human plane this Manas is differentiated into higher and lower minds, called Sun and Moon respectively. Except for this broad recognition of the cognising consciousness of Man, Vedic speculation did not investigate closely the actual workings of the human mind. Such a query did not seem relevant to their heroic and gigantic introspection which had for its very basis the fact that all the responses of the human mind were a smaller, localised field of the activity of the universe outside. The Vedic Seers did know of the flash of sudden unde-

standing. In fact they practised it with a breath taking regularity. But they merely viewed it as another instance of the mystery of the human mind.

The Upanishads, as was mentioned earlier, ushered in the era of Self-Introspection. The *Atman* of the Vedas grew into the *Atman* of the Upanishads; its significance will become apparent. With the concept of *Atman* the Upanishadic seers were able to fully fix their attention on the microcosm.

A. B. Keith has pointed out that *Manas* (Mind) in the narrower sense of mental "organ" appears first in the Kausitaki Upanishad.⁹ Among the many original theories of the mechanism of the human mind and its metaphysical importance in the scheme of things, the most significant ideas for understanding aesthetic activity are to be found in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. It is true that Yajnavalkya's introspection assumes mystical forms. It is also true that he was not thinking of aesthetic activity. Nevertheless his elaborate theory of Purusha and the Nature of Dreams let loose a speculation which played an important part in Indian aesthetic theories.

Yajnavalkya's Theory of Dreams

The activating centre of this theory is the Purusha. This word has been translated as Person. Since this word acquired subsidiary meanings and sometimes assumed totally different meanings, it will be necessary to redefine its significance to Sage Yajnavalkya. To Yajnavalkya the Purusha (Person) and Self are identical. Asked about the identity of the Self he says:

"This Self is That which has been described as "Not this, not this." It is imperceptible, for it is never perceived; undecaying, for it never decays; unattached, for it is never attached; unfettered, for it never feels pain and never suffers injury."¹⁰

To Yajnavalkya the Self referred to above, is the Absolute Self, about which nothing can be predicated; but there is also a Lesser Self which is but a limited form of the Absolute Self. It is this Lower Self that Yajnavalkya calls the Purusha. The meditation on this Lower Purusha is preceded by a series of questions and answers which provide the empirical background in which this Self operates and from which it emerges in its fullest potentiality.

'Yajnavalkya, what serves as light for a man?'

'The light of the Sun, O Emperor', said Yajnavalkya, 'for with the sun as light he sits, goes out, works and returns.'

'Just so, Yajnavalkya.' (IV. 111. 3)

'When the sun has set, Yajnavalkya, what serves as light for a man?'

'The moon serves as his light, for with the moon as light he sits, goes out, works and returns.'

'Just so, Yajnavalkya.' (IV. 111. 3)

'When the sun has set and the moon has set, Yajnavalkya, what serves as light for a man?'

'Fire serves as his light, for with fire as light he sits, goes out, works, and returns.'

'Just so, Yajnavalkya.' (IV. 111.4)

'When the sun has set, Yajnavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire has gone out, what serves as light for a man?'

'Speech (sound) serves as his light, for with out speech as light he sits, goes out, works, and returns. Therefore, Your Majesty, when one cannot see even one's own hand, yet when a sound is uttered, one can go there.'

'Just so, Yajnavalkya' (IV. 111.5)

'When the sun has set, Yajnavalkya, and the moon has set and the fire has gone out and speech has stopped, what serves as light for a man?'

'The Self, indeed, is his light, for with the Self as light he sits, goes out, works, and returns.'

(IV. 111. 6)

With this dramatic statement there is a change. The purpose of the long dialogue has been to work towards the climactic statement. It catches one's attention, while at the same time setting the stage. As tension heightens comes the dramatic question

'Which is the Self?'

If indeed there is something more fundamental to the existence of man than the sun, moon, fire and speech, it must be something that includes all of these modes and yet transcends them or is independent of them.

'This Purusha, which is identified with the intellect . . . and is in the midst of the organs the (self effulgent) light within the heart. . . Assuming the likeness (of the intellect), it wanders between the two worlds; it thinks, as it were and moves, as it were. Being identified with dreams, it transcends this (waking) world

which represents the forms of death (ignorance and its efforts).’ (IV. 111.7)

It is clear then that the Purusha is in some way related to intellect, sense organs and the various appendages of the human organism. It must be remarked again that at this point Yajnavalkya is talking about the Purusha in his Lower Manifestation. The finite Self exists in the human body. The infinite macracosmic Self exists in space (akasa). This Absolute Self is called Brahman. The lower finite self is called Atman.

The possibilities of this Atman are innumerable. He never loses in stature, because he is of the essence of Brahman. Yet his activity being varied he becomes increasingly easier to understand, becomes more susceptible of investigation in minute and concrete matters. “Assuming the likeness (of the intellect) it wanders between the worlds, it thinks, as it were, and moves, as it were” says Yajnavalkya.

Cutting across the heroic Vedic formula Life-Mind-Matter sage Yajnavalkya calls this state of action cognition and feeling the *Waking State*. It is the empirical world with its sun and moon, its daily necessities. And this empirical world whether it is this life, or the next life, is *evil*—understood in the specific Upanishadic sense. It is unreal :

“That person (the individual self), when he is born, that is to say, when he assumes a body, is joined with evils. . .” (IV. 111.8—)

Nevertheless this unreality *exists*. As Sankara was to say centuries later, this unreality on a Macracosmic scale is Maya—the word that made Sankara famous. In Sankara this power of Maya (Illusion) is but the attribute of Godhead. To Yajnavalkya it is the Dream State of Godhead but is Waking for man. In so far as the Purusha remains submerged in the Waking State he is in a state of evil.

“And there are only two states for that person: the one here and the other in the next world.”¹¹

Then Yajnavalkya posits a Third State which as will soon become evident, is the participation in the divine Dream State.

The Third or Intermediate State

“ . . . The third, the intermediate, is the dream state. When he is in that intermediate

state, he surveys both states . . .”¹²
(IV, 111.9.)

This dream state is compounded in an odd way. It is not completely hostile to the waking state, nor is it completely of the completely of the waking state.

“And when he dreams, he takes away a little of (the impressions of) this all-embracing world (the waking state), himself makes the body unconscious, and creates (a dream body in its place)”

(IV, III, 3.)

One can see that the dream state requires the *dream body*. And furthermore the Dream State is characterised by light. This will become important when one examines its relationship with Pratibha. Yajnavalkya says “. . .revealing his own brightness by his own light—and he dreams. In this state the person becomes self-illuminated.”

In this state of Self-illumination the Purusha remains in command of the Body and the Dream World he has created. He is free.

“There are no (real) chariots in that state, nor animals to be yoked to them, nor roads there, but he creates the chariots, animals, and roads. There are no pleasures in that state, on joys, no rejoicings, but he creates the pleasures, joys, and rejoicings. There are no pools in that state, no reservoirs, no rivers, but he creates pools, reservoirs, and rivers. He indeed is the agent.”

(IV, III, 10.)

The quality of Creativity is inherent in the Dream State.

“In the dream world, luminous one attains higher and lower states and creates many forms—now, as it were, enjoying himself in the company of women, now laughing, now ever beholding frightful sights. . . .” (IV, III, 13)

It is Sage Yajnavalkya’s theory that during the physiological act of sleeping the Purusha tunes in to the Dream World and for that brief passage of time, reenacts the dreaming activity of the Macracosmic Self, which is the waking empirical world of the Purusha.

“Others . . . say that the dream state of a man is the same as the waking state, because what he sees while awake, that only he sees while asleep. (This is wrong). In the dream state the Self (purusha) itself becomes the light.”

While a man sleeps he dreams and this activity is not merely a residue of memories, a

meaningless jumble of experiences remembered from the ordinary waking state. It is a uniquely autonomous state in which Creativity, Agency and Freedom given full play. Thus Yajnavalkya confers an important status to the physiological act of sleeping, because it gives a clue to the possible nature of Divine activity. However, the Purusha does not stay indefinitely in the Dream State. From there he is launched into the State of Dreamless Sleep—a state of the very greatest importance in all Hindu philosophy.

'That entity (purusha), after enjoying himself and roaming (in the dream state) and merely witnessing (the results of) good and evil, remains in a state of profound sleep...'

(IV, III, 15)

'As a hawk or a falcon roaming in the sky becomes tired, folds its wings, and makes for its wings, and makes for its nest, so does this infinite entity (purusha) hasten for this state, where, falling asleep, he cherishes no more desires and dreams no more dreams.'

(IV, III, 19)

About the state of Dreamless Sleep Yajnavalkya says: "In deep sleep it becomes (transparent) like water, the witness, one and without a second. This is the World of Brahman, Your Majesty. This is its supreme attainment, this is its supreme glory, this is its highest world, this is its Supreme bliss. On a particle of this bliss other creatures live."

(IV, III, 32)

The transition from the Waking State to Dreaming State and Dreamless Sleep has been explained by Sankara as the power of Maya (Illusion).¹² Though Sankara posits a Pure Existence, beyond all these states, of which nothing can be predicated,¹³ and which is the Essence of Brahman, Ramanuja held that these States are not Cosmic Illusion in the sense that they seem to be modifications of the Godhead, but that they are actual modifications.¹⁴

Be that as it may, for purposes of understanding the ethos of Hindu theatre, it is enough that one keeps in mind the division into Waking, Dreaming and Dreamless Sleep, and there is a constant oscillation between these three states. Is Upanishad added a 4th state—Turiya, of which is a broad based schema to which the Mandukya nothing can be said.

"Turiya is not that which is conscious of the

inner (subjective) world, nor that which is conscious of the other (objective) world, nor that which is conscious of both, nor that which is a mass of consciousness. It is not simple consciousness nor is it unconsciousness. It is unperceived, unrelated, incomprehensible, uninferable, unthinkable, and indescribable. The essence of the Consciousness manifesting as the Self (in the three states), It is the cessation of all phenomena; It is all peace, all bliss, and non-dual. This is what is known as the Fourth (Turiya)..."

(Mandukya Upanishad v.7)

Whether Yajnavalkya's Theory of Dreams had scientific validity or not, was the starting point of a certain kind of metaphysical enquiry. If the absolute Self limited itself into a Lower Self and oscillated between waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep, then the whole universe could be subsumed under one of these states. The lowest state viz. The Waking state, though furthest from the State of Pure Consciousness, is nevertheless Divine in its own right. The gross world of the Waking State existed and had reality but was unreal only in relation to the State of Dreaming. What this specific relationship constitutes was investigated by later schools of Indian philosophy. Within the Briharanyaka Upanishad itself it resulted in the exaltation of the Phenomenal World.

It becomes increasingly clear to Sage Yajnavalkya that the human organism is not related to the universe by a series of physico-chemical laws, but that there is a centre of consciousness, which is dynamic in its nature. Its working are as the intricate design of the physical universe. He began to designate this complex dynamic consciousness the Self or Atman.

It was mentioned earlier that the Dream State of Yajnavalkya marked a very unusual way of investigating the phenomenon of sleep. If the mind-sense unit had its own specific mode of operation and its own locale, a new element of human activity was added, with its own dimensions. When a man sleeps a very definite kind of creative activity distinguishes him. Dreaming is not merely a refurbishing of memories from the gross waking state nor the emergence of subtle impressions stored away somewhere in the mind. A new world is created and it exists by right of the agency of the Purusha.

And the Purusha would slide over from this creative activity to that of dreamless sleep. Yajnavalkya does not make any reference to the fourth of Cataleptic state in conjunction with the hour of sleeping. This state, however, was known to him and to the other Upanishads. It is only in Patanjali's Yogasutras that the Cataleptic state orients every other activity towards it. By this period however, Yajnavalkya's Theory of Dreams was seriously applied by the practitioners of Yoga, to the gross, empirical world of the Waking State. In other words it was not merely during the physiological act of sleeping but during every hour and minute of normal waking consciousness that it was possible to tune into the Dreaming state and Dreamless Sleep. Every human being had the potentiality to enter the cataleptic state if he could control his oscillation between the other three states. The system of Yoga was founded on this conviction and the "mystical physiology" of Yoga provided the means for attaining the cataleptic state. The brief creative activity that goes on in sleep, is merely but an illusion of creativity. Such a thing as creativity does not exist in the Yoga system. Signs and symbols are merely the imperfect understanding of the purusha that he has 'literal' control over the universe. The Yogin actually experiences extra-sensory sounds and sights. What the ordinary man labels 'creativity' because his experience is intermittent and never of fullest impact, the Yogin can experience permanently and with direct immediacy. What is imaginative and symbolic experience becomes literal. And this Yogic illumination referred to as Pratibhajana precedes the final cataleptic state.

This possibility of a serene illuminative state held most philosophers in thrall. Even an orthodox system like the Jain philosophy makes constant reference to an intuitive-imaginative faculty at work in the Yogin's life; a faculty which included direct perception of everything.

Thus is obtained two distinct kinds of Pratibha: Yogic and Aesthetic. The Yogic Pratibha itself is of various kinds and of differing intensity. It influenced all Hindu systems in some way or other. At a superficial glance it would seem that Yogic pratibha and Aesthetic Pratibha are inimical to each other—the one operating as direct and innermost perception of the very essence

of consuming all these unto itself and the other operating as witness to an order of creation. This conflict is only seeming because the Aesthetic Pratibha is a limited form of the Yogic activity. It was Saivite Hinduism which gave this limited activity a metaphysical acceptance, when it began to call the world Maha Maya or Great Illusion. A new explanation of the origin of universe suggested that Dreaming took place on a macrocosmic scale. The universe, then, is an Cosmic Play of Siva the Great God. In this sense the universe was neither real nor unreal, but of a third order—that of Lila or Play, and this time order was characterised by creativity and freedom.

Sankara, the founder of Advaita Vedanta in a particular context of the appearance of the indescribable." The great philosopher was of course thinking of mistaken perceptions and their origin. However, the phrase appearance of the 'indescribable' would provide a suitable credo for Hindu aestheticians.

In his Dreaming State Siva creates the universe. It is his play or dance. Somehow, in approximating this creativity the Hindu dancer perpetuates it and creates a world neither real nor unreal. The Pratibha becomes his 'third eye'.

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'HUMANISM AND THE BRAHMO SAMAJ'

SURATH CHAKRAVARTI

Of all the phrases which express the spirit of this century none has so great a fascination that the word 'Humanism' which pervades the domain of Sociology, Economics, Philosophy, Literature and Science. Originally the term 'Humanism' means any attempt to liberate mankind from the shackles of any dogma in any sphere of thought which hinders individual development as well as the progress of society.

The term and the movement owe their origin to the Renaissance of European History during the 15th and 16th century which began in Italy owing to the influx of great scholars after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The word Renaissance means *rebirth* or *reawakening*. It is an effort of the individual to free himself from the rigid institutions of the middle ages associated with feudalism and the church. The study of Greek and Latin fostered the desire to use the best means for individual development and enjoyment. Thus the mediaeval view of sacrificing this life to an imaginary future life was completely discarded in favour of a life of gaining supremacy in the present world through exploration and scientific experiments and of heightening its enjoyments through art and literature. This sense of Homo-centrism came to be termed as humanism.

The Reformation movement in Europe, which was a revolt against the control of conscience by priests, was an inevitable consequence of Renaissance humanism. This found its expression in Germany in 1517 in Martin Luther's open protest against the sale of indulgences. In England it began in 1534 with Henry VIII's breaking away from Papacy and culminated in the translation of the Bible into English by William Tyndale and in the introduction of the common prayer prepared by Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VII and Edward VI. According to its spirit man could deal directly with God without going through the channels of the Church and should have the Bible in his own tongue to read and interpret it for himself.

Thus we find that the Renaissance and the

Reformation were the two different aspects of Humanism and were complementary to each other. Dignity of mankind as opposed to the doctrine of original sin in Christian theology is the great contribution of the Renaissance Age to the progress of humanity that fostered the spirit of free inquiry and rationalism which reached the culmination in 18th century, the Age of Enlightenment. Dogmas of Religion were mercilessly attacked by Gibbon in 15th and 16th chapter of his *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, by Lessing in his drama *Nathan the Wise* (1779) and by Hume in his *Essays on Miracles* (1747).

After Renaissance, the age of modern rationalism and science developed through 17th to 19th century by the progress and evolution of Humanism that emphasised human dignity in politics that recognised the sovereignty of man over state and society; in the progress of science and industrial revolution that helped to grow an outlook of life-affirmation in the world rather than of life-negation as fostered by the asceticism of dogmatic religion. The establishment of French Academies in the Age of Enlightenment brought forth the "Encyclopedist" movement that gave birth to the spirit of the famous French Revolution of 1789 by spreading the revolutionary ideals of Voltaire, Rousseau and other. The two famous revolutions, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the French Revolution of 1789, heralded the second upsurge of the humanistic movement in the second half of the 18th century. The maxim "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" of the French Revolution inspired the poets like Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge etc., whose works are impregnated with its spirit. The first declaration from the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" on 7th August 1789 is worth quoting "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights, social distinctions may be based upon general usefulness". The declaration breathes the same spirit of humanism inaugurated by Renaissance movement.

In the 19th century we find the predominant influence of two social philosophies: one August Comte's 'Positivism'; the other, 'Utilitarianism' of Jeremy Bentham expounded by Stuart Mill. Comte discarded speculative philosophy and concentrated attention to the definite results of science. Later on he opined that individuals may select a particular hero as the object of veneration. Bentham's 'Utilitarianism' in 'Principles of Morals and Legislation' expounded by Stuart Mill in 1761 proclaimed "The Greatest Happiness of the greatest Number". Both these philosophies helped to grow an outlook of life-affirmation and emphasised the collective upliftment of human society as a whole.

In the sphere of Economics, the spirit of humanism brought forth the socialistic inclination in sharp opposition to Laissez-faire principle of classical Economists like Ricardo, Marshall etc. Robert Owen in England and St. Simon in France were the pioneers of socialistic humanism. Owen introduced remarkable improvements among Cotton-Industry Workers and gave vent to the socialistic views of exploitation of workers in a *New view of Society* in 1813. St. Simon emphasised the importance of philosophers and scientists in society and declared that service to humanity was the true religion of Christ in his *New Christianity* in 1825. But the most remarkable man who attempted to systematise the socialistic trends of thought and whose tremendous influence on modern intelligentsia can hardly be exaggerated, is Karl Marx, a German Jewish intellectual. He adopted Hegel's dialectical movement in history and emphasised its materialistic interpretation which advocated the importance of economic factors in shaping man's general outlook and social behaviour. He believed in the establishment of a classless society by the proletariat on the basis of the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. His theory of surplus-value revealed the exploitation of the workers. He gave a systematic exposition of his socio-economic ideas in his '*Communist Manifesto*' in 1848 in collaboration with his friend Engels and in his '*Das Kapital*'.

Although it cannot be said that later socialist humanists of all countries have accepted all the theories of Marx, yet it is the predominant

influence of Marx and Freud, the father of psycho-analysis who unearthed the unexplored region of mind, that gave birth to different schools of humanism in literature and art with their various offshoots which enchant the budding intellectuals of our country even to-day.

Now, if we observe the progress of Humanism with all its offshoots, from the 16th to the first half of the 20th century we shall find that it aims at sustaining a healthy human society on the basis of equality, fraternity, liberty, peace, rationalism and scientific outlook where material progress and welfare of mankind are emphasised. Any dogma oldism considered detrimental to the growth of such society, is strongly condemned and discarded. So, though some sort of value has been ascribed to morality and ethics by the neo-humanists, religion which is associated with untested dogmas, supernaturalism, blind faith and a view of life negation etc is an anathema to them. Thus says Howard East in his book. 'Literature and Reality': "The ennobling of Mankind is not in another world, but in this world". But in spite of all their "pious" intention of ennobling of Mankind they occasionally fail to lull the tone of their own "Frankentine" of doubt born of the spirit of free inquiry a good example of which had found its expression in Vincent Sheen's Personal History, (New York 1953): "Why should you, leading an externally agreeable life under the bourgeois system of society to do any thing to change?... Are you prepared to give up all the pleasures of modern Western culture... to work for the welfare of other peoples grand children in a world you will never see? The answer was, decidedly, "no". Any attempt to lull this "Frankentine" to sleep by imposing some sort of hasty dogma will not meet with success as, once free, it now refuses to bind itself in chains of a fresh dogma whether religious or materialistic. This difficulty of the Socialist Humanists found expression in the following words: "The need to do people good not to think only one's own advantage, profit, success, business... requires tremendous effort and considerable time on the part of society". (Humanism, Atheism, Marcow Publication). This 'tremendous effort' can be minimised if one can cultivate the habit of making the pleasure and pain of all beings as his own, and that requires a projection of one's own self into those of others. This is eluci-

dated in the following text of the Isa Upanishad: "Who sees all beings in his own self, and his own self in all beings, does not hate anyone" (Verse 6) Chapter VI text 32 of the *Bhagwat Gita* says: "He who looks on the pleasure or pain of all beings as if it were his own, is the highest Yogin".

This is what the Religion of the Brahmo Samaj, which initiated the era of Renaissance movement in India during the earlier part of the 19th century, has to offer to mankind. Raja Rammohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, reared his head in Indian history when Muslim rule was crumbling down and the West had come to India, not only as an agent of commerce through Britain, but also as an instrument of history, destined to shake India out of her mediaeval stupor and to release a new tide of through and activity. Rammohan Roy, the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative Religion and pioneer of Universal Humanism, was the man of destiny to bring about the synthesis with the West. So he has been rightly called the Father of Modern India. His conception of religion was entirely different from that of the popular conception and is perfectly complementary to the Humanistic outlook even of the present Age. He engaged himself in liberating religion, an important faculty of human mind from the shackles of lifeless dogmas and rituals with a firm footing on an outlook of life-affirmation which is essential to the growth of a healthy human society as conceived by the humanists of all schools. Rammohan systematised his view on religion and humanity in his booklets on "Brahmaprasna" and "Anusthan". According to him, the religion of Man should consist in two things: (1) a faith in one God (2) development of mutual fraternal relationship in society through mutual respect and cordiality. While analysing the second aspect he emphasised that we should behave with others as we ourselves prefer to be behaved with by them; to maintain the growth of fraternal relationship in Society. At the end of the booklet we find a Sanskrit couplet which means: "It has been decided after extraction of all scripture that to do good to others is religion and to harm others is sin". Earlier in his Persian treatise *Tufat-ul-Muwahidin* with an Arabic introduction he says: ".....Union of hearts with mutual love and affection of all their

fellow creatures without difference in shape and colour or creeds and religions which is a pure devotion acceptable to God and nature". At the end of the same treatise he quotes the following verse from Hafiz, the great Persian poet: "Be not after the injury of any being and do whatever you please. For in our way there is no sin except in it (injuring others)". This is almost a new message to a country which for a long time was accustomed to the anti-social view of regarding life in this world as a sort of illusion, owing to a distorted interpretation of Vedanta philosophy. Rammohan, though believed in God and future life, never attached any importance to any dogma or useless ritual as the passport to life afterwards. On the contrary, he believed in the attainment of perfection in this world as the sure step to future life. Like Renaissance humanists, Rammohan revived and restored the Vedanta and Upanishads in Bengali and English on the basis of an outlook of life-affirmation and this gave birth to an havoc in the orthodox community which was immersed in Puranic dogmas and rites in the name of religion. Only a microscopic minority of Sanskrit scholars were acquainted with these ancient scriptures which were confined within the four walls of Holy cities like Benares. Like the socialist humanists who favour equal distribution of wealth to all in a society, Rammohan who had a firm faith in the dignity of Mankind, opened the vista to the ancient spiritual treasure of our country to all and provoked the bitter opposition of the "spiritual monopolists" of his time thereby. Now was he spared by the commercial minded Missionaries, when he attempted to humanise the religion of Christ in his several tracts on Christ and his true religion. The establishment of the Brahmo Samaj by Rammohan in 1828 should be regarded as one of the most important event in the history of Mankind. Trust Deed of the Samaj drawn by Rammohan on 8th January 1830 on the occasion of the establishment of the Brahmo Mandir on 11th Magh of that year, was considered by Prof. Max Muller as the Magna Carta of the progress of human thought. For the first time in the history of the world, a prayer hall was erected which is open to all denominations irrespective of cast, creed or religion who want to worship one formless God. Justice M. G. Ranade of Bombay said almost this Trust Deed

“Spirituality, the deep piety and universal toleration of this document represent an ideal of beauty and perfection which it may yet take many centuries before its full significance is understood by our people”.

Rammohan recognised the inter-relation between religious reformation and socio-political progress and believed in the divinity of Humanity. All these were the result of his ability to project his own self into that of others and it directed his enthusiasm to all his famous social, educational and political reform of his country. It is interesting to quote from his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1832: “The condition of the cultivators is very miserable, they are placed at the mercy of the Zaminder’s avarice and emolument... the landlords have met with indulgence from Government in the assessment of their revenue while no part of it is extended towards the poor cultivator”. When the Reform Bill was finally passed in June 1832 he was very glad and wrote to William Rathbone: “The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who use to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people, for a period of 50 years...”. The world had not seen the famous works of Karl Marx at that time, which fostered the spirit of socialist humanism, afterwards.

After Raja Rammohan, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, the father of Rabindranath Tagore, came forward to rescue the new founded Brahmo Samaj from its ruin and reorganised it on a firmer basis. The Tattwabodhini Sabha and the Tattwabodhini Patrika founded by Maharshi Devendra Nath represented the synthetic outlook of the Indian Renaissance movement between the two extreme groups, the Derozians and the orthodoxes. Raja Rammohan though earnestly endeavoured to revive and restore the Vedanta-Upanishads, was himself a great rationalist. He often quoted following lines from Yoga Basistha, while dealing with Shastras: “We should not determine our rights and wrongs depending on Shastras only as without the illumination of reason all becomes useless”. In Maharshi Devendra Nath’s time, there was a further development of this rationalism. To spread the knowledge of the theology of the Vedas, among his countrymen, Maharshi sent four Pundits to Benares for a deeper study of the Vedas. The return of these Pundits and his sub-

sequent investigation with their aid convinced him of the certain errors and interpolations in the Vedic literature. After a terrible strife in conscience for some time the infallibility of the Vedas were thrown overboard by Maharshi Devendra Nath and perhaps for the first time in the world there came into existence a religious body without any infallible scripture, “on the basis of pure heart illuminated by knowledge which has attained to self-consciousness”. This he says in the 23rd chapter of his famous *Autobiography*: “We can accept only that passage from the Upanishads which is in consonance with the heart, we cannot accept those passages which our heart is not in agreement”. With the introduction of this revolutionary change in the religion of the Brahmo Samaj, Devendra Nath opened up a vista of Catholic thought independent of any scripture, which is a great asset to the progress of humanism. A compilation of the choicest texts from different Upanishads and Vedanta was published by him as the ‘Brahmo Dharma Grantha’ which contains the truth of these ancient scriptures with commonsense and natural reason as their basis. It is significant that the first of this book was compiled in 1848, when Karl Marx brought out his *Communist Manifesto* where he attempted to systematise socialist doctrines. The complete “Brahmo Dharma Grantha” with its second part containing texts from *Mahabharata*, *Manu Samhita* etc., with commentaries, saw the light of the world in 1850. Marx’s *manifesto* became the Bible of the socialists who wanted to save people from the economic exploitation of the capitalist. Maharshi Devendra Nath’s “Brahmo Dharma Grantha” became a great source of inspiration to the liberal humanists who wanted to save mankind from the shackle of Shastris dogmas and priest-craft. The following quotation from the Tattwabodhini Patrika, Vaisak 1777 Saka will show the position of the Brahmo Samaj, as the apostle of the religion of humanity: “... Whatever will be known in subsequent times, will all fall within the scope of our Brahmoism... All the world is our Holy Book, pure knowledge is our Teacher”. Maharshi also, like Rammohan, believed in the dignity of mankind and its perfectibility. Rammohan’s maxim “the true way to serve God is to do good to mankind”, was elucidated by Maharshi in a sanskrit sentence

which means : "To love God and to do his favourite work, are sure ways to render service to Him". Doing his favourite works is none other than service to Humanity, according to Maharshi's interpretation.

This idea of service to humanity was further elaborated by Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, the third great leader of the Brahmo Samaj, who called himself the grand-child and the child of Raja Rammohan and Maharshi Devendra Nath respectively. He established the Brahmo Samaj of India in 1866 and with the aid of his learned associates published a book entitled "Sloka Sangraha" containing the choicest texts of all the scriptures of the world to express his synthetic outlook on religion. Owing to Keshab's enthusiasm the religion of the Brahmo Samaj became popular not only in India but also in Europe and America. The following couplet from the first "Nagar-Kirtan" of the Brahmo Samaj, sung during the inauguration of Bharatharsriya Brahmo Mandir in 1869, is worth quoting : "Men and women have equal right. Only devotion is required for salvation irrespective of cast or creed". This reminds one of the first declaration from the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" after the French Revolution of 1789. It was Keshub Chandra who revived "Nagar-Kirtan" among the educated Indians who previously looked down upon this form of song that was first introduced by Sri Chaitanya Dev to preach the name of God among unlettered people. Upadhyaya Gouragobinda Ray, a learned disciple of Keshab summed up the main principles of the religion of the Brahmo Samaj in a Sanskrit quartet which means : "The wide world is the Holy Temple of God. Pure minds the true pilgrimage, Truth is eternal scripture. Faith is the roof of religion, Love is the great object of cultivation. The destruction of self is true asceticism, so says the Brahmos."

This is the true religion of humanity, free from useless dogmas and rituals, which is required for building up a healthy human society which is the aim of all humanists. Let us see how Keshab Chandra elucidated the principles of this religion further. He says in his famous book the "Brahma Gitapanished" on 22nd April 1876 : "There is a sense of pride in the word charity. So this word is not found in the scripture

of devotion. There is another word in that scripture ; that is "service to others". In the scripture of devotion the person who renders his service to others feels himself gratified... This service to others is the result of our love of God. The love of God and service to humanity are not two separate things... As there is the holy smell of Brahman in man we must love him" Earlier in one of his tracts in 1860, Keshab Chandra said : "A Brahmo sees all men in relation to God. He sees all in God and in all and despiseth none". This is the same principle of Self projection as illustrated in the texts of Upanished and *Bhagavat Gita*... Imbued with this spirit Keshub Chandra proclaimed in a speech on education in India in 1861 : "If Brahmoism is the religion of love, we must mix with the good of all classes and communities, whether it be the promotion of social reform such as widow remarriage or abolition of caste, or of political good, we shall try to give efficient support whatever is calculated to extend the cause of truth and advance the happiness of man. Universal brotherhood, co-operation with all classes for general good is our principle". Like his spiritual father and grand-father Keshab Chandra was also a believer in the perfectibility of Man, an elucidation of which is found in his famous lecture, *The Destiny of Human Life* on 11th Jan 1862 : "All the compartments of life must advance in the way of truth ; all the powers and sentiments of the mind must be cultivated and developed. The neglect of any one of them is so much a departure from our destiny. This normal development of the whole man is the true destiny of human life". The subsequent history of the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra proved the validity of such bold declarations. Keshub Chandra practised in life what he preached in his lectures and sermons. So like his spiritual grand-father Rammohan he could not remain indifferent to the problems of his own country. His nine letters to Lord Northbrooke on education, published in the *"Indian Mirror"* from 8th May to 16th August, 1872, should be read by the humanist of all schools. In these letters he elaborately dealt with the problems of mass education adding certain valuable suggestions of his own. He gave practical shape to his suggestion by establishing Industrial Schools for the working

class people and by starting a cheap Bengali periodical "*Sulav Samachar*" through Indian Reform Association. Our socialist humanists will find much to appreciate in the old files of "*Sulav Samachar*" if they make a thorough perusal of the same. Brahmananda Keshub Chandra always stood for synthesis and assimilation, instead of superficial tolerance that culminated into New Dispensation during his later life. He welcomed the scientific and Industrial progress of the age, through repudiated, the blind emphasis on them at the expense of other things. Bhai Protap Chandra Mazoomder, another learned disciple of Keshub Chandra and an honoured representative of India to the famous Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893, gave expression to the principles of religion of Humanity in his remarkable way: "The first sign of life immortal is to love to see all creatures happy" (The silent Poster 7th ed—P. 30)..... "how can a man live outside his own self and have his life in the community? By making the sorrows and joys of other people his own...." (The Silent poster 7th ed. P. 108). Pundit Shivanth Sastri of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj gave vent to this deal in a beautiful Bengali couplet which means :

"Life immersed in him and hand engaged in
his work
Let me spend my life in this manner".

Thus he says in his book "*The Mission of the Brahmo Samaj*": "We, in India, have been taught to look upon pure and spiritual theism as anti-social under the influence of Vedantism, which is highly intellectual and analytical, the theory of maya or illusion has been invented, which looks upon society and its relations as so many snares. This anti-social philosophy has done an incalculable harm in this country. It has drawn away into the life of mendicancy hundreds of spiritually disposed persons and has thereby robbed society of their personal influence and example and led many others..... to pine away in life by looking upon the world as prison-house.... It is the mission of the Theistic Church of India to raise Hinduism and the Hindu society from this sombre and gloomy view of life and this tainting touch of Vedantism, by teaching that human society is a Divine Dispensation, and all its re-

lationships are sacred and spiritual. The proper direction of the relationship between husband and wife or between parent and children or between brothers and sisters, or between neighbour and neighbour or between the citizen and the citizen and the country, or between man and society, is an essential and important condition of the growth and development of the human soul.... Now has come the time to give religion that turn in India.... to divert the religiousness of the people to philanthropy" (1910 ed. P. 57). As a true descendent of Raja Rammohan and Brahmananda Keshub Chandra, Shivanth also practised in his life what he preached from the pulpit. Many missionaries and workers of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj like Ramkumar Vidyaratna, Dwarka Nath Ganguly, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Sasipada Banerjee etc., dedicated their lives in the service of working class people or coolies, inspired by the example of Keshub Chandra and Shivanth Shastri.

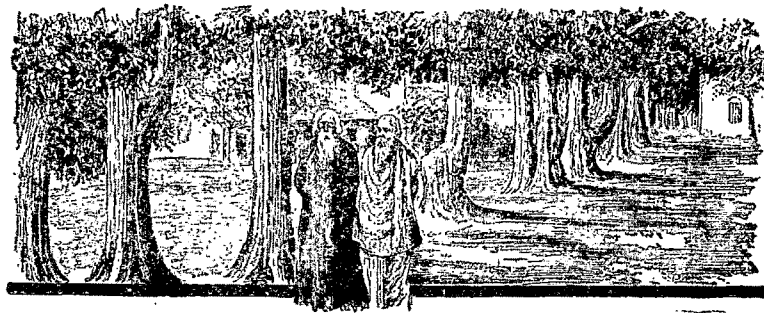
It is interesting to compare this view of life-affirmation with that of the modern Socialist humanists who sneer at religion: "Communist morality demands that people observe the rules of the socialist way of life, calls for a courteous attitude towards older people and women, mutual respect in the family and concern for the upbringing of children. Love, equality and mutual assistance between husband and wife friendship and mutual trust of parents and children comprise the ethical foundation of the family in socialist society" (Marxist Philosophy L. Lempert, P. 362): In appears that there is scarcely any difference between the preachers of the religion of Humanity and the Socialist Humanists regarding the basis of a healthy human society. Rabindra Nath Tagore who was an honorary member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, expounded his views on the religion of Humanity in his famous books "Shantiniketan". "The Religion of Man", "Sadhana" etc., in a lucid and charming style. Thus he says: "Civilization must be judged and prized, not by the amount of power it has developed, but by how much it has developed and given expression to, by its laws and institutions, the love of Humanity" (Sadhana Cr. V—P. III). Almost all his main poems deal with the theme of the religion of Humanity. Swami Vivekananda, a notable contemporary of poet Rabindranath, infused the main principles of the religion of Humanity in his

Shankarite Vedantism to which he subscribed later on. His famous "Karma Yoga" is impregnated with this spirit. The first part of his life was spent under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj, so it is no wonder that his interpretation of Absolute monism of Vedanta is coloured with the principles of the religion of Humanity. This may sound rather unpleasant to some of the orthodox followers of the venerable Swami, but evidence recorded by his beloved disciple Sister Nivedita offer no scope for idle speculations in the matter. In her "*Notes of some wonderings*" and "*The Master as I saw Him*" she has clearly pointed out how Swami Vivekananda acknowledged his debt to Raja Rammohan Ray and to Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of which he was a member before he became a Monk.

As already stated before, we live in an age of Humanism which encircles all other, "isms" in the sphere of Literature, Economics, Sociology and others. To establish a healthy human society with an outlook of life-affirmation, for peace, happiness and progress of mankind, is the goal of the humanists of all schools. Most of them regard religion as a great obstacle to their ideal. They should not be blamed entirely for this pessimistic view on religion. From time to time, in the history of mankind many useless rituals, dogmas and

creeds have thrown into background the true religions of Humanity which existed in different scriptures along with many dregs. Moreover, ascetism and a view of life-negation, both in Hinduism and medieval Christianity, gave birth to an extreme form of pessimism and fatalism which were detrimental to healthy growth of society. A class of people always exploited the sentiments of the simple persons in the name of religion. So it is no wonder that, Marx, the pioneer of modern Scientific Socialism regarded it as "an opium of the people".

But "old order changeth yielding place to new". That "opium" has now been distilled in the laboratory of the preachers of the religion of Humanity and a synthetic healthy tonic has been prepared out of it to sustain mankind in everlasting peace and happiness, which is the aim of the humanists too. Without the process of projection of Self into others, which the religion of Humanity emphasise to cultivate, the stability and growth of a healthy human society, that humanists aspire after cannot be sustained. A sympathetic exchange of views, without old prejudices, will strengthen the cause of Humanism and open a new vista for harmonious growth and progress of mankind. *



THE MARATHA EMPIRE : RISE AND FALL

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

The Marathas were the last indigenous empire-builders of India. They leapt into prominence suddenly and swiftly. In the third decade of the seventeenth century, the Maratha name was unknown to the world outside. Three decades later, it became a terror to the rulers of the land. In the second decade of the next century, the Emperor of Delhi had to recognise their *de facto* supremacy in the Deccan by granting them chouth and Sardesnukhi of the six provinces of the South. The Peswa Balaji Biswanath entered Delhi at the head of his victorious army. His grandsons became arbiters of the fate of the Moghul Empire, and carried the Maratha banner on the banks of the Indus. The Maratha cavalry scoured the country from Lahore to Murshidabad, and from Delhi to Serungapatam. The rapid expansion of their Empire was once arrested by the defeat at Panipath, but they quickly recuperated from the shock. Mahadji Scindhia founded a new empire in Hindusthan. In 1794, they inflicted a crushing defeat on Nizam at Kharda, and forced him to cede half his territories. Hardly eight years past, before the Peswa became a feudatory of the British Government in India, the grand armies of Daulat Rao Scindhia and Raghuji Bhonsle were vanquished and destroyed by Lake and Wellesley, and the Maratha empire collapsed like a house of cards. Their rise was sudden and swift. Their fall was no less sudden and spectacular. The Empire was at the

zenith of its power. It reached its greatest extent, its man-power was almost unlimited, yet it was annihilated by a foreign power with a small army after a brief campaign of fifteen weeks.

Shivaji knew the defects of the Maratha character better than any of his predecessors or successors. He deliberately set himself to undo the evils of disintegrating feudal system. Finding his country men divided by mutual jealousy and inherited rivalry, he left them fairly united under a ruler of their own race with a national banner, and a common object to strive for. It was obviously necessary that the anti-feudal policy, so wisely initiated by Shivaji, should have been vigorously pursued by his successors, but unlikely, it was given up by them. Feudalism was revived under unusual circumstances, first for the defence and later for expansion of the Maratha Kingdom. It certainly served its immediate purpose. The Moghuls were permanently expelled from Maharashtra, and the Marathas soon afterwards penetrated into Gujrat and Malwa. But, in the very Maratha Empire, lay the germs of its degeneration and decline.

While engaged against a powerful external enemy, the Maratha generals could be expected to forget for the time being their private differences but hardly was that crisis over, when they recklessly prosecuted their quarrels, and indulged in suicidal civil wars for personal interests at the cost of national cause. Their enemies used to ex-

exploit these situations to their own advantages. The Maratha chiefs frequently failed to take advantage of the differences of their opponents by wise diplomacy and effective and timely aggression.

Shivaji, under the inspiration of his preceptor Ramdas, had urged racial unity of the Marathas on a religious basis to suppress all separatist and fissiparous tendencies. But new ideas call for persistent propaganda before they are accepted and popularised. Such propaganda was ably and successfully carried on by Ramdas and Shivaji, but neither of them found able successors to continue their noble work. The idea of nationality, which might have one day taken root in Maharashtra, was suffocated to death in the environments of feudalism. When feudalism caused dissension among different principalities of the empire, it could not have a different result within the principalities themselves. At the most critical period of its history, the Maratha empire found itself without an able statesman who could put his undoubtedly great resources to the best use.

After the death of the great Shivaji, men of all nationalities were indiscriminately employed in the Maratha army. Maratha soldiers were generally averse to prolong service to distant parts, and the feudal force was slow to mobilise. Every chief of importance, decided to maintain a standing army and Sikhs, Arabs, Rohillas, Rajput and the sundry, who had no objection to serving through out the year, were naturally preferred. If these men had been recruited directly by the State, punctually paid and placed under strict discipline, the mercenaries from other parts of India, might have proved a source

of strength, instead of being a danger to the empire. Unfortunately, the soldiers were attached to the recruiting officers of their own race, and discipline among them was conspicuous by its absence. Had they been well disciplined, they would form the most invincible army. They possessed courage and hardihood. As they had no common interest with their employers, and were irregularly paid, they were easily accessible to bribery and corruption, and they had no scruples in changing masters as often as it was convenient for them or their recruiting officers to do to the detriment to the interest of the Maratha State,

The indiscriminate and unhesitating employment of foreign military adventurers, though in accordance with the then tradition of India, proved fatal to the Maratha empire in the long run. Though the Maratha chiefs had long been familiar with the Europeans, even the ablest of the Maratha politicians felt no intellectual curiosity about the rising Europe, which was to dominate the world scene subsequently. The news of the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution was brought to them by the Europeans, but they did not care to know anything about the constitution and progress of those countries, about their geographical situation and moral and material progress. The unscrupulous 'hatmen' (Tepikaras), as the Europeans were called, were reputed to be good sailors, good soldiers and very obstinate, which mental attitude perhaps satisfactorily explained the sense of patriotism, which the Maratha (like other Indians) did not at that time understand. The Marathas made a serious mistake in entrusting the defence of their Empire

so unscrupulous and greedy foreign adventurers, who proved treacherous at the critical moments. Heavily did the Maratha chiefs expect as much loyalty from European adventures as from their Sikh, Rajput, Arab, Sindhi soldiers. The European officers came in quest of fortune, and received from their Maratha employers good pay and rich jagirs. Some of them, like Boigne and George Thomas had Indian wives. Their masters probably expected that like the Tartar and Persian immigrants of Moghul days, these foreigners would probably settle in the country, and spend the rest of their lives in the service of those, who treated them so magnificently and generously. Their expectations were belied. Not only the English subjects, but also the great majority of French officers accepted the British Governor-General's offer and deserted Daolat Rao, when their services were needed most. Pholman, a German adventurer, proved treacherous at Assaye.

The employment of European officers involved a serious change in the Maratha army. Their method of fighting was fundamentally opposed to the Maratha military traditions. The Maratha leaders never thought or endeavoured to profitably combine these two contradictory methods. Both at Panipath and at Assaye, their defeat was mainly due to their utter failure to reconcile their old tactics with those that they recently introduced through their mostly unreliable European officers. They relied too much on haphazardly trained infantry, and neglected their cavalry.

The degeneration of cavalry was also on account of the departure from Shivaji's practice. The Peswa refrained from replacing the Silhedar force by state-paid, and

state-equipped horses, and as such the efficiency of the cavalry was incapable of being maintained. The later Maratha cavalry men turned to be mostly horse dealers than soldiers. It is no wonder that untrained men, mounted on hired steeds, proved of little use and value in actual combat.

II

Along with the above short-comings of the Marathas in their military system, their intellectual limitations should be taken notice of. They readily adopted new arms, but did not reject the old ones. While in European countries, progressively improved and superseded the old inferior ones, in the Maratha army, both were simultaneously in use. During the Maratha ascendancy of nearly a century and a half, the Marathas borrowed, freely from their neighbours, but failed to make any contribution to military science, either in strategy or in armaments. The Marathas were not deficient in intellect. Their failure in this important and vital matter is likely to be attributed to defects in education. The Maratha Government did not recognise their responsibility of public instruction. Noted Brahmin Scholars and physicians of all casts and creeds were encouraged by liberal grants of rent-free lands and pensions. Private individuals were left to equip themselves as best as they could for the profession of their choice. The great majority of the upper classes joined the army. They learnt to fight rather unsystematically. There appears to be no systematic arrangement for any instruction in the science of war. Fighting was more or less a matter of experience. The general education that was then available con-

isted wholly of cultural training in the literature, grammar, politics, logic and philosophy. There was no treatise on the science of war. There was no record of the military experience of the Maratha generals. And the progress that Europe was making in the eighteenth century in the theoretical science and warfare were absolutely unknown to the Indians of that age. No Maratha chief ever attempted to gain mastery over the superior military and tactical science of the West, as Peter the Great of Russia did. The circumscribed education of the Maratha leaders or chiefs hardly qualified them to run the race of progressively developing science, technology and warfare with the then other advanced countries.

The Maratha nobility had lost the simplicity of life that marked their forefathers of Shivaji's time. What were condemned as inexcusable vices, like presence of whores and dancing wenches and the free use of wine, were openly perpetrated by the Peshwa and the members of the Maratha confederacy. The degeneration was thus all-round and complete. The State degenerated from a national monarchy to a feudal confederacy. The army degenerated from a well-disciplined national force to an ill-disciplined band of mercenaries. The military leaders degenerated from simple hardy soldiers to ease-loving voluptuaries. There could be but one up-shot of such a decline, both moral and material. In Europe there was steady progress from feudalism to national monarchy and from national monarchy to democracy. In Marathas the process was reversed by the Peshwas and their followers.

A military empire can not survive its military efficiency long. Unfortunately for the Marathas, their competitors were endowed with those very qualities, which they themselves lacked. The British were imbued with strong sense of patriotism. They combined individual self-sacrifice with national ambition. Their army was well-disciplined and scientifically trained. Their generals were perfect masters of military science. The badly led and badly armed and badly organised feudal army of the Maratha empire had to relinquish the unequal contest after a brief-struggle. The Maratha chiefs were compelled to acknowledge their failures after two short wars. The all-powerful Peshwa, now a mere shadow, was pensioned off. The Bargirs converted their sword-blades into plough-shares. The new foreign rulers were able to bring back peace and security to a great extent, throughout the length and breadth of India. The Maratha empire, begun with the ideals of a "HINVI SWARAJYA" (Hindu Empire), Maratha Padshahi (Maratha Empire), and above all, a Dharma Rajya, a kingdom of righteousness, hinged on 'Go-Brahman Pratipalak' (Protection of cow and the learned man) turned out to be a dream unrealised, and a far off cry.

It has been very significantly observed by Lord Acton as follows,—“The knowledge of the past, the record of truths, revealed by experience, is pre-eminently practical, is an instrument of action and power that goes to the making of the future. Indeed through the proper study of History, we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by

rying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves. Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of historians, has aptly averred: "The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim Rule in India, and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together, and must be studied with accuracy of details as to facts and penetrating analysis as to causes, if we wish to find out the true solution of the problem of modern India and avoid the pit-falls of the past."

Have the above feeble efforts at the succinct delineation and appraisal of the

decline and fall of the Maratha empire any lesson for us for the due preservation and strengthening of our hard-won independence? Certainly, they have. The study of the subject reveals our defects, both national and individual. Alberuni, a scholar, who came to India in the train of Sultan Mahmud of Gazni, studied Hindu literature and scriptures attentively and seriously. He found many good traits in the then Indian character, but as an impartial observer, he pointed out our egotism, lack of practicality and obscurantism.

If we search our hearts, can we say that the above short-comings do not beset us now?



FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION—AN APPRAISAL

B. P. CHAKRABARTI

The Fourth General Election has ended earlier this year. The Congress party has come out with a thin majority at the centre.

The tables below give the comparative positions of the Congress party during the last four general elections.

Lok Sabha			
Year	Total Seats	Seats won by the Congress	p.c.
1952	491	364	74.1
1957	494	371	75.1
1962	494	358	72.5
1967	521	280	54.5

State Assemblies			
Year	Total Seats	Seats won by the Congress	p.c.
1952	3,280	2,246	68.4
1957	2,906	1,893	65.1
1962	2,812	1,759	61.8
1967	3,487	1,642	47.2

It will be observed that the Congress party recorded 1p.c. increase in terms of seats in 1957 over 1952 in Lok Sabha while in Assemblies it recorded a decline of 3.1 p.c. of seats. In 1962 it lost 2.6p.c. of seats in Lok Sabha and 3.3p.c. seats in the Assemblies compared to that of 1952. In the Fourth Election it has lost 18p.c. and 14.6p.c. of seats respectively in Lok Sabha and Assemblies over that in the Third Election. In all the four elections the Congress won more seats in Lok Sabha compared to that of in Assemblies. For instances in terms of percentage of seats it secured 5.7p.c. less seats in the first election, 10p.c. in the second election,

10.7p.c. in the third election and 7.8p.c. in the fourth election in the Assemblies compared to the percentage of seats secured in Lok Sabha. By contrast the Congress debacle this year is more marked in the Lok Sabha than in the Assemblies.

Out of the total number of votes polled Congress shared 42.19p.c. in 1952, 45.41p.c. in 1957, 44.25p.c. in 1962 and 40p.c. (approx) in 1967. Though in 1957 it polled 3.22p.c. more votes than in 1952, it could bag only 1p.c. more of seats in the Lok Sabha and, in fact, it lost 3.1p.c. of seats in Assemblies. In 1962, it polled only 1.16p.c. less vote, but lost 2.6p.c. and 3.3p.c. of seats respectively in Lok Sabha and Assemblies. In the Fourth Election the percentage of votes polled in favour of it showed a decline of only 4.25p.c., but its loss in terms of seats has been spectacular. In fact it has recorded a decrease of 18p.c. and 14.6p.c. of seats respectively in Lok Sabha and Assemblies.

Answers to the following pertinent questions may throw some light in understanding the significance of this debacle.

1) Why Congress got more seats in the Lok Sabha than the Assemblies in terms of percentage and why the difference between the seats won by the Congress party in Lok Sabha and Assemblies in the Fourth Election has been so much narrowed down compared to the previous elections?

2) Why there is no symmetry in the number of votes polled, and the seats won, by the Congress party, in Lok Sabha and Assemblies, during these four Elections?

3) What is the reason for losing so many seats by the Congress ?

One Lok Sabha constituency comprises 5/6 Assembly Constituencies. The Congress party set up candidates in all the Assembly constituencies. But none of the opposition parties could afford to set up candidates in all Assembly seats. The Congress candidates faced contests from the candidates of different parties at different constituencies. Somewhere it won, somewhere it lost, but all the votes polled in its favour went to swell the share of its Lok Sabha candidates. Lack of understanding between different opposition parties often led to division of votes of the candidates for Assembly seats of these parties having no candidate for Lok Sabha seats and, due to friction among themselves, a large portion of these votes went in favour of the Congress candidates for Lok Sabha. This appears to be the only reason for getting proportionately more seats in the Lok Sabha than the Assembly by the Congress.

The prevalent notion that the Indian people, having less political consciousness, though voted for opposition candidate in the Assembly, did vote for Congress for the Lok Sabha to ensure formation of a stable Government at the centre, is indeed fallacious for, the votes polled for the Congress candidate in Lok Sabha constituency are found to be in no way more, rather at times somewhat less, than the total votes polled by the Congress candidates in the Assembly constituencies comprising that Lok Sabha constituency.

The condition in the Fourth Election was somewhat different from the last three elections. In Madras and Kerala the United

Front put up candidates in all the Lok Sabha and Assembly seats. Though unity could not be achieved in West Bengal, the opposition parties were divided into two fronts only and out of 40 Lok Sabha seats, in 11 seats only there were triangular contests. Partial understanding was arrived at between powerful parties in the States like Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan. This is the reason why the Congress could not get advantage of the division of votes as in the earlier three elections. Yet, this time also, securing only 47.2% of the votes polled, it has been able to maintain its majority in the Lok Sabha by bagging only 54.3% of the seats. If the opposition parties could achieve unity, Congress could hardly secure more than 45% of seats.

The first general election was held in 1952. In this election many independent candidates came forward to try their luck and, as such, every constituency had 10/12 contestants. Besides, inexperienced as the voters were, they cast their votes often irrationally. As a result votes were heavily divided, and only securing 42.19% of votes the Congress succeeded in; sharing 74.1% and 68.4% seats respectively in Lok Sabha and Assemblies. In 1957 popularity of the Congress did in no way go up, rather it declined to a considerable extent. But the pattern of voting at the same time underwent considerable change. Upon the results of the earlier election, it appears to have dawned on the voters that no useful purpose would be served by casting votes in favour of independents. And they, therefore, supported the organised party candidates. As a result all the political parties secured more votes compared to their earlier performances. The Congress, therefore, did not secure the addi-

sional votes in 1957 at the cost of the opposition parties, but it shared a sizeable portion of the votes that used to be cast in favour of independents on earlier occasions. Yet, it obtained only 1% more seats in the Lok Sabha, though in Assemblies the number of their seats decreased by 3.3p.c..

The additional votes apparently did not help the Congress to secure more seats, for the votes, that were cast in favour of independents on the earlier occasion, was polled for the Congress candidates only in the areas where they could wield influence. But in other areas where there was influence of the opposition parties such votes naturally went against the Congress. As a result the Congress could not increase the number of seats in proportion to the increase in number of votes polled. These additional votes, therefore, only helped to increase the number of votes of the winning candidates.

Popularity of the Congress waned further in 1962 and the percentage of the votes polled by it declined by 1.16 p.c.. All these votes having gone in favour of opposition candidates, the seats for the Congress both in Lok Sabha and Assemblies declined by 2.6 p.c. and 3.3p.c. respectively. In the 1967 Election there was further decline in popularity of the Congress while unity among different opposition parties was achieved to a greater extent.

The Congress should have secured 9p.c. and 11.4 p.c. less seats in Lok Sabha and Assemblies respectively in the Fourth election on the basis of sharing only 4 p.c. less votes than in the earlier election, but, in fact, it did secure 18 p.c. and 14.6 p.c. seats less in Lok Sabha and Assemblies respectively.

Only reason for this abnormal difference appears to be the unity achieved among the different opposition parties. Triangular contests were less visible in the Fourth Election than in the Third, especially in some states. The opposition parties, having challenged unitedly, the Congress could not take advantage of disunity especially in the Lok Sabha contests.

The principal causes for getting so fewer votes by the Congress are in the first instance, internal factionalism that made the organisation weaker and weaker day by day. True, internecine trouble had ensued for a pretty long time, but the abiding personality of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru did not allow it to raise its ugly head in this fashion. Since the death of Mr. Nehru the influence of the Congress leaders at the Centre started declining gradually. In every State the men in authority have become eager to wield more power. Two factions in the Congress have grown in many States. In West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa the dissident factions have left the Congress and contested the election forming new parties. Many among them were Executive of the Congress or its members in Lok Sabha or Assemblies. Because of their strong influence on the people of their areas, they succeeded in snatching away substantial portion of Congress votes.

The dissident congress member had been able to secure in all 90 seats in assemblies in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh. If the Congress could get these 90 seats, they would have secured 49.3 p.c. of votes in Assemblies. Even then, they could not secure majority

in any of these States except in West Bengal. The dissident Congress members have secured only 9 and 2 seats in Assemblies of Kerala and Madhya Pradesh respectively. In Bihar and Orissa it has won 26 seats, but, even if the Congress could win over these seats, it would still remain minority in the State Assemblies.

The second reason for getting less votes by the Congress is the challenge thrown to it by the rightist. The time the Congress had to fight against two fronts—leftist and rightist. So long landlord and industrialists had been supporting the Congress. But this time a section of them disassociated themselves from the Congress. The influence and money of the native princes had put the Congress into immense difficulties in their respective areas. Besides the Congress propaganda had to face formidable hurdles in course of fighting against the two fronts. On the one hand, the Congress leaders announced themselves as progressive socialists, on the other hand, they tried to impress their audience by saying that the socialists would take the country to ruins. Thus they failed to make impression upon the masses. The Congress workers had to face often inconvenient questions by trying to support these contradictory exhortations. As a result the Congress propaganda machinery tended to become ineffective.

The rise of communal parties is another cause for the ruling party getting fewer votes. The Jana Sangha was able to incite a sizeable section of the voters in Hindi speaking area against Congress by organising anti-cow-slaughter movement. Due to weakness of the leaders, the Congress could not take any firm decision on it. Either it should have accepted the

demand or oppose it with strong hand. But having no faith in itself, it did not dare to enrage communal fanatics, and by adopting an indecision of middle-of-the-course policy exposed itself as a laughing stock.

The last, and not the least, reason for getting less vote is to be found in people's unwillingness to vote for the Congress. Inefficiency of its leaders in running the administration, their humbugism and indulgence to corruption, vitiated minds of the people. They failed to supply food, check the rising prices, and maintain peace in the country. Dissatisfaction spread all over the country. When such is the condition of the country it is but natural that the ruling party would alienate the voters, which has very aptly been commented by the New York Times "Voters came to polling station in empty stomach. It is not likely that they will vote in favour of the party in power". And they did it accordingly.

Though people's opposition is the principal cause of the Congress debacle, yet it would be wrong to surmise it to be the only cause. If popularity is the only criterion of success in election, the Congress would not have secured a single seat in West Bengal. That is why the opposition should not be complacent in thinking that people's opposition to Congress is gaining day by day. For the Congress will not be short of fund to revitalise their organisation. Being sandwiched between two fronts and having belittled the dissident groups due to over-confidence and humbugism of the leadership, it has got a severe blow. And there is no reason to believe that it will not amend itself in future. When it will appear in the next election with enormous resources and powerful organisation, scarcely there will be any hope of success for the opposition if they only bank on the people's antagonism towards Congress. It is, therefore, high time for the opposition leaders to consider evolving unity among different parties on permanent basis to give a tough fight against the Congress in the next election.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The delicately balanced armed truce in the region of chronic conflict between Israel and the Arab world recently exploded in a violent but, happily, only a week-long war between the belligerents. An uneasy cease fire six days after the outbreak of hostilities has, somehow, been secured at considerable sacrifice of internationally accepted norms of civilized behaviour and the terms of which appear to have left the obviously weaker victims of aggression without any relief or compensation to which they would be considered to have been entitled under the principles enunciated by the United Nations Charter. How long this one-sided truce can be maintained without further violent and war-like eruptions is a question which is now seriously agitating most peace-loving Afro-Asian nations.

Last month we have given a fairly detailed picture in these columns of the genesis and back-ground of the current Arab-Israeli cleavage. In a brief article published in the meanwhile, the celebrated British historian and thinker, Prof. Arnold Toynbee, has very succinctly analysed the

whole pros and cons of the matter. In this wholly objective and dispassionate analysis, Prof. Toynbee clearly exposes the motives which led the Anglo-American powers to sponsor and set up the new Jewish state of Israel in Palestine to the disregard of traditional Arab interests and claims. He holds that it was entirely wrong on their part to make the victims of Fascist West European countries and the need for their resettlement the excuse for setting up a new Jewish state in Palestine; they should have been resettled, according to him, in Britain and America instead. For, to resettle these Jewish refugees in Palestine and to give them an independent state of their own there, it had become necessary to turn hundreds and thousands of Arab to whom Palestine had been their only home for untold centuries past and to convert them into hapless community of chronic refugees. And this was, clearly, done at the vigorous instigation of the British and the Americans. The Jews, as soon as they were assisted to set up their new state of Israel—clearly the British mandate over Palestine was designed to achieve just this obvious purpose—launched on a policy of annexation and expansion, a process which naturally looked upon by the neighbouring

Arab states with suspicion and apprehension. The plea that the territories that were thus annexed to the state of Israel although they originally belonged to the Arabs who had now turned refugees were acquired from them at a fair price by the Jews does neither explain nor even extenuate the fact of their political annexation by Israel. And, herein, lay the principal cause of conflict between the Arabs and Israel. Additionally Israel's none too concealed efforts towards expansionism provided added cause for suspicion and conflict.

In the present conflict, the hands of Britain and America, sustaining and even fostering Israel's aggressive designs against the Arab world, have also been quite patently obvious. The charge the Israel's smashing blows upon the Arabs from the air which were reported to have more or less completely destroyed the Arab Air Force within the first several hours following the outbreak of hostilities was made possible only because of direct participation in the attack by carrier-based U. S. and British air-craft from the neighbouring waters may have been something of an exaggeration. But what had subsequently been happening within the U. N. Security Council and, later, outside, at the U. N. General Assembly session, would appear to have made the fact of Anglo-American support, if not quite with arms and air-craft, but at least politically, a matter beyond any doubt or dispute.

As the situation stand to-day, the Israeli forces are allowed to retain what they have already been able to bring under their own

occupation, while the Arabs would be required to helplessly stand by at the points to which they had been pushed out by the Israelis at the hour of the cease-fire. In other words, the aggressors, under U.N. acquiescence if not quite within its approval and sanction, are allowed to retain the fruits of their aggression,—a clear violation of the very basic principles formulated by the U. N. in this behalf and repudiation of the very basic concepts upon which the structure of international law is founded. The fact that the Security Council has failed, despite the efforts of all disinterested and non-aligned nations in this direction, to name Israel as the aggressor in this connection, is only a technical plea which should not have been allowed to be used as excuse for such repudiation of the basic principles governing international behaviour and the functioning of the U. N.

The role assumed by the U.S.S.R. in this rather sorry game of intrigue and power politics would not appear as either very creditable or even entirely honest. There is no room for doubt that the U.S.S.R. has most unsportingly, let down their Arab friends and allies in the present instance. It would appear to be both amazing and hardly credible that the Government of the U. S. S. R. would suddenly decide to join the Anglo-American *entente* in their imperialist designs upon West Asia and thus let down their erstwhile Arab friends at the moment of their direct trial. And, yet, the facts on record would appear to point towards such an unmistakable direction in their current policies in West Asia. A deeper look below the surface, however, may unearth

some reasonable and plausible cause for such extra-ordinary behaviour on their part. The rapidly growing estrangement between Mao Tse-tung's China and the U. S. S. R. which appears to have already reached a point of no-return has made it urgent that the latter reinforces her own defences in the face of China's rapidly growing nuclear might and redefines her policies and relations with other nations in clearer and less ambiguous terms. Any direct armed involvement at the moment in a conflict in which the U. S. A., potentially, may become a party on the opposite side, is a climax which the U.S.S.R. would naturally, wish to avoid in the present circumstances. The growing belligerence of China and the recent significant addition to her nuclear arsenal makes continued amity with the U.S.A. into an element of indispensable insurance against the potential risks of any possible Sino-Russian armed conflict in the eventual future. That is, obviously, one of the compulsions of the situation which has not merely led to the assumption of a wholly diplomatic role avoiding all possibility of direct armed involvement by Russia in the Arab-Israeli conflict but which, presumably, has also led the U.S.S.R. to use increasingly milder and more persuasive tones in her admonitions to the—U. S. in respect of the Vietnam war. Continued Russian—U.S. amity and, if possible, even some sort of workable alliance between the two, is an indispensable compulsion of the current global political and military situation so far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned. It is not therefore difficult to understand that the Soviet Government should want to play a

milder role both in and outside the Councils of the U. N. in respect of the current Arab-Israeli dispute and leave all the belligerent notes to be sounded by the Afro-Asians and the Arabs' other friends both within and outside the U. N.

Unhappily, however, minus the U.S.S.R. the other pro-Arab nations do not wield the measure of influence in the U. N. which might have made a more wholesome and lasting resolution of the current Arab-Israeli conflict compulsive upon the aggressor. The situation, in clear terms, would seem to boil down to the simple fact that while the U.S. and Britain are quite openly supporting the Israeli cause, however illegitimate it may be, the U. S. S. R., the only other power which might possibly have played a really significant part in compelling a reasonable and just resolution of the present conflict, is unwilling to call for a show-down and clearly prefers to continue to sit on the fence.

In the meanwhile Israeli tones would appear to have been assuming an increasing measure of obstinacy and even truculence. The Arab, if they were really to preserve their own identity against the growing belligerence of the Israeli Jews, would be compelled to answer back in similarly truculent terms which she can effectively do only if she were able to rebuild and reform her presently shattered armed strength and badly scattered army organization. A task which obviously is not too easy to perform effectively and with necessary expedition in the present situation. For one thing, she is rather helplessly dependent still upon other nations for the munitions of war including

deliveries of the requisite types of air-craft which would be able to match the Israelis' strength in the air and other lethal weapons. The Arabs' sources of supply in this behalf do not seem to be too wide open for, on account of reasons already analysed above, those able to make these supplies in adequate measures, do not seem to be too willing at the moment to openly commit themselves. For another thing, it is now quite obvious that whatever may be the basic principles upon which the structure of the U. N. is founded, the Arabs, in the face of continuing and powerful Anglo-American pressures in the contrary direction, cannot expect to get even a reasonably small measure of relief and assistance from that direction. For a further fact, the Arab armed forces would seem to be still vitally dependent upon outside sources for the training of her armed personnel to be able to effectively use them on the field of battle which also may not be too easy at the moment to maintain unhampered. It is reported that the training personnel supplied by the U.S.S.R. to the Arabs have been almost entirely pulled out on the eve of battle and it may not be easy or even possible to get them back on the Arab army barracks in a hurry. The international alignments around the peripheries of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as already analysed at some length, do not, also, seem to favour the Arabs overmuch, however just and legitimate her cause as against the aggression-committing Israelis. In the circumstances, it appears that the Arabs will be left to reorganize her strength and reinforce her armed might from within their own internally

available resources which also do not seem to be either extensive or plentiful. The Israelis are quite cute enough to realise the realities of the present Arab plight and their growing truculence and belligerence would seem to point to the unmistakable conclusion that they are determined to cash in on this present opportunity. The obvious support to their present stance by their Anglo-American friends and the latter's determination to bar any resolution in the U.N. either within the restricted counsels of the Security Council or in the larger plenum of the General Assembly, would seem to have been encouraging the Israeli aggressor to try to get away with it. That they did not press their earlier victories on the battlefield to an expeditious conclusion without agreeing to the nominal cease fire to which they had been asked to submit by the Security Council would appear, obviously, to have been influenced by the earlier uncertainties of the attitudes of the U.S.S.R. and of the extent to which they might have been ready to commit themselves on the side of the Arabs as also, perhaps, in their anxiety to avoid any embarrassment to their Anglo-American friends who were a party to the cease fire resolution of the Security Council.

How the conflict may end is anybody's guess at the moment. It seems more than likely that the Israelis, quick-witted as they are, would be easily able to trump up the necessary excuses to start hostilities again to follow up their present gains to a more permanent and militarily and politically gainful conclusion. In that event will Russia be able to still continue to sit on the fence is a

question the answer to which does not yet seem to be quite clear. Obviously Russia, in her own interest, is as anxious to avoid the eruption of the present Arab-Israeli conflict into a global holocaust; her direct involvement in it may just succeed in enforcing such an undesirable consummation. On the other hand if she chooses to remain wholly uninvolved, whatever the extent of the extremes of aggression that Israel may commit upon the Arabs, the U.S.S.R. would lose face with the entire Afro-Asian world and may even lose quite a few of her valuable East European friends. The situation in this regard is so delicate and finely balanced that in the event of too great a measure of excesses committed by Israel, the U.S.S.R. may find it impossible to avoid armed involvement in the end, however great her anxiety to avoid such a possibility may happen to be at the present moment. The Israelis, however, from their past behaviour, would appear to be expert brinksmen and they may only extend their present aggression only to such limited extents as would yield to them a measure of control on the Gulf of Aquaba and through the strait of Tiran and stop short at that point. It is possible that they hope, with the good wishes and offices of their Anglo-American friends, to get away with such additions to her present gains both within and outside the U.N. and even permanently retain them. This may also be the point upto which the U.S.S.R. may find herself just able to avoid involvement in the Arab-Israeli war.

What the effect of the present West Asian affair may be upon the ultimate fate

of the U. N. is something which has been deeply agitating most peace loving peoples of the world. The current confabulations within the U. N. and the intrigues which would appear to have been both guiding and conditioning them, would seem to have already reduced the U. N. and the high-sounding principles enunciated in its Charter into a sham and a hollow mockery. The U. N. has been increasingly and, currently, rather rapidly turning into just another League of Nations. The ultimate sanction in all disputes between nations, despite all the brave promises so long held by the U.N., would seem to lodge still in armed strength alone and nothing else! Like the late President Syngman Rhee, who once said that after studying International Law at a Los Angeles University for years at the outlay of a great deal of money, all that he was able to ultimately learn was that there was, in reality, no law whatever governing relations between nations, one is inclined to exclaim—"a penny for your high-falutin professions of peace!"

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION AND THE CHINESE H. BOMB

The non-Chinese world except those who are immediately associated with Peoples' China, appear to have been suffering from a trauma of apprehension at the fresh aggressive potential that is calculated to have been added to her already rather illimitable resources in military preparedness by her recent successful H. Bomb tests. U.S. nuclear experts had earlier, when China exploded her second A-Bomb, predicted¹ that to

reach comparable potentials in this field China will have to wait for several years yet. Confounding these rather complacent prophecies, China has now already successfully exploded her first H-Bomb and even if her nuclear arsenal may not yet compare fully with the resources already laid by other advanced nuclear powers like the U.S. A. or the U.S.S.R., the rapid strides she would appear to have been making in such a direction would seem to indicate that she might reach comparable levels in this field much sooner than was earlier calculated.

Coming as the news does on the tail of China's aggressive treatment of other nations including those who have diplomatic relations with her, it is certainly a matter of grave apprehension. China's aggressive designs upon her neighbours, notably India, have already been quite outspoken for some years now. As to whether such designs are likely to be backed by her growing nuclear might actually in the field of battle—if there will really be a battle—is something which is wholly an unknown conjecture. Chou En-lai has recently declared that China will never use her nuclear bombs as a weapon of attack upon her enemies; but to develop such an arsenal was an essential element of self-defence against mighty imperialist nations whose anti-Chinese policies are quite notorious. China's aggressions upon India have, so far, moved around the question of Sino-Indian boundaries. India, again, is no nuclear power. Besides, even by the longest stretch of imagination, could India be described as an imperialist nation. India covets no territories, nor has she any designs upon the resources, territorial or

otherwise, of other nations, including those of her most peristent detractor, Pakistan. It is hardly likely, in the circumstances, that China will ever think of using her nuclear weapons against India; it would be a wholly unnecessary and thoroughly wasteful and wanton act of destruction. And, yet, her growing nuclear arsenal certainly invests China with an aggressive potential, that would be bound to cause the gravest apprehensions—as it appears to have—among Indian leaders. The habit of the Chinese Peoples' Government of trying to settle even her minor disputes with her neighbours by setting her mighty military machine on the motion and without caring to accept offers to discuss matters at the negotiating table is naturally, an additional cause for apprehension and suspicion.

And, yet, thinking coolly, China's rapid strides forward in the nuclear field, may even eventually be found to be something of an insurance to the non-nuclear world against the not too subtle blackmail to which it was being subjected by the mighty nuclear powers. One has only to refer to the terms of the draft Non-proliferation Treaty to realise the substance behind such thinking. What, shorn of all its sanctimonious verbiage, does the Draft Nonproliferation Treaty amount to? It is, to all effects and purposes, a threat held out to the non-nuclear world by the mighty nuclear powers, that unless they agree to sign on the dotted line, they would be held perpetually to ransom. No non-nuclear nation will be allowed to develop lethal nuclear weapons; that would remain the close preserve and the monopoly of the nuclear powers. The former

would, likewise, have no right to inspect the arsenals and examine future potentials in this field of armaments manufacture of the nuclear nations. Non-nuclear nations will be conceded the right to develop peaceful social uses of nuclear power; but their progress in this direction would be subject to checks and inspections by the nuclear powers. The nuclear powers, in return, would agree to provide a general nuclear umbrella to the non-nuclear nations; but here, again, there would be no specific commitment in this behalf; it would be just a vague and nondescript assurance with which the non-nuclear nations will have to be satisfied. If this is not blackmail, one does not really know what the term really connotes.

Willy-nilly, whatever their preliminary objections, the non-nuclear nations would be compelled to subscribe to such an infamous treaty. The very fact that there was overwhelming nuclear imbalance in the world with a few of the mighty nations having all the resources in this area while the rest of the world had simply none at all, would make it compulsive on the part of all non-nuclear nations to subscribe to the Treaty, however repugnant its terms to their sense of national security or even self-respect! It was sheer Hobson's choice that they have been offered. Most of them lack the minimum economic resources to promote and develop nuclear research of the order that is necessary to promote the design and manufacture of nuclear weapons. Besides, the basic scientific know-how also has, so far, remained the close monopoly of the few nations that have been able to lay by sizeable nuclear arsenals of

their own. Even the know-how relating to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy remains their monopoly and unless the non-nuclear nations agree to the terms of the treaty, development in this direction would also be barred to them. It was a fearful situation of power imbalance which enabled the mighty nuclear nations to hold more than half the world to ransom.

In modern international relations, however sanctimoniously we may vociferate to the contrary, human and ethical considerations play little or no part in influencing the action of nations in their behaviour to others. An outstanding example in point is the wanton and heartless atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the penultimate weeks of the Second World War. It has been established beyond dispute by the late Dr. Radha-binode Pal that at least two weeks before this tragic act of destruction, the Japanese Government had sued for an armistice with the Allies through the neutral Swiss embassy. It is also generally known that General MacArthur, U. S. Supreme Commander in the Pacific theatre of War, stoutly and vehemently objected to such a proposal which, he considered, would be wholly unnecessary and would be regarded by the whole of humanity as an inhuman act of wanton destruction. But President Truman's Pentagon advisers felt that Hiroshima and Nagasaki, enemy's country as they were, would be fruitful testing ground for the potency of the new Atom Bomb in the actual field of battle, and the Pentagon was allowed to prevail. More recently there is reported to have been talks about using nuclear weapons in Vietnam. There is reported to be a strong body among

President Lyndon Johnson's military advisers who feel that unless nuclear weapons were brought to use, a military victory for the Americans in Vietnam would never be possible. The U.S. President has also been reported to have favourably toyed with the idea. It is not impossible that if China had not made such rapid progress in nuclear development and, especially, were able to successfully test her first H-Bomb so soon after her last series of successful explosions, that the Americans would not have hesitated to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam. If there is a pause in such thoughts for the time being it is clearly because of the rapidly growing nuclear might of the Chinese which acts now as a deterrent against American designs in this behalf. For, not even the most fulsome admirer of the American Administration can claim that there is either justice or ethics on the American side in the Vietnam War; it is sheer brigandage.

The Chinese H-Bomb may, therefore, have established some sort of a balance of power in the nuclear world which might very well be the cause of some relief to the hard-pressed non-nuclear nations. What the effect of this addition to her military might be upon her dealings with those with whom China has been in a state of belligerency during the last few years, however, remains an unpredictable quantity. Even if she might not actually use this new and devastating weapon for enforcing a settlement favourable to herself, this has clearly given her a fresh accession of strength, which might prove to be the cause for the gravest possible apprehension.

VIETNAM AND THE U.S. MILITARY MACHINE

In a recent statement ascribed to a top-ranking U. S. Military adviser, it is now conceded that the War in Vietnam even at the present rate of escalation of both the area and the depth of the War, it would be likely to take fifty more years before the U.S. can expect to gain a decisive military victory. In another context, the U. N. Secretary-General U. Thant was reported to have opined some time ago, that at the present rate of enlargement of the area and depth of the Vietnam War by the Americans, and stubborn refusal of the belligerents to agree to meet at the negotiating table and thus endeavour to secure a political settlement of the dispute, an eventual confrontation between China and the U.S. would be wholly unavoidable. In that event, he is reported to have given expression to his apprehension, another global catastrophe would be equally unavoidable.

In the face of such dire prophesies and prognostications, the stubborn persistence of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration in throwing in more and more men and equipments of offence into the Vietnam region, would appear to those who are not immediately concerned in the struggle to be folly of the most colossal magnitude. For one thing, the economic burdens on the American people of the Vietnam War must be almost beyond calculation. But what is even more important is the illimitable destruction of potentially valuable American lives in the conflict. What is the reason for it all?—one is inclined to ask himself. What is this principle or the ideal in the

game of which supposedly the Americans are fighting such a relentless, long-drawn-out and brutal war in a land remote from their own and in which they are not supposed to have any legitimate stake at all? To claim that they are fighting this war so that democracy may survive in South-east Asia is bunkum and sanctimoniousness of such an obvious ilk, that no one is likely to concede the truth of it.

There may, however, be one very logical purpose. The terrific prosperity of the Americans nation—and I use the word *terrific* with deliberate purpose—has within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The Americans have never been so prosperous as to-day; and the level of this prosperity has been rapidly mounting upwards from day's end to day's end. If one looks back at the records of economic recessions in world history, it would be discovered that every such recession has always and invariably followed on the crest of a wave of prosperity. Even during recent years one has heard about the apprehensions of recession in the American economy several times since the end of the last World War. The fact is, that prosperity, like everything else, has a saturation point; there is a limit to and a level beyond which society is unable to absorb any more doses of prosperity without seriously affecting the basic social balances. In other words, prosperity, beyond a certain level acts as an economic disincentive and may even prove eventually to be a social deterrent. The talks about recession in the American economy of which we have heard several times during the twenty years follo-

wing the end of the Second War, obviously proved the truth of this economic axiom. One may not have realised their pros and cons quite as clearly but the facts are there to prove such a contention. Since the acceleration of the tempo of the Vietnam War which has been absorbing more and more of a slice of the mounting American prosperity, there has been no further serious talk about a recession in the U. S. economy. It is not impossible that beyond smoke-screen of their high-falutin' talks about democratic Ideals, and saving democracy for the South-East Asians etc., the real purpose of the Vietnam War may be no more than merely to provide outlets for the dispersal of the burdening American prosperity, so that social and economic balances at home may be preserved intact. That thousands of young (and also not so young) American lives are being destroyed in the process, may be just an incidental but tragically unavoidable *contretemps* that one has to ignore so that the social system may be saved from disruption on account of the burdens of its own prosperity and affluence.

There is no other explanation which would seem to logically fit in with American's more and more involvement in the Vietnam War.

West Bengal's Food Crisis And The United Front Government

When the United Front Government assumed power in West Bengal a little less than five months ago, grave doubts were entertained by many prophets of disaster about its stability in view of the numerous internal pulls against one another within the

United Front coalition comprising so many parties. Some among them even went to the length of prophesying that it would be no more than a thirty days wonder and, in any case, could not stick out for more than a couple or three months at the outside. Many also devoutly hoped that these dire prophesies would come true. Confounding all these political tipsters, the U. F. Government in West Bengal has stuck it out for very nearly five months now and there is, as yet, no sign that the coalition is on the way to crumpling up.

What most of these prophets did not seem to take seriously into account is that the United Front Coalition was a compulsion of the situation that emerged in this state following the declaration of the results of the general elections. The people had not merely rejected the Congress, they had a more positive realisation of their own power in the democratic system. They made it quite certain in unmistakable terms that unless the opposition parties which, together, now wielded a majority in the State Assembly, could get together and give them an alternative Government, they would also eventually be as summarily rejected as the Congress party. It was as much as the opposition parties' political future was worth that they must be able to provide the people with an alternative Government. That is, really, the genesis of the United Front coalition and, so long as it is able to carry the peoples' mandate with itself, the intrigues of the Congress, with all its potentials for mischief, especially because it continues to rule at the Centre whose concurrent powers over the States is almost overwhelming, should not be able to topple this Government.

That Congress leaders have been trying to achieve such a nefarious end has been all too obvious from the very beginning. Already two communal outbursts have been fostered and fomented and the hand of those who from behind the screen engineered these troubles have not been too well concealed. The power-lust of the Congress leadership has already been too notorious, the recent disturbances would demonstrate, if any demonstration were at all needed, the heinous lengths they are all too ready to go to, so that their lost power may be retrieved and restored to them. It is also all too obvious that in collusion with a community of unprincipled employers, industrial unrest on a wide scale is being sought to be engineered on the plea of economic recession. And in addition to it all, there is, inevitably, the insistent allegation that law and order has been breaking down in West Bengal and calls for Central intervention. The Centre has been a little more cautious, but that it is only biding its time for a suitable excuse for intruding into the administration of the State, is equally quite obvious. It appears to have got hold of the Naksalbari affair as suitable enough for the purpose and the Union Home Minister's recent statements both in and outside Parliament makes it quite plain that something towards such an end is being hatched in New Delhi.

A great deal of popular confusion appears to weave around the so-called Naksalbari incidents. During twenty years of Congress misrule and under cover of zemindari abolition, large tracts of land in the tea districts around Jalpaiguri have been appropriated

by Government from erstwhile traditional zemindars most of which have been surreptitiously passed on to big jotedars and other vested interests. It has been alleged that even a few tea companies have also been allowed to annex some parcels of such land to their tea gardens in the area. These lands are cultivated under a system of share cropping which is in effect a kind of hired labour arrangement without any of the protection that the law of the land is supposed to afford to both hired labour and share-croppers. The region is infested with a very large community of landless peasants, many of them belonging to the various adibasi clans and trouble and unrest has been brewing in this region for many years now, only matters appear to have come to a head and the present outburst has been the result. While no one would extenuate or condone the excesses alleged to have been committed, one should be fair enough to also concede that the provocation has been both long-standing and grave. The present Government know that these people have a case to represent, that their grievances, which are genuine enough, have been ignored by successive Congress Governments in the past and they have been endeavouring to temper discipline with justice. Any dispassionate auditor would be compelled to concede that the present West Bengal Government without being unduly weak has been endeavouring to be only fair to a genuinely aggrieved community of their own countrymen on whose mandate they are in power to-day. But to the Congress conspirator, any excuse is good enough to beat the present U. F. Government in West Bengal with, and

Nak-albari, in Union Home Minister Chavan's thinking, presents an adequately powerful pretext, especially having regard to the disturbed area being very near our borders with China.

But, whatever the pretext on which the Central Government might seek to intervene in West Bengal, they should take note that the consequences would be bound to be quite disastrous. The U. F. Government are in power on the mandate of the people and there is not the least indication that despite all the hardships and privations through which the people have been currently passing here in this trouble-ridden State, there is the least diminution of popular support to and good will towards the Government. The Centre should, moreover, beware, that the people of West Bengal following the announcement of the results of the last general elections, have awakened to a new awareness of the power they wield and to a consciousness of their responsibility for converging and directing this power towards certain desired and well defined goals. If they are ill advised enough to try to lay the heavy hand upon this State, they would soon be disillusioned that they have only contrived to create a new pocket of mass defiance and disaster.

A little over four months is not enough for any Government to even begin to eradicate the numerous evils and wrongs that twenty years of conscienceless abuse of power by the Congress have burdened the peoples' lives with. Our people are a long-suffering one and they will, as they have been, smilingly put up with all their privations and

deprivations so long as they are assured that the Government have been genuinely endeavouring to right past wrongs. But there must be priorities. The first and the highest priority must be accorded to food and towards *immediately and effectively* providing relief in famine stricken regions within the State. The Districts of Purulia and Bankura, purely agricultural as they are, have been tragically neglected throughout the Congress regime. For lack of even primitive sources of irrigation (although large appropriations were supposed to have been made for spectacular projects in this field from time to time during the last ten years), these remain merely one-crop-a-year regions and due to lack of rainfall during the last two successive years even this had failed. Now there is a raging famine there the depth and gravity of which (although comparisons in this context would seem to be especially odious) is no whit less than that raging in certain areas of Bihar. Official relief measures, so far, have been less than useless and newspaper publicity towards attracting assistance from outside the State has been less than nil. The Government must look into this immediately and start dealing with the situation on an all-out war footing.

But not only in Bankura and Purulia, but throughout the whole of West Bengal, the spectre of famine is daily assuming more threatening proportions. The efforts of the Government towards dealing with the matter appears to have been both inadequate and inept. The hungry and the straving will not be inclined to accept excuses that the Centre have failed to honour their commitments

regarding food grains supply to West Bengal. There is not the least doubt that there are plenty of stocks of paddy and rice in West Bengal which should be able to feed the entire people for well over half a year at the least; there are also concealed stocks of wheat and other food grains within the State. It is demonstrable from statistics of food production and imports in and into West Bengal during the last four years provided by the appropriate Government agencies—and even the most uncritical auditor would not be inclined to accept that the previous Congress Government in all their successive reincarnations were the least likely to err on the side of exaggeration in this behalf—that there should be unconsumed stocks of rice and wheat amounting to at least 3 million and 1 million tonnes respectively in the State as on date. The Government have to dehoard all these concealed stocks of food grains and bring them to the market place. Food grains, they must realise, are a commodity which can only be stored in small bulk covering large values. It should not be difficult for the police and their intelligence agencies to locate these stocks and seize them. If they plead inability to discover these, it should be obvious that they must either be in collusion with the hoarders themselves, or else they are wholly incompetent. The Government should immediately send for the State Police Chief and throw out a challenge to him that he must compel his police force to achieve results in this direction or should make room for some one who would undertake to deliver the goods.

Whatever the modus that the Government may consider useful and feasible in this matter, it must be realised that dehoar-

ding of accumulated stocks is the only operation that will save West Bengal from being overtaken by another disastrous and Statewide famine. It is also necessary that the Government must enforce fresh methods in administration which will eliminate most of the useless official paraphernalia and red tape that currently hold up progress in every possible direction. Red-tape has been and, tragically still remains, the all-eneveloping and the most baneful institution of Government which no one seems able to break through. All this must be cut out and immediate and effective results obtained not merely in dehoarding food grains, but also in processing their movements so that they may reach the consumer even in the remotest corners of the State in a regular flow without being held up at any point.

The Government must turn their attention to this as one of the most urgent and the highest priority. They must realise that their actions in this direction have been singularly traditional and inept. They must realise that there is nothing that can topple them at this stage—not even the

especially vicious kind of eggs that are being currently hatched in the Union Home Minister's incubator in New Delhi—except a turn in the tide of the popular mandate in their favour. And this tide will inevitably turn if the people were left to the tender mercies of the hoarders and the profiteers without something immediately effective being done by the Government to afford instant relief.

We have been told that the hoarder has evolved fresh techniques which defeat traditional measures. Fresh measures must be devised to effectively match the new techniques that are now being employed by the profiteering hoarder. We have also been told that the current orders are ineffective; in areas outside statutorily rationed areas individual stocks of food grains of upto 7 maunds are within the permissible limit and the hoarder usually stocks his grains with many people in small lots within the permissible limits. These orders must be amended, but results must be obtained anyhow, not in some distant future, but here and now.



INDIAN TRAVEL OF PROFESSOR AND MRS. LUDERS

DR. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE

The interesting account of the travels of Professor and Mrs. Luders of Berlin is now available in the book, 'Under the Indian Sun' published by Mrs. Else Luders.

This book is a collection of the letters written by Mrs. Luders during their Indian travel to friends in Berlin. The first letter dated October 21, 1927, was written from Crete and the last letter, dated May 17, 1928, was written on board the ship *Rauenfels*. There are seventeen letters that she had written from India to Germany, some of which are only seven or nine lines, for instance, the letter from Poona dated December 26, 1927. Although these letters are informative and interesting they have certain defects: they start without any address and end without any proper ending or name or signature. Although it is easy to understand that when the letters were written the writer might have been in a hurry and between the writer and the addressee there might not have been any necessity for such usual formalities, when these letters were published in the form of a book these details should have been provided at that time. It is again very interesting that the fact Heinrich and Else Luders were husband and wife is to be inferred and is nowhere clearly stated in these letters. On reference to the Theosophical Society, Adayar, where the Luders paid a visit, the reply I got is, "most probably they are a couple". But from the evidence in these letters there can be no doubt that they

were a couple.

On October 27, 1927, at Port Said, the Luders were obliged to put on straw overshoes for entering the mosque, and Mrs. Luders felt that "strangely the ladies cover themselves in this great heat with black cloth".

In Ceylon the German Consul and a rich German businessman, the youthful and spirited Freudenberg, impressed them much as also the Vidyalkar Vihara with statue of Buddha seated on a pedestal in meditation pose together with the statues of Hindu deities, Vishnu and Kartikeya. Every Buddhist pilgrim rang the temple bell. The Luders did not like "children who were completely naked", with "mosquito-oil" to prevent mosquito bite, and the fact that "every house is surely infested with snakes". In the Buddhist Tooth (Relic) Temple at Kandy, Heinrich had a long conversation with the priest. The Tooth Relic was removed by the Portuguese to Goa, where it was ceremoniously burnt by the Archbishop in the presence of the Viceroy in full Court. The Buddhists, however, hold that the Portuguese captured a false tooth-relic and not the real one. The old Aluvihara and Dambulla temples are hewn out of rock and are painted. One must enter these temples with lamp in hand for the darkness inside. The Sigiriya Castle built by Kasyapa, the regicide, in circa 500. A. D. is full of rich sculpture.

At Anuradhpur king Dhuttagamani made a few buildings for priests in c. 100. B.C. The rocky temple of Mihintale has the tomb of Asoka's son, Mahendra, "the first preacher of Buddhism in Ceylon."

On December 10, 1927, the Luders visited Ootacamond and Nilgiri hills, then Madura, rich with Hindu temples built by king Tirumal in the seventeenth century and regarded them as of 'phantastic beauty and size' with Gopurams in pyramidal shapes and many pieces of sculptures. In the Minakshi temple Europeans were not allowed to enter in certain parts. The Thousand Pillared Hall with beautiful capitals, appealed to the Luders much. "The first impression of the temples of Madura shall always remain with us unforgettable," she wrote admiringly.

In Trichinopoly and Tanjore, Siva-Linga and Nandi figures were common. In Srirangam (near Trichinopoly) they saw the famous Visnu temple. The majestic Jambukesvara temple impressed them much. The library of Maheraja of Tanjore is described as "a thing worth seeing."

In Madras, the High Court is made of Hindu Muslim styles blended together, Heinrich delivered two lectures in Madras, one in the Sanskrit Academy and the other in the University. The result was that newsmen and cameramen at once became very inquisitive about him, and long Articles written by him appeared in the newspapers. One Article appeared in the Bombay Herald entitled, "Mrs. Luder's Charming Personality" The Madras University was completely Indianised and had many scholarly persons. Various colleges of Madras invited the Luders.

The Luders then paid a visit to the Adayar library of the Theosophical Society. They

were pleased to find there as librarians a few German-knowing Indians. Upstairs lived the old Mrs. Annie Besant. They saw a drama in the Presidency College where Mrs. Besant was present and spoke of the "hope of the freedom of India and received enthusiastic applause". In the Adayar library hall is inscribed "There is no religion higher than truth". In Madras station an Indian student pointed out to Mrs. Luders that Gandhiji was near by. They met Gandhiji who was "short, tender and oldish, but of infinite sympathy." Gandhiji expressed joy that they had come to India, that they were friends of this country and that Heinrich was a scholar of Sanskrit and Indology and dedicated to this scared task. Although it appeared to many that he was inwardly weak Gandhiji had a "charm that every strong personality possesses." On the way to Conjeeverum when they arrived at a village fifteen naked children sang, "God save the King" and begged for money and "when we gave them copper coins more and more they stretched their black paws closer and came closer to us." Conjeeverum and Chidamvaram have great temples. The chief priest garlanded them. In Conjeeverum they put up with a Brahmin, the Mayor of the town, who had "fabulous memory" for he chanted verses ceaselessly. In Chidamvaram he delivered a lecture in a college whose Principal had come to Madras to invite him. The lecture ended with a "thundering applause." He met the Todas of Nilgiri who "practise polyandry." They were anxious to be photographed and to receive "bakshis." From here they went to Poona.

In Mysore the Luders found the Maharaja very progressive and interested in

buildings. Over the city hangs the Chamundi hills with a Kali temple which they saw and appreciated.

Seringapatam's dam long, over two kilometers, built on the most modern plan, was much appreciated. But Seringapatam otherwise appeared to them as "a city of the dead." It was in utter ruins. Heinrich delivered lectures in Mysore. "The public is always remarkably attentive and thankful."

At Hyderabad, the most "dear archaeologist Mr. Y" took the Luders round the city in his car. He was an Indian with a keen sense for natural beauty. They saw Char Minar, High Court, schools and hospitals with thousand beds.

At Golconda, each grave of the Qutab Shahi princes has its mosque. The Fort with high walls and fixed iron points against attacks by elephants appealed to the Luders much.

At Bijapur, the tombs of Ibrahim-II (Ibrahim Rauza) and of Mohammad (Gol Gumbaz) impressed them. Mr. Luders praised the "noiseless" manner of movement of Muslim devotees in the mosques as against the "wild" and noisy scenes in Hindu temples.

The Luders next visited Karle, "the oldest Buddhist cave in India" with their friend 'S'. The Chaitya caves were as old as 100 B. C. and the lotus capitals, sculpture, and delineation from the life of the Buddha made a great impression on them.

The Bhaj Chaitya halls were as old as 200 B. C.

In Bombay: "Apart from climate Bombay is a very beautiful city and has a grand surrounding." The so-called Hanging Garden

buildings made in "Venetian Oriental Gothic" style, houses 4 or 5 storey high, men who were "friendly and witty", Heinrich's six lectures in the University of Bombay and also in the Bombay Asiatic Society, the Cama Institute of the Parsis, and St. Xavier's College where Mr. 'Z' (Father 'Z',) was Heinrich's old disciple, the visit to Kanheri, Elephanta Caves dedicated to the Brahmanical sect, the Tower of silence high up in the Malabar Hills, and visiting a famous sadhu, Vijay Linder Suri.

At Nasik, the impression of the Luders was that "here everything was as (they were) a thousand years before." and Heinrich was surprised to find a young naked ascetic replying in English to his questions in Sanskrit.

At Ellora, 34 caves and three religions were to be seen. The most impressive was the Brahmanical Kailash temple cave with two life-size stone elephants and two flag masts. "The colour and light effects are charming" observes Mrs. Luders. Prof. H. Luders held that chronologically the Jain caves are the latest (8th to 13th centuries A. D.) and have no room for the stay of the monks. In the niches are seated naked Tirthankaras. Mahavira's statue is in the shrine. Mrs. Luders writes in appreciation "So deep has Ellora impressed me that even today I have just to close my eyes to recollect clearly before my eyes all the details of Ellora." So also about the art of Ajanta she writes, "the whole of it again is a veritable wonder."

On January 22, 1928, when they visited Baroda the Luders found much interest in

the Library, Museum, Elephant Park and the modern palace with "narrow streets" and a great population that did not appeal much to them. Here they saw the first camel caravan. Many houses were wooden. To each grave was attached a mosque. Hindu and Muslim styles were frequently mixed up in the buildings. Hindu capitals often crowned Muslim buildings. The Sidi Sayid marble mosque was remarkable.

In Mount Abu, the holy mountain of the Jains, they met a Yogi who took them to his cave by the side of another cave where another Yogi had spent a life-time in meditation. Mrs. Luders observes, "I must say that this man had such a harmony in his being, his beautiful face showed such a clarity and contentment, that I had not found in the ascetics and yogis in the cities". They next saw the Dilawar temples whose inner walls were the scenes of "concentrated architectural beauty." These Jain buildings represented a "great harmony."

Ajmere had a good museum with many inscriptions in Brahmi character among its treasures.

The Hindu temple of Pushkar is considered the holiest in India. Here no one is permitted to slaughter any animal. People feed the fishes in the lake. Mrs. Luders writes, "The surrounding of Pushkar is highly picturesque."

The Udaipur palace by the side of the lake is "wonderful." The ruler, who was then of eighty years of age, had shot in his own days 150 tigers. "But no one else is permitted to kill any animal in his territory."

The Luders appreciated Chitorgarh very much. They enthusiastically mention the

story of Padmini and the Jauhar ceremony as also Rana Kumbh's Tower of Victory.

From here the Luders went to Sanchi. The great Stupa is "wonderfully majestic." In the past the town of Vidisa lay around it. Today it is in ruins. In the past Bojpur Satadhara, Sonari, and Andheri had Buddhist settlements around Sanchi. The gates are "splendid." The Pradakshina Ways (perambulatory) are there. Pigmies, human beings, animals, Jataka stories, legends and nymphs are beautifully carved. A nymph on the Eastern Gateway drew my particular attention; catching the branch of a tree she seems to swing in the air freely" observes Mrs. Luders. The stupas of Sariputta and Maudgalyano were inscribed with inscriptions to indicate their identity. One may infer Greek influence in them, "but in reality it was not so."

In Darjeeling, they visited Happy Valley Tea Estate, the Observatory Hill, the Bircl Hill and the Tibetan Buddhist Monastery "The Tibetans look very much like the Chinese".

"As a city I do not like it" was the remark of Mrs. Luders about Calcutta. The maidan is 3 kilometers long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers broad with good motor roads all round it. But it made her always "somewhat melancholy." The rich Indian Museum was much appreciated. They participated in the annual Session of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Professor of Archaeology, "Bh" took them in his car to a restaurant near Hugli that reminded Mrs. Luders of Hamburg. Mrs. Luders observed that the Indians have a peculiar idea that the "navel of the dea

persons do not burn and that it should therefore be thrown in the Ganges."

Puri by the sea side was immensely liked by the Luders.

From here they went to Konarak which presented them a "riddle." "Why this sort of delineation (i. e. erotic representation) in a temple of the Sun God is represented, remains to us and to most persons a riddle." Bhubanesvara, Udaygiri and Khandagiri interested Heinrich very much as he had to publish the inscriptions of these places. The road to Dhauli where an Asokan inscription of c. 250. B. C. stood, was very bad, and only "the thought that the wife of an epigraphist earned "colossal 'Punya'" gave her strength for such a journey. "In the South (i. e. South India) people are more tolerant", and only in the innermost chamber of the temple foreigners were not allowed.

Then the Luders went to Santiniketan where Professor "L" of Prag (Prague?) received them. It is hardly a "university in our sense." They met the poet in his library, and she writes. "I must say he was charming." The hours in his company were "indeed a pleasure." He showed them his library of 35000 volumes and a small museum. She felt that "one must live many years in India before one can enter into the spirit of Indian music and find beauty in it." Here Heinrich delivered his lecture and she held that the visit to Santiniketan shall always remain as something special in our memory."

From here they went to Dacca where they reached by a steamer. Heinrich delivered three lectures in Dacca. The University building was "stately." They visited the colleges, libraries and institutes. In the

Professor's house some ladies spoke English others had been to England. In Dacca they met a young Italian couple. The man was Professor in Rome and was staying in Dacca for the last four years for some study and research.

Lahore appeared as the "city of roses." The fine cantonment, fine buildings and bungalows and wide open parks made a great impression on the Luders.

At Patna they put up with an English family. An Indian scholar visited Heinrich and sought his advice on the Hathigumpā inscription on which the scholar was working for the last ten years.

Nalanda, Raja Griha and Buddha Gaya were all visited in turn. At Benaras the presence of so many temples appeared very interesting to them. The buildings are like "castles." A mosque was built by Anrangzeb to humiliate the Hindus. The Hindus believe that there is nothing more "healthy than bathing in the Ganges water." She further observes, "And in fact, chemical analysis has shown that cholera bacilli is destroyed in it in no time". Millions of pilgrims come and hundreds of dead bodies burn in the Ghats as the Hindus "believe that it leads to salvation." Pilgrimage to Benaras "costs much time and money." The Well of wisdom is overcrowded with pilgrims, cows, crippled persons and beggars. In Annapurna temple "there are many holy cows and we saw a long line of white-robed widows who are fed there." At Sarnath the place where the Buddha preached "his Sermon of Benares", the stupa and the museum the Luders felt much inspired and mention with much appreciation.

At Cawnpore, the place where a handful of Europeans in the summer heat of 1857 put up a heroic fight is mentioned with great appreciation, as also the Sati Chaura Ghat where the Nana Saheb massacred Europeans — men, women and children.

At Lucknow, the Residency where Sir Henry Lawrence was killed, the many mosques and colleges are all mentioned with approval. Heinrich delivered a lecture in the Lucknow University. An Indian Professor of Chemistry who lived in Germany for six years and spoke "good German" showed them the places of interest in his car with his "sympathetic wife."

At Agra they appreciated the Taj Mahal much. "This wonderful proportion, this spotless whiteness, surpass every phantasy. As a wonder not done by human hands, stands high the marble building against the light blue sky." This work "can not be repeated." She further writes, "The entire Taj is a dream in marble and no pen can possibly describe it accurately." The Agra Fort with palaces, harems, baths, under-ground chambers, Diwan-i-Khas, Samman Burj, Jasmin Tower, are all described in details and with appreciation. The Moti Masjid, Akbar's Tomb, Fatehpur Sikri with the Panch Mahal, Mosque of Shaikh Salim Chisti "who is worshipped even to this day by innumerable barren ladies" are all described.

In Gwalior the most worthy building

was the Fort which must be entered through seven gates.

In Delhi, the Luders visited all the historical buildings. In the Khas Mahal inside Delhi Fort the feeling came to them, "as if we were in a dream or in the midst of one of the fables of 1001 Nights." In Delhi on Fridays thousands and thousands of Muslims offer prayer in common. "How infinitely great is the contrast of the communal prayer of the Muslims to the worship of the Hindu who offers his prayer individually whereas his neighbour carries out his trade completely unconcerned."

In Srinagar (Kashmir) there is an old belief that Kashmir was once a lake inhabited by a mighty Naga (snake) who was a nuisance to the neighbouring lands. At the prayer of Kasyapa Siva killed the Snake-Demon with his trident and made the Jhelum flow near Baramula, so that the valley became rich and prosperous.

At Taxila, the Luders were guests of Sir John "M", the Director of Archaeology. Taxila was under Greek, then Scythian, then Kusan and finally Hun influence.

The Luders ended their Indian tour with a visit to the Khaibar Pass. The natural beauty of the frontier and martial nature of the people are described in details.

Finally the Luders returned home in the ship *Rauenfels*. The captain was from Bremen, "the officers are all north-German. It is almost like home."

THE WHITE DEVIL

Y. N. VAISH

The fact is, all men have their faults. They're selfish, brutal and inconsiderate. They don't understand how much everything costs. They can't see things, poor dears; they're cat-witted.

Somerset Maugham.

John Webster had received so much popularity that no other contemporary dramatist got recognition so early. It was due to his dramatic technique and poetry. He preferred the most serious themes for his dramas. He had searched them out in the histories of Rome. These themes were full of lust, pride, passion, greed, blood and horror. He had not dramatized the historical events—whether they might be of England, Rome, or Greece like Shakespeare but he did minutely search them out and went minutely in them for picking up the best themes for his plays. The themes which were chosen by him, had been chosen according to the need of his own temperament and they could resemble the situation which was in his time. The situation might be developed either by political or social chaos. Neither Webster nor I could shut up eyes from the political and social evils. His plays are *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* only available for us.

The White Devil was the most controversial play and still it has been attracting the critics of today. Mr. J. B. Priestley recognizes that Webster was the finest poet of his group—he is indeed a great poet in flashes—but limited and faulty dramatist; his best two best known tragedies, *The White Devil* (easily better of the two) and *The Duchess of Malfi*, contain wonderful lines but strain so much towards horror that they come close to absurdity. Mr. Dyce, the late editor of Webster clashes with Charles Lamb when the latter defends Vittoria through his verdict “an innocence resembling boldness.” And Canon Kingsley also supports Dyce instead of Lamb. As a student of *The White Devil*, I defend Lamb for his impartial and upright judgement.

Webster was a great scholar of classics and of his fellow dramatists—Chapman, Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher. He had studied Ovid, Machiavelli, Sophocles, Eury-

pides and Shakespeare. These great authors enriches his mind so well that he became a confused poet. His confusion is found in his poetry but not in the characters. In *The White Devil*, the character of Vittoria is a puzzle for critics. Her character proves that he was indeed a great dramatist of his own skill and even Marlowe and Shakespeare could not challenge him in dramatic technique and skill. His predecessors could not puzzle the critics, while Webster did puzzle the critics so they could not approach easily to him.

Webster stood for the poor like Machiavelli. So, he never observed Vittoria as a guilty heroine nor he aimed at to portrait her character like that of Ophelia, Cleopatra, and Duchess of Malfi. Her soul is an innocent and pure because there is the Christianity in her blood. She confesses her sin:

O my greatest sinne lay in my blood,
Now my blood, paies for it.

(240-41, V, vi)

In Act I, we disgust Vittoria due to her illegal bed with the Duke of Brachiano. Her mother, Cornelia, foresees :

now I find our house
Sinking to ruine. Earth-quakes leave
behind,
Where they have tyrannised, iron, or lead,
or stone,
But woe to ruine, violent lust leaves none.

(207-10, I, ii)

It is poetry, Cornelia does not understand the cause and origin of the violent lust, and for that she makes her son, Flameneo

responsible. She calls him a pander.

Cornelia does not realizes her own mistake that she is herself responsible for that violent lust. She has married her most beautiful daughter with Camillo who is the nephew of Monticelso. Camillo is a man of age. So, he could not satisfy... .. He tells his weakness to Flameneo (50-122, I, ii) who is his brother-in-law.

FRAN: Have you any children ?

CAM.: None my lord.

(228-29, II, i)

He has no strength in him. So he is a cuckold. Camillo, being an aged man, is so much passionate that he opens his heart to Flameneo who is not less cunning than Webster and myself to understand the human nature. It was the hope of Camillo that Flameneo would help him in getting her in bed.

Camillo proves an unsuitable match for her. Her mother could not marry her with a young man of rich family due to poverty. Cornelia had not enough money for dowry. If she were married with a young of rich family, she would not have preferred the bed of Brachiano. If I consider Flameneo as a pander, I do not agree with Dr. F. L. Lucas who considers him that he is a Machiavellian. Machiavelli does not advocate that a man or woman should prostitute his or her family's honour. Flameneo asks his master, Brachiano, to pursue his sister because he has learned that Camillo who is his brother-in-law, is not a man of strength

For that his mother denounces him. Flameneo questions his mother:

I would faine know where lies the
masse of wealth

Which you have whoorded for my
maintenace,
That I may beare my beard out of
levell

Of my Lords Stirop.

COR.: What ? because we are poore,
Shall we vitious ?

(304-8, I, ii)

Flameneo, when he aspires to a would-be man of dignity and wealth, is a true disciple of Machiavelli (340-48, I, ii). Webster was also interested in Flameneo as he was interested in Vittoria. The character of Vittoria is more admirable than the character of Flameneo who is her brother. Webster had seen justice in the villainy of Flameneo because his actions whether they are inhuman or mischievous are responsible for tragedy in *The White Devil*.

Swinburne examines the tragedy of *The White Devil* but at the time of examining he makes his own judgement that Cornelia is an up right woman. But she is not an right woman (227-338, I, ii). She is a semi-conservative lady. Swinburne is fascinated by the flashes of her poetry. Her mourning speech (29-31, V, iii) on the death of her son Marcello who is murdered by his own brother Flameneo, echoes Lear's speech (266-38, V, iii) on the death of his beloved and youngest daughter Cordelia. The character of Marcello comes near to be character of Cordelia. He supported his mother and he was not in favour that his brother should marry

himself with a moorish lady, Zanche. and he was also not cunning like his elder sister and brother. If he were cunning, there would have no chance to meet an untimely death.

The most inhuman deeds are done in Act II, even there is no climax of the tragedy, but the climax is in Act III, when Vittoria's trial opens. In Act II, the husband of Vittoria, Camillo and the duchess of Brachiano, Isabella, are slaughtered by an easy way. So their death may be known as they died natural death. It is not known in public how they had died ! The cause of their murder is on y to avoid the hinderance in the easy going love affairs between Brachiano and Vittoria. She has already disappeared totally in the Act II. Webster did not involve her in crimes like Lady Macbeth. He did not want to spoil her chastity. Webster had shown us his greatest skill in drawing the character of Vittoria with the utmost care. I think that even Shakespeare and his contemporaries could not surpass him because he was highly an intellectualized dramatist and poet. The welling up emotions were controlled by him through his intellect. Where he failed to control his emotions he became confused.

The charge which is brought against Vittoria, is pre-planned by Francisco and Monticelso (3-9, III, i). Francisco wants to take revenge on the death of his sister, Isabella. Neither Francisco nor Monticelso, even, could frame any false charge against Brachiano for his execution, so, they brought the charge against Vittoria. If she were a daughter or a wife of the Duke or a Senator, none would

have been able to frame any sort of charge against her. The men of wealth were at liberty and were free to do whatever they liked. But the relations between Brachian and Vittoria have been public.

Act III is the greatest achievement of Webster in the whole tragedy, as I have judged it. In scene i of the Act III, Vittoria enters for her trial as she has been summoned for. She does not know what sort of charge is against her? She is an innocent lady. A large crowd of spectators enters the hall in which her trial shall be held. Francisco, the *six leiger* Ambassadors, Brachiano, Flamineo and Marcello are also present there. While Monticelo is on chair of the Justice. When her trial begins, she becomes nervous. She fails to understand the Latin language, even though she knows it well. Francisco tells her that Lawyer pleads against her. She requests that Lawyer should speak his usual tongue so that it is audible to all in the hall. She wants that nobody may learn of her nervousness. Even, she does not lose her reason and senses; because she touches the personality of the dramatist himself.

Cardinal Monticelso who has sold himself in the hands of the Duke of Rome, Francisco, brother of deceased Isabell, is sitting on the alter of Justice. He is in the service of the Duke of Rome. Being a Cardinal, he is afraid that if he shall not favour his master, then he shall be terminated from his services. May I ask that such persons—like the Duke and Cardinal—are venerated for occupying the chairs in the halls of JUSTICE?

Vittoria goes to the hall of Justice in an aristocratic dress. Lawyer who pleads against her, is more harsh in his word :

Exorbitant sinnes must have exulcerantion.
VIT ; Surely my Lords this lawyer here hath

swallowed
Some Poticaryes bills, or proclamations.
And now the hard and undegestable
wordes,
Come up like stones wee use give Haukes
for phisicke.
Why this is Welch to Lattin.

(37-42 III, ii)

Lawyer is himself as corrupt as the Cardinal is. By his harsh and undigestable words, he wants to excite her. She does not lose her courage and temper but she remains bold because she is not a criminal in any way. Monticelso's harsh and undigestable words insult her when he speaks to her. She can not tolerate her insult in front of the audience, so, she replies him in bold words :

Vit. : O you mistake.

You raise a blood as noble in this cheek
As ever was your mothers.

(56-58, III, ii)

She boldly proves herself in front of the that she is a chaste like his mother. In her chastity, there is no doubt. The reverend Cardinal addresses the present audience that her language instructs her trade. He means to say that she is a 'whore'. He blames her character (82-100, II, ii). I do not observe her character as evil as it is in the verdict of the Cardinal.

She remains firm in her trial because she is not a lady of guilty conscience. Webster had experienced that an honest person could suffer but could not yield to the mortal sufferings. As soon as the lawyer disappears, the Cardinal simultaneously pleads against her as the lawyer was pleading. He wants to please Francisco by means of flattery. Brachiano who reaches Court to rescue his beloved Vittoria, is a man of cunning nature. His silence break when the Cardinal wants to learn who is responsible for the murder of Camillo? He tells the Cardinal that he is a sympathizer for widows and orphans. Hence, he has come to rescue her because her husband was indebted to him. Monticelso admits that her husband was indebted to him (163, III, ii). He has come to rescue her only because lust has tempted him. He has lost all his wealth in her love. Brachiano leaves the hall in anger exposing unworthy deeds of the Cardinal and threatening him.

Monticelso wants to insult her because he wants to win the favour of the Duke of Rome. He asks her "your Champions gone". She is too much gifted that she shuts his mouth up by her sharp answer :

Vit. : The wolfe may prey the better.

(188, III, ii)

Cardinal means to say that there is nobody to help her now. She can alone defend herself when Monticelso and Francisco fail in searching out the culprit. Francisco asks the Cardinal to descend to the matter of incontinence. There is no justice being done with her. Monticelso could not produce the letter in presence of Brachiano who is the Duke of Padua, because the priest was terrified

with him. The Cardinal has not the morals of a priest.

He produces the letter and reads it in presence of audience :

Wherein 'twas plotted, (he) and you
should meete,

At an Appoticaries summer-house,

Downe by the river Tiber : view't my

Lords :

Where after wanton bathing and the heat

Of a lascivious banquet—I pray read it,

I shame to speak the rest.

(201-6, III ii)

Webster leaves the audience and the readers in curiosity and to learn themselves. I think there might be the words in the letter which may be shameful words, so, the Cardinal feels himself shame to read the rest letter. She admits that she was tempted by the hot lust but she defends herself that it was not her mistake. She does not lose the balance of her mind at the time of defending herself. Her later speeches are furious. The main cause of her boldness in the Court is that there is no justice being done to her. The Cardinal has become so cruel that he knocks down her prayer for charity (221-24, III, ii).

Her nature at once becomes revolutionary and her boldness is for the revolution against injustice. I think, if there were justice with her in the trial, she would not have been bold. She admits the facts which were true. The cruel and inhuman priest, Monticelso, draws the curtain giving his judgement that she came from thence a most notorious strumpet, so she has continued (252-53, III, ii). He orders

that she shall be prisoned in a *house of convertites*.

VIT. : A rape, a rape :

MON. : How?

VIT. : Yes you have ravisht justice,

Fore't her to do your pleasure.

(85-88, III, ii)

The last speech of Vittoria (248-49, V, vi) when she dies, is that of a philosopher.

Dr. F.L. Lucas compares Vittoria and Isabella with the two characters of Shakespeare, Cleopatra, and Octavia. Brachiano goes to meet Vittoria in the house of convertites where she is imprisoned.

He addresses her there as an 'advanced whore' in the presence of her brother Flamineo. She atonce flares up at him and rejects his love making him responsible for staining her honour and fame in society (109-29, IV, ii). And she also abuses her brother that he is a pander. This speech of Vittoria revives Brachiano's lost interest in her. Cleopatra also adopts the same policy to overcome Antony again (13-18, I, ii, "A & C"). It is the natural quality and characteristic of female character. Her character is superior to the character of Cleopatra, because she is not a courtesan, as I have examined her thoroughly.

While Isabella is an ignorant lady in regard of the passionate love of a priest Lodovico. His love is not mean as that of Brachiano. Lodovico is the worshipper of female beauty like Dante and Shelley. Her murder excites him and he determines to take revenge on. The secret of the murder of Isabella and Camillo is told by Zanche to disguised Francisco for gratifying her senses with him. She is as lustful as Putana of Ford. Putana tells the secret

of Annabella's pregnancy to Vasque.

If I compare the character of Isabella with the character of Octavia, I do not observe too much similarity between the two, as it is established by Dr. F.L. Lucas. I can compare Portia with Isabella. Isabella's sufferings make one think when her son Giovanni, narrates her sufferings to his uncle Francisco :

For I have knowne her wake an hundreth
nights,
When all the pillow, where she laid her
head,
Was brine-wet with teares.

(339-41, III, ii)

Her devotion to her husband is matchless. The ghost of Isabella excites Francisco as the ghost of Hamlet's father drives the young Hamlet to take revenge on. Brachiano's ghost also excites Flamineo and he reaches Vittoria for murdering her. The importance of these ghosts are not less than the importance of the ghost of Hamlet's father in the tragedy of HAMLET.

Vittoria escaped from the house of convertites because there was the troubled time. She was helped in running away from the prison house by her brother Flamineo and her paramour Brachiano. If she had not escaped from the imprisonment, the play would not have taken the place of tragedy. Webster had not observed human nature as he deemed, but he had hope that human nature might be reformed. It was his belief as it was the belief of Machiavelli that after disorder there should be order. So, he watched the end of the tragedy in catastrophe with an optimistic future. Before the falling curtain, there is murder after murder because one takes the revenge on the other and so on.

EDUCATION AND FINANCE

TRIBHUVAN CHATURVEDI

The Report of the Education Commission seeks to serve as a guide line for the improvement of education in India during the next 20 years. In the very first chapter, the report sets forth the objectives of education, which are : (1) to relate education to productivity ; (2) to achieve social and national integration ; (3) to strengthen democracy ; (4) to accelerate the progress of modernisation and (5) to cultivate social, moral and spiritual values. The report has sought to describe the characteristics of a system of education which will achieve these aims. To meet the financial requirements of such a system, the Commission has envisaged an expenditure of over Rs. 4036 crores by 1985-86. The twenty year programme includes among other things, increased salaries for teachers at all levels, expanding educational facilities and qualitative improvement of education.

Modern economy is the function of so many complex variables, an integrated system of education being one of them. Education, including Primary, Secondary and University, has an important impact on the economic development and progress of country ; on the other hand, the state of economy also has its bearing on the condition of education in that area. The problem before our country is that we want to have more and better education to develop our economies, but the state of our economy is not conducive to implementation of a big educa-

tional programme. Many a ship of educational reform in our country has already foundered on the hard rock of financial inadequacy. The fear is not baseless, as the outlay proposed by the Education Commission appears to be unattainable in view of the present rate of growth of our economy.

The Commission considers that if education is to develop in our country, the educational expenditure in the next few years should rise from Rs. 12.1 per capita in 55-56 to Rs. 54 per capita in 1985-86 (at constant prices). It means that there should be more than four fold increase in the per capita expenditure on education after twenty years, which means that its percentage to national income should rise from 2.9 to 6. In absolute terms, the expenditure on education will rise from Rs. 144 crores in 50-51 to Rs. 40,36 crores in the year 1985-86. The following table gives an idea of a few financial variables involved in the Commission's recommendations :

Table showing expenditure on Education in India

Year	Exp. in crores of Rs.	Percentage of National Income	Indices of growth
1950-51	144	1.2 ^a	100 ^b
1955-56	190	1.9	140
1960-61	344	2.4	246
1965-66	600	2.9	417
1975-76	1556 ^c	4.2	1080
1985-86	4036	6.0	2803

(a) Figures given in the Report—Chapter on Educational Finance

(b) Calculated, taking 1950-51 as base year

(c) As proposed by the Commission.

It is clear from the above Table, that the educational expenditure during these fifteen years has increased $4\frac{1}{2}$ times absolutely and $2\frac{1}{2}$ times in proportion to the growth of national income. If all the recommendations of the Commission are implemented, it is expected that the present expenditure will rise to 15,56 crores in 1975-76 and to Rs. 40,36 crores in 1985-86. With 100 as index for 1950-51, it will rise to Rs. 1080 at the end of the first ten years and to 2803 at the end of the second period. The estimates are made at constant prices, and if the present inflationary trend continues, the increase in the total outlay may be more than what is contemplated. The Commission has obtained these figures by a double projection. National income is assumed to increase at 6 per cent and educational expenditure by 10 per cent per annum. Any change in these projections may again change the magnitude of these variables.

The mobilisation of such a magnitude of resources for education appears to be a difficult task, considering present rate of growth of our economy. The Commission has assumed that in the coming years national income will increase at the rate of 6 per cent per annum and it will be possible to spend 6 per cent of it on education. But national income has grown during the Third Five Year Plan at 4 per cent per annum and there are little prospects of increasing the percentage of educational expenditure from 2.9 to 6 per cent of national income also.

National income flows into education through Government budgets or through the funds of Local Bodies. The share of Government funds was 54.1% in 1950-51 and 71.2% in 1965-66. Now the Commission considers "that the funds of the Central and State Governments would have to bear about 90 per cent of the total expenditure". It means that, if 6 per cent of national income is to flow into education, 5.4 per cent out of it has to come from Central and State budgets. In the federal system of finance, the major part of this expenditure, say 4 per cent, may fall on the State budgets, as the Centre is mainly responsible for scientific research and partly University education; and, therefore, looking to the pattern of expenditure by the Central Government on education, it is likely that no more than 1.4 per cent of national income will flow out of the Central budget. Assuming that the State budgets get 8% of national income by that time out of which 4% will have to be devoted to education, it means that 50 per cent of State budgets will be spent on education. Such spending seems to be very difficult looking to the pattern of expenditure of the States in India.

A little deeper analysis may reveal that States in our country were spending not more than 20 per cent of their budgets on education even in 1965-66; the relevant figure in 1951-52 was 14.7 per cent. The rate of increase of expenditure on education over last 15 years has been $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year. At this rate of increase only 30% of State budgets will be devoted to education. Suppose, State Governments decide to increase this rate to 1 per cent per year, still only 40 per cent of

the State budgets will be spent on education in 1985-86. It will be a tremendous effort and State Governments may find it very difficult to face legislatures with such budgets. Moreover, for States like Bihar and U. P., spending Rs. 3.9 and Rs. 5.6 per capita respectively on education, the target of Rs. 54 per capita in twenty years, is admittedly very difficult to achieve.

The Dilemma

The country is now face to face with a dilemma; she wants to have more and better schools and colleges to improve her economy, but finds it difficult to divert more resources from other directly productive activities to education. That the Commission has not been able to find a solution to the problem within the limits of the field of education itself is evident from the report. The Commission has fixed most of the responsibility for the support of education on governmental funds, yet has cautioned against the total centralisation of all financial responsibility for education in the government and has recommended that the contributions should be raised from local communities, voluntary organisations and local authorities for this purpose. The Commission has also suggested to mobilize assistance of the local communities through the organisation of School Improvement Conferences for improving the physical facilities in the schools. Apart from this the State Governments are to meet most of the demands of Zila Parishads through grants in aid. These grants will cover hundred per cent of staff expenditure of schools and a fixed percentage of other expenses. The other expenses are to be met by Zila Parishads through levy on land revenue. By such steps, the Education Commission hopes to

raise more than Rs. 4000 crores to be spent on education by 1985-86.

The report suffers from other lacuna from financial point of view. Any scheme of educational reform requires that appropriateness of large or small investment should be specified for different situations at the time of formulation of such schemes, so that unnecessary wastage may be avoided. This is what exactly not being done. Secondly, if Governments are to be made responsible for provision of most of the funds for educational expansion in countryside, while the educational administration should lie in the hands of Zila Parishads, some sort of scheme of matching grants should be devised to link the amount of grants with the efforts made for the collection of funds by these bodies, and a scheme of strict supervision should also be devised to check the misappropriation of grants.

The Education Commission has made some very bold recommendations which may revolutionise the whole educational system on implementation, yet the funds required for successful implementation of these recommendations will be colossal. The Commission seems to believe that if the economist really sets his mind to it, the funds needed for a purpose so obviously essential as education can be easily found out. There may be some truth in this belief, but finances do not flow only through printing press. As it will be necessary to canalise more funds for educational development, identification and ascertainment of the sources of finance is necessary before launching such schemes. Education in our country is everybody's business, but unfortunately 'money' has become only Governments' business.

ORIGIN OF STATE : A BUDDHIST APPROACH

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

Regarding the origin of the State we have occasional speculations in the early Buddhist texts which aver that for a long time there prevailed a golden age of harmony and happiness in the earth and people led a happy and peaceful life to their innate virtuous disposition, though there existed no government for the maintenance of the laws of nature. In the Mahabharata also we find such a speculation on the origin of the State. Even Plato's "Republic" records idealisation of such a Golden Age. As regards the origin, establishment, and location of political authority, the Pali Canonical literature offers us a social-compact theory for society as well as a correlative governmental-contract theory for kingship.¹

It is recorded in the Dighanikaya, a Pali text, that there came a time when after the lapse of a long period, this world passed away. As this happened, beings had mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance and there they dwelt being made of mind, feeding on rapture, self-luminous and traversing the air, continuing in glory for a long time. Again there came a moment when sooner or later this world began to re-evolve and beings who had deceased from the World of Radiance, usually came to life as those who were made of mind,

feeding on rapture etc. and remained thus for a long period. Now at that time, all had become one world of water and of darkness. Neither Moon nor Sun appeared, neither stars nor constellations were seen, neither night nor day was manifest neither female nor male could be distinguished. Beings were reckoned just as beings only. And to those beings earth with its colour, savour and odour was spread out in the waters. Then a being of greedy disposition tasted the savoury earth with his finger. He, thus, tasting became suffused with the savour, and craving entered into him. Likewise other beings tasted the savoury earth with their fingers. They, thus, tasting, became also suffused with the savour and thirst appeared in them. So those beings began to feast on the savoury earth, breaking off lumps of it with their hands. And due to such deed their self-luminosity faded away and consequently the Moon, the Sun, the stars and constellations became visible. So the night, the day, months, half-months, the seasons and the years became manifest. Thereafter the world evolved again. Now those beings feasting on the savoury earth feeding on it, nourished by it, continued thus for a long-while and as a result

their bodies became solid and variety in their comeliness became apparent. Some beings were well favoured, some were ill favoured. The well-favoured persons began to look down upon with contempt the ill-favoured ones and thought that they were more comely than others. Thus while they became proud of their beauty, the savoury earth disappeared and so they gathered themselves together to bewail. Meanwhile, the outgrowths having colour, odour and taste appeared in the soil. The manner of the rising up thereof was as the springing up of the mushroom. Then those beings began to feast on these outgrowths and found food and nourishment in them. As a result their bodies grew ever more solid, and the difference in their comeliness became more manifest, some being well-favoured, some ill-favoured. Then those persons who were well favoured despised them who were ill-favoured and thought that they were more comely than the ill-favoured ones. And due to their pride these outgrowths of the soil disappeared. Thereupon creeping plants with colour and taste appeared like the bamboos. So those beings began to feast on the creepers and feeding on them, nourished by them for a long time, their bodies became more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness increased, so that, as before, the better favoured despised the worst favoured and consequently the creepers disappeared. At their disappearance the people lamented. But fragrant and clean rice appeared ripening in open space. In the evening they gathered and carried away the rice for

supper and to their surprise they found in the next morning that the rice grew again. Similarly in the morning they collected rice for breakfast and in the evening it again appeared. Then those beings feasted on this rice for a long period and their bodies became more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness became more pronounced. In the female appeared the distinctive features of the female, in the male those of the male. Then woman began to desire man too closely, and man woman. In their desire, passion arose and so they satisfied their lusts. And others seeing them so doing threw sand, ashes, cowdung at them. Now those beings who submitted to their lusts were not allowed to enter the village and town either for a whole month or even for two months. They at that time quickly incurred blame for immorality and so engaged themselves in building huts to conceal that immorality. So some lazy fellows gradually thought of collecting enough rice at one journey for both supper and breakfast. Following them others also considered in like manner and began to fetch and store rice for even two or four or eight days. Now as those beings began to feed on hoarded rice, powder enveloped the clean grain, and husk enveloped the grain, and the reaped or cut stems did not grow again; a break became visible; the rice-stubble stood in clumps. Those beings, therefore, gathered themselves and bewailed for such a misfortune. They gradually began to divide off the rice-fields and set boundaries there to. Again a certain person of greedy disposition watching over his own plot, stole

another plot and made use of it. Other persons seized and punished him for such an offence. He did so even for a second or third time. So they again took him and admonished him. Some smote him with the hand, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning stealing appeared and censure, lying and punishment became known. Now these beings again gathered themselves together and uttered grief in outcries saying: "From our evil deeds, sirs, stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known. What if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful. When indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished? But we will give him in return a proportion of rice." Then those beings went to a person among them, who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable and said to him: "Come now, good being, be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will offer you a proportion of our rice. And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice. Chosen by people is what is meant by *Maha Sammata*; so *Maha Sammata* (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase attributed to that worthiest person.

We have traced in the foregoing pages the origin of society, kingship and state according to the Buddhist tradition. While comparing such a tradition regarding the emergence of the idea of state we shall find that it had some parallels with the similar theories advanced by the western scholars

like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. We shall now try to make a comparative study of some such theories with the Buddhist one.

The episode of *Mahasammata* presents one of the world's earliest versions of the widespread contractual theory of the State, which in Europe is especially linked up with the names of Locke and Rousseau. It emphasises that the main purpose of Government is to maintain order, and that the king, as the head of the government, is the first social servant, and ultimately dependent on the will of the people of the country. So on the question of the origin of State two points are evident in Buddhist texts, namely, the mystical and the contractual, often rather incongruously combined. These texts relate, as we have already observed, that in the distant past there was a golden age when men lived in virtue and happiness. But somehow there was a fall from such an ideal life and people being disappointed by anarchy and chaos asked a wise and virtuous person to be their king for a portion of rice in lieu of his services. Thus, according to the Buddhist tradition, government came into existence as a result of some implied contract between the community and its worthiest member. The main difference between the thinking of the Buddhists and that of the western scholars lies in the fact that the westerners looked at the problem of the origin of State purely from a secular stand point, whereas the Buddhists maintained a religious outlook. That is why the western theories were greatly influenced by the people's struggle against autocracy which was then in vogue. The western

cholars endeavoured to define the power of the sovereign and introduce certain conditions under which people would pay their obedience to him. But the early Buddhists, as they did not live in an age of rationalism like Locke and Rousseau, thought of the question mainly from a religious point of view. That is why they did not feel any urge to go through the fundamentals of the problem and thought only that people used to offer obedience and taxation in return for the protection and services they expected from the king. If the king would fail in his duties, they allowed the people to remove the king, and even to kill him. So the Buddhist theory of origin of State and social institutions being different from other similar theories occupies a distinctive place in the history of ancient Indian political thought.² It justifies by a reference to historical processes the necessity of the king's office in the interest of private property in particular and the public order in general. Again the theory imposes upon the ruler the obligation of punishing wrong-doers in return for payment of the customary dues by the people. In both the Buddhist and western theories, there is mentioned an inconvenient stage of society preceeding the rule of either a leader or a king. And in both protection followed the establishment of government. The Buddhist version would make the condition of the society as one of evil. Accordingly it partially approaches the nature of society as envisaged by Hobbes, but it is unlike the one described by Locke and Rousseau. Thus to Hobbes the state of nature was one of war and aggression because men were brutal and selfish,³ to Locke it was

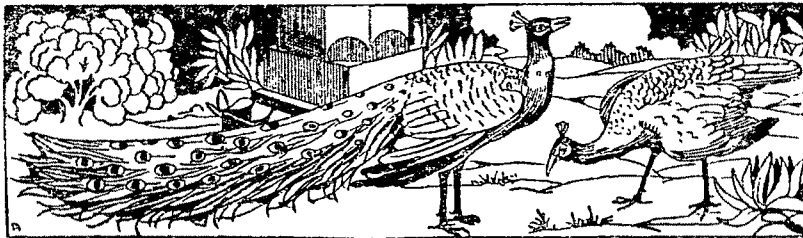
one of equity and freedom, as men were peaceable and sociable, but to Rousseau it was one of idyllic happiness, because human beings became perfect. From the Buddhist version it is not evident as to who abandoned the state of nature—whether the people of their own accord gave up the anarchical state of nature or whether they were made to abandon it. We find that while Hobbes expanded the notion of agreement by saying that absolute power was irrevocably transferred to the ruler, the Buddhist theory maintains that the king's power was limited and the king appeared as merely a public servant though of the highest order. "A theory like this, sanctifying not merely the state and institution of kingship, but also the reciprocal duties of the sovereign and subject," was "accepted by the leading political writers and renowned statemen"⁴. So the Buddhist tradition presents a contrast to the western as regards the abandonment of the state of nature by mankind. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau shared the same opinion, namely that it was human beings themselves who decided to surrender their rights to a common authority. On the other hand in the early Buddhist texts there is no indication of men's surrendering their rights to a ruler. We have also found in the Pali literature that the state was originally the result of divine action, while as per the western thought it was the result of deliberate human action. Further in the Buddhist literature we observe that the people agreed to obey the king, there being no indication whether such submission on their part was the result of their decision to disown their inherent rights, while in the western theory we find that the

people agreed among themselves to surrender their rights either to the absolute ruler, as stated by Hobbes, or to the ruler with limited powers, as thought by Locke, or to the representative government, as considered by Rousseau. Again in the Pali texts is not found any mention of the political rights of the people at any stage. Only there is a reference to the protection which was to be given by the king to the people; but in the western theory, the main emphasis is laid on the political rights without which the state is meaningless. So the Buddhist theory of the origin of the state contains a pale resemblance to only some of the points in the

theory of social contract as expounded in the West.⁵

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THE SCHISM IN WORLD COMMUNISM

T. K. R. PANIKKAR

The ideological rift that has developed between the two great giants of world communism, Soviet Russia and the Peoples' Republic of China, has proved to be indeed a subject of much interesting study in recent times. For some world opinion declined to recognise the Sino-Soviet schism as a serious one and inclined to dismiss it as a "family quarrel". But to day the antagonistic arguments of both sides have reached the surface, that any serious study of present-day communism would be regarded as incomplete without them. The Sino-Soviet ideological differences have been considerably increased in the recent past, and are now spreading to other communist parties of the world. The world communism as a "monolithic" organisation has come to a break-up. Before the emergence of Red China the Soviet Union was the main preceptor and heart of the communist world and the communist satellite countries were merely "microcosms" of the Soviet Union. It was believed that the advent of Red China would add to the strength of the Communist bloc. But today the irreconcilable ideological differences between Moscow and Peking keep them in a position of logger-heads.

THE GENESIS

Even before the emergence of Red China, the Soviet Union had suffered a grievous loss in the defection of Yugoslavia in 1948. Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform.

The condemnation of Tito and his party caused a stir for which we have to go back to the excommunication of Luther to find a parallel. The Soviet Union wanted Tito to follow "the Russian way" in building Socialism, and the main charge of Moscow against Tito was that he had opposed this. The ideological charges brought against him were merely flimsy. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was a powerful organisation unlike that of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Yugoslavia-revolution was of the making of Tito himself. He had quarrelled because the Yugoslav Revolution had been a national affair, owing nothing to direct Soviet Aid. The Soviet Union had suspected Tito of Nationalism, and it was a surprise for Stalin that the Yugoslav Communists were ready to answer him back and not prepared to submit to the Russian overlords. This was the position of international communism in 1948.

The nature of the Sino-Soviet conflict, its depth and bitterness can be properly understood if we try to understand the nature of the Chinese revolution and the Soviet attitude towards it during the early stages. Stalin had advised the Chinese Communist party in 1945 to co-operate with Chiang Kaishek and participate in a nationalist Government and the Soviet Union had recognised Chiang Kaishek as its ally. In spite of

this, Mao Tse-tung was determined to wage a war against the Kuomintang and in this he succeeded. It seems that Stalin was not optimistic about a Communist victory in China. In theory it is right and proper that backward countries should throw-off the imperialist yoke and set up communist regimes. Yet it is doubtful whether Moscow has ever desired a revolution to succeed which it does not control and a vast country with a population of more than twice that of Soviet Union should become communist almost overnight.¹ But when the revolution succeeded in China, Stalin lost no time to hail it as a world shattering event and the great victory of the toiling masses in the East against imperialism, and welcomed Red China into the Communist bloc. But China was not treated as a part of the communist International. The Chinese revolution was mainly carried by peasants unlike the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia which was proletarian in nature. Though Mao was convinced that the orthodox Marxist Leninist doctrines needed some modifications so as to apply to Chinese conditions, he did not challenge them in the beginning and kept up appearances. Mao knew that the Chinese Communists were desperately in need of Russian help. But from the very beginning the Chinese had regarded Mao as an independent theorist and "Mao's Road" to communism had already come to stay.

But when Stalin was alive, the communist parties of the world were kept in apron strings to Moscow. Stalin was looked upon as the "Sun of the Communist world", the omnipotent and the omniscient. Though the differences existed inside the communist

bloc, they were not allowed to express themselves.

THE CAUSES AND THE ISSUES

The difference between the two great communist powers are not merely ideological. The basic difference which underlies arises from the Chinese rejection of the pretensions of Moscow as the communist Rome and the corollary of this, the subservience of a great Asian power to a great European Power.

THE CULT OF PERSONALITY

The trouble seemed to have really started with the 20th Party Congress in 1956 at which Khrushchev made his "Secret Speech" denouncing Stalin and the "personality cult". Khrushchev embarked on the dangerous path of "de-Stalinisation" which delineated Stalin as one who had committed fearful mistakes, and unpardonable crimes. While condemning his late master he so contrived things that some of the mud he threw at Stalin splashed his own dangerous rivals. The Chinese came out vociferously in support of Stalinism. Mao and the Chinese Communists were very much irritated and critical of the extent and the manner of de-stalinisation preached by Khrushchev. In fact the Chinese themselves were developing the "Mao-Cult" which considered Mao as a guiding star and "Cloud born deity", the "father figure", far seeing and wise and they were ready to resist any form of words critical of the personality cult. The Chinese were anxious to demonstrate to Khrushchev that he was of a lesser calibre than Stalin, and that they were not ready to recognise him as the undisputed leader of world commu-

ism. The Chinese communist still defend the memory of Stalin who unified and disciplined world communist movement.

In fact Khrushchev in 1956 embarked on the policy of de-stalinisation primarily for internal reasons. It was for adapting the policy of the communist party of the Soviet Union to the needs of the new industrialised Soviet Society. He quickly found that the bureaucrats trained by Stalin could not be induced to change their methods unless the legend of Stalin's infallibility was destroyed first.

WAR AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The Chinese accused Khrushchev of "revisionism" and the betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Russians, on the other hand, accused Chinese communists of "dogmatism". Khrushchev did say that Lenin's teachings were not to be regarded as a sacred text applicable to all conditions, regardless of the changing times. In a world which was undergoing bewildering changes in the technological, Social and Political spheres the teachings of Lenin were to be adapted to the new conditions. Those who are ignorant of these facts were merely parroting the texts without real understanding and deserved to be branded as "dogmatist". Khrushchev attacked Mao as one who was oblivious of any interests other than his own, spinning theories detached from the modern world. This was the line of Khrushchev's attack on Mao, who claims to be an "Asian Karl Marx" and the true heir of Marxism—Leninism in the World.

Lenin believed that war is inevitable under capitalism. His thesis is that imperialism is the highest stage of Capitalism and the capitalist countries would fight among

themselves for markets and colonies. Lenin formulated his theory that the path to world revolution must be through a series of bloody conflicts. Mao Tse-tung and his comrades believe in this orthodox Leninist doctrine of war as "the fatalistically inevitable" thing and the path of bloody uninterrupted revolution to the establishment of global communism. But this orthodox Leninist Canon was amended by Khrushchev and the new Soviet theses are the non-inevitability of war, revolution without violence and different roads to socialism. Khrushchev knew that it would be sheer madness to preach war in a nuclear age. Triggering off a nuclear war would be equally destructive to the oppressed and the oppressors, to the proletariat, as well as the bourgeoisie. In 1959 while speaking to a group of American State Governors Khrushchev made his position clear :

"Our country and the United States are the two most mighty powers in the world. If other countries fight among themselves they can be separated ; but if war breaks out between America and our Country no one will be able to stop it. It will be a catastrophe on a colossal scale."

The Soviet Union has been trying to improve the material conditions of its people. This would be possible only in an atmosphere of peace and security, Khrushchev believed that war would not further the cause of the revolution but would cripple it. Who will survive a nuclear war ? A thermo-nuclear war will annihilate and reduce the world to an atomic desert. The Chinese on the other hand believe in militant communism and inevitability of war and bloody revolution. They believe that those who are opposed to war are opposed to wars of liberation.

Khrushchev was alleged of cowardice and capitulation in the Cuban crisis in 1962. Soviet withdrawal from Cuba, as the Chinese characterise it was due to Khrushchev's fear of imperialism which is mere 'paper-tiger' for China. The Chinese believe that as long as capitalism exists there will be the real danger of a major war and the communists must not flinch from it. They say that war is necessary for the complete destruction of capitalism and only on the ruins of capitalism, the communists can build a bright future. The policy of communism vis-a-vis imperialism should be of "spear point against spear point". It was really Khrushchev's genuine desire for international peace that averted the calamity of a nuclear war in Cuba.

The Russians proved themselves as more sober-minded than the Chinese communists. It is true enough that the Chinese do not appear to have grasped the full implications of nuclear warfare. It is true that they have boasted that if 300 million Chinese were killed there would still be 300 million left to enjoy the triumph of communism.

Khrushchev's pragmatic thesis that in certain countries communism would be achieved through peaceful, or parliamentary means was also the target of Chinese attack.

Soviet Union's realistic and sober approach to peaceful co-existence between different social systems and its policy of increasing rapprochement with western democracies, was also the subject of scurrilous criticism by the Chinese. The Soviet press accused Chinese as doctrinaires, who fail to understand the significance of peaceful co-existence in the changed circumstances. Those who argue that co-existence could disarm the peoples

ideologically and demobilize them are guilty of misleading certain parties. They can only drag these parties to sectarianism and dogmatism". The Russians made it clear that they have always stood on the side of the working classes in their struggle against their oppressors. They will never interfere in the internal affairs of other states. They have made it clear that they did not at any time advocate co-existence of opposing classes.

The Chinese only nominally support peaceful co-existence, but at the same time they say that war is inevitable. In the Red-Flag, China had said that it was only the 'Imperialist general staff' which could decide about war and peace and that communists had no say in the matter. There are only two possible ways—war or peace. There is no third way. The Chinese maintain an intransigent and aggressive attitude towards capitalist countries. The Soviet Union can not allow the capitalists to destroy humanity. Peaceful co-existence allows the communists in capitalists lands to fight at the head of the masses for their liberation. The Russians believe that alternative to peaceful co-existence is co-destruction. It should not be forgotten that China also had been a pioneer in the principles of co-existence in Asia for several years (e.g. the Panchshila agreement with India in 1954 which adumbrated the five principles of peaceful co-existence) and in 1957 Mao had permitted intellectual criticism of his regime in the "Let the Hundred Flowers blossom campaign. But later on China abandoned these doctrines of peaceful co-existence and liberalisation,

DISARMAMENT

The Chinese are opposed to disarmament and they argue that the call to disarmament creates mere "illusions" among the masses. They failed to understand the real meaning of the Soviet proposals. This was that by concentrating on disarmament, the creation of broad popular fronts and mass movements in favour of peace would be facilitated, thus embarrassing "bellicose circles" in their efforts to intensify the arms race. According to the Chinese it is needless to speak of disarmament in an age of imperialism. They believe that the socialist camp is superior in the development of weaponry. The launching of sputnik and the successful testing of the "inter-continental multi-stage ballistic missiles by Russia further encouraged Red China to urge Soviet Union to show the might of the socialist countries to the imperialists. An article in *World Culture* in 1957 runs thus

"The absolute superiority of the Soviet Union in intercontinental ballistic missiles has placed the striking capabilities of the United States in an inferior position. The Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles cannot only reach any military base in Central Europe, Asia or Africa, but they can also force the United States, for the first time in history, into a position from which neither escape nor the power to strike back is possible."

In spite of Soviet Union's consciousness of armament superiority, she pleads for disarmament in the world and consequently Russia has signed the partial test ban treaty. China, on the other hand, cold

-shouldered this and engages herself in the race for amassing more and more nuclear secrets in order to become a nuclear operative power in the coming years. The Chinese stand for the creation of constant tension in the world.

OTHER ISSUE

Apart from these differences there were other issues on which the relation between Soviet Union and Red China further attenuated. Soviet Union's rapprochement with Tito, its conspicuous neutrality in the Sino-Indian border dispute, Russia's criticism of the Chinese communes and the great leap forward, the "Hundred flowers" policy, Russia's refusal to give atomic weapons to China, the withdrawal of Russian aid etc., were issues which further deteriorated the Sino-Soviet relations. The Chinese had protested against Soviet Union's rapprochement with Tito, who had been earlier accused by Khrushchev himself as a "Trojan horse for the imperialists." The Chinese could not tolerate Soviet Union re-establishing a dialogue with the Yugoslavs whom the Chinese had condemned as "playing the inglorious role of provocateurs and interventionists in the counter revolutionary uprisings in Hungary". To them Tito was an imperialist of the deepest colour and Khrushchev's re-establishment of relations with him was a gross error. The Chinese also had attacked Soviet Union for her neutral attitude in the Sino-Indian conflict. The Soviet Union believed that, with her conflict with India, China had done untold harm to the cause of Socialism in India. Though Russia too had her frontier disputes, she approached these in a responsible way. Also the Russians did not agree with the Chinese

communes, nor with the great leap forward. In 1960 Khrushchev said that development of a country's economy had to be regular and not in leaps and bounds. Khrushchev threw his wet blanket over the whole enterprise. The communes went hand in hand with the great leap forward and its slogan "twenty years of progress concentrated in a single day". It was the Chinese answer to the Soviet line that no country could build communism until it had converted its collectives into state farms..... It was to show too that China could move an agrarian country into communism without waiting for the completion of her industrial revolution. But Khrushchev dismissed the Chinese claim as heretical.

COLD WAR DEVELOPS

In the beginning the Sino-Soviet attack was indirect. Mao was attacking Tito, the model he has chosen for Khrushchev and Khrushchev used Hoxa of Albania, the code word for his model of Mao. It was in the Bucharest conference of 1960 that Khrushchev openly attacked Mao by name. The Moscow Conference of November 1957 indeed marked the watershed of Sino-Soviet relations. The conference approved a declaration which called for a greater discipline over the satellite communist parties of the world. This was due to Russia's own experience out of the upheavals in Poland and Hungary in 1956. To adopt this line Khrushchev had maximum support of Mao Tse-tung. But the approach of both Khrushchev and Mao to the Moscow Declaration was entirely on different grounds. While Khrushchev viewed it as an instrument to strengthen his own authority over the communist world, Mao saw it as an instrument of revolutionary process. This

was the fundamental difference in their approach.

The Bucharest Conference of 1960 afforded another forum for the Chinese and the Russians to attack each other. The Chinese delegation to this conference was led by Peng Chen and Khrushchev himself headed the Moscow delegation. The letter circulated by the Russian delegation set out the charges against China. The Chinese realised for the first time the weight of opinion against them among the fraternal parties. As a counter-move Peng Chen had produced a document of his own which angered Khrushchev. There had been angry exchanges and the extreme personal animosity between Khrushchev and Mao had become no more a secret. Ever since that the Chinese and the Russian press started casting aspersions at each other. Attacks and counter-attack continued relentlessly. The Moscow Conference of 1960, in which 81 communist parties of the world participated, could not iron-out the Sino-Soviet ideological differences, and both Moscow and Peking were dragging on for a headlong collision. The split could not be hidden and it reached the climax. The Chinese claimed in 1963 that they were the true inheritors of Marxism-Leninism and that Russians were the "arch-revisionists". In 1963 the Chinese press published thus :

"A spectre is haunting the world—the spectre of genuine Marxism-Leninism and it threatens you. You have no faith in the people and the people have no faith in you....."

This was evidently meant for Khrushchev. Though Mao Tse-tung demanded an all party conference to thrash out all diffe-

rences of opinion, Khrushchev only favoured bilateral talks between Soviet Union and China. He knew that he had lost much prestige among the fraternal parties after the Cuban Crisis in 1962 and that China had made many converts.

The Sino-Soviet rift has really shattered the myth of international communism. Since 1958 differences appeared among the Indian Communists who are today sharply divided as Rightists and Leftists—the first accepting the Russian path and the second the Chinese line of revolution. It is clear by now that what confronts us is very far from being a straightforward doctrinal dispute between the present leaders of the two most powerful communist states..... It is nothing less than a complex, perhaps cataclysmic, process of fission within the communist movement as a whole.

It was thought that with the deposition of Mr. Khrushchev, the Sino-Soviet relation might improve. But subsequent developments show that no sincere steps were taken to compose the ideological differences between them. In fact the Sino-Soviet differences assumed new dimensions. There seems to be no abating of their race for

ascendancy in the communist world. China today wants to go it alone. The Soviet technicians were already called back from China. China wants to become a nuclear power. What is the real intension behind it? Soviet Union refused to give her nuclear weapons because Russia knew that China would use them recklessly. By becoming a nuclear power China not only wants to out-strip America, but more than this, she wants to steal a march over Soviet Union in the possession of nuclear arms. When China becomes a nuclear power and free from the dependable existence on Soviet Union, she is likely to become more bellicose and intransigent towards Soviet-Union.

Anyway it would be too early to speculate that both China and Soviet Union will embark on a nuclear war to settle their differences. But at the same time intensified border disputes between them in future, can not be completely ruled out "so long as the ostensible issues at stake are not settled. World communism today bears gloomy forebodings and presents the spectacle of a house divided against itself. Instead of capitalism fighting communism, communism will fight communism for the survival of the strongest communist party in the world.



SOCIOLOGY AND THE INDIAN STUDENT

Dr. JOHN E. OWEN

Sociology as the study of man in his world of group relationships, the analysis of human culture and its problems, is the most recent of the humanistic disciplines. What can it offer to university and college students? Apart from serving as a preparation for careers in social welfare work, teaching, law and the civil service, sociology can be of educational value in at least two ways, namely, in furnishing an area of knowledge about society and an approach or method of looking at society.

Sociology embraces many areas of study, and at several points touches upon the subject-matter of the other social sciences, since the lines between them exist as much in the human mind as in the data. These divisions may be a necessary part of scholarship but they are essentially artificial. Whereas narrow specialties present only a partial treatment of man's life with his fellows, sociology seeks a synoptic view, a balanced presentation of all the factors that have made a culture or civilisation what it is. It unites with anthropology in giving basic facts on man as a physical being, his differences from the animals, and the rise of his culture. It also deals with several topics that the other social sciences do not normally cover or treat only incidentally, such as population, the role of tradition, society as an ongoing entity, and the definition of culture. Its field is defined as the network or tissue of human relationships, the content of these relationships in different cultures, and the

processes of interaction between individuals (co-operation, competition, conflict) and the assimilation of different ethnic groups. It considers the influence of tradition, public opinion, ideologies as social forces, class sentiments, group pride, national loyalties and other areas that it shares with social psychology. Another field of study is the role of institutions, their origin and growth and human influence.

Other realms of specific knowledge include the family and kinship relations in different cultures, the impact of society upon the growth of personality, the crime problem, racial types and race attitudes, class structure and status, comparative social systems, eugenics, the impact of technology upon urban life, heredity and environment, social mobility and the rate of social change.

Perhaps the most significant concept of sociology is that of *culture* or civilisation which is defined as the learned ways of living in a society, the sum total of human achievement, the working intellectual and psychic capital of a people, embracing their material achievements and industrial techniques, and the intangible area of learned attitudes, moral systems, religious beliefs, occupational roles, systems of knowledge inherited from the past and handed on to the next generation. Culture in this wider sense is seen as the source of human attitudes, values, and patterns of behaviour, and it is from the complexities and conflicts of various parts of a culture that most human prob-

blems arise. Culture as a way of life consists of the making of tools, institutions, and it is the term that unites sociology most closely with anthropology, its companion-science.

In all these areas India's scholars have made their own unique and distinctive contribution. Sociology had a late start in India, mainly on account of British influences upon higher education in the subcontinent, which at the time were not favourable to impartial analysis of social-political structure and group interaction. But as far back as the 1930s, when only one Chair of Sociology could be found in the entire United Kingdom (at the London School of Economics and Political Science, an institution for long friendly to India's independence), sociology was being taught in four Indian universities-Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow, and Mysore.

The University of Calcutta, largest institution of higher education in the entire world, has become a prime centre of anthropological research in the rural culture of eastern and central India, and for the study of changes in traditional culture of the subcontinent. It is well known for its studies of Bengal villages, research on acculturation, and problems of human genetics, and it is the centre for the Indian Anthropological Society. It is also closely associated with the journal, "Man in India."

Distinguished work has been performed in sociological research at Bombay, with over eighty Ph.D. theses completed in a wide range of scholarly fields including social theory, marriage and family life, Indian society and customs, criminology, rural welfare, industrial relations, and social-economic

surveys. With over thirty books published in sociology by the Bombay scholars, its Department of Sociology is probably the most active in all of Asia. The Indian Sociological Society, founded in 1951, comprises a noteworthy group of research specialists and scholars. Visiting professors from abroad have spoken in high praise of its attainments.

At Lucknow University, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee who has an international reputation as a brilliant scholar and thinker of the East is familiar with Western thought-styles. The range of his interests and learning is wellnigh encyclopedic, bridging the traditional gulfs between social science and philosophy, art and science, East and West. Dr. Mukherjee's efforts have also been oriented to practical social welfare achievements and his students have carried on this tradition.

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences and its well-known *Indian Journal of Social Work* are also worthy of note, as is the work in sociology at the University of Delhi. At Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, and Lucknow, as well at other Indian universities, sociology staffs are probably better trained than those of any other Asian country. Their background of study in Indian, European and American centres of learning is unexcelled. Unlike some of its close neighbouring countries, India has produced its own sociology texts, indigenous works that render her scholars less dependent on those of foreign cultures whose theories and data often bear little relevance to Indian patterns of culture. As a result of all these factors, confidence in the future of Indian sociology is amply justified.

Of sociology, Professor L. T. Hobhouse has said that here is a science in its infancy, but the mere attempt to look at society and its problems in the clear light of impartial inquiry represents an advance that is both intellectual and moral. The imparting of the scientific spirit and method, the attitude of mind that simply seeks to find the truth regarding societal phenomena, to see society and its working not as one might like to see it, but as it actually is, an educative process of significance. This type of training in seeking, organising, and interpreting facts is fundamental to any worthy education. It is a habit of mind that will serve the undergraduate well in whatever endeavour he may later undertake.

As training in the natural sciences functions to give students an inculcation of the careful analysis of data, so the social sciences seek too instill the habit of seeing society objectively, of distinguishing between established facts and mere speculative opinions. Sociology also enables the student to see society as a whole, as the vast result of historical, geographic, economic, and religious influences, of which all have combined to produce its present form and structure. And what an imposing vista is opened to the Indian student who looks into his country's vast and impressive past, a land where cultural roots are deep and many divergent peoples have converged to produce a civilisation of antiquity and magnificent tradition!

Sociology also helps the student to see the complexity of social relations, the myriad of inter-related elements and forces that underlie man's civilisation, as distinct from the layman's view that any problem or situation can be reduced to one or two "causes," and hence easily remedied. The scientific approach that tries to look for related causes and to weigh their influence, to assess the extent of a problem, and to ascertain what can actually be done, within the framework of current possibilities, is more likely to succeed.

Every Indian administration, community leader, or civil servant can gain practical benefit from the approach of the social sciences, a viewpoint that is distinguished from the lay or folk approach, one that gives student a freedom from parochialism or oversimplified explanations of complex social affairs. Sociology enables him to interpret behaviour more adequately in terms of normative expectations, cultural pressures, conflicts of roles, urban migration, social changes, and family conditioning. It makes it possible for him to look with new eyes upon his own society and the forces that have produced its present structure, and by research to provide a basis for community planning and reconstruction upon a groundwork of empirical facts.

In these and other ways, sociology in India has been making its own contribution to the education of Indian youth and the progress of their society.

Indian Periodicals

J Mohan, writing in the *Now* endeavours to analyse what in his views, would seem to be the real meaning of the recently whipped up Congress slogan that law and order has broken down in the State. He refers, in particular, to a long winded statement by Sri K. N. Das Gupta, leader of the Congress Opposition in West Bengal Vidhan Sabha and warns that if the Government of the day were to seriously concede any substance in these allegations, they might, with legitimate cause, take a page out of the records of doings of its predecessor Government and invoke such special powers as the latter did, which might be even less palatable to these carping critics of the present U. F. Government. Shri Mohan quite frankly and truthfully holds that "Anybody who has lived in this city for the last few years would have to admit that compared to what the state of affairs was under the Congress regime, West Bengal in the last few months has been a *haven of peace*. Says Shri Mohan :

The cry that law and order has broken down in West Bengal is frequently heard these days. It is pretty obvious that an attempt is being made to whip up a campaign on the basis of this slogan. The leader of the Opposition in West Bengal, Khagendranath Das Gupta, recently issued a long statement intended to prove this point. Representatives of some of the large business houses in the city appear to have grown quite hysterical over the issue,

the lead in the matter having been given by a business house which is itself currently facing charges in a court of violation of the laws of the land. News displays in some of the newspapers are calculated to create the same impression in the minds of the people and finally Mr Chavan's statements in Parliament and outside have come as ominous reminders of the fact that under the present Constitution State governments have to work with the Damocles sword of Central intervention suspended over their heads.

And yet what basis is there for the assertions being made from diverse quarters? There have been expressions of labour unrest, big and large peaceful, which in one or two cases have led to violent clashes and physical assaults. Communal clashes have occurred on two occasions and there has been a series of incidents in a small area of North Bengal that have resulted in the deaths of ten peasants and one police officer. It is certainly regrettable that such incidents should have taken place and all right thinking men will wish that they had not. But unfortunate as they may be, do they add up to what is known as a breakdown of law and order in the State? West Bengal has always been regarded as a problem State. Mr Nehru is believed to have remarked that Calcutta was a "nightmare" to him and he went on record to state that it was a city of processions. I do not have with me, at the moment, statistics of the number of occasions that the police opened fire and the death toll of these attempts to maintain "law and order", but anybody who has lived in this city for the last few years would have to admit that compared to what the state of affairs was under

the Congress regime, West Bengal in the last few months has been a haven of peace. The two major threats to this peace that developed were communal in character but if we compare the way they were tackled with the situation that developed in 1964, what a contrast is revealed ! In 1964 there was chaos for several days during which extensive looting, arson and killings took place, whole villages having been affected in certain districts and it was not before the Home Minister of the time, Mr Nanda, rushed to the State and asked the army to take over, that things quietened down. No public criticism of the State Government's handling of the situation was made by the Union Home Minister on the occasion,

Even if we consider the other forms of unrest, the labour and peasant discontent, we find that the approach of the United Front Government has helped to minimise the trouble. Admittedly, there have been excesses but would it have helped matters if, as in the past the police had been given a free hand to beat up the workers, resort to firing and if the use of the Defence of India Rules and the Preventive Detention Act had been illiberally made ? As one of the Ministers of the United Front Government pointed out, we have only to compare the situation that prevailed in West Bengal in February, March, April 1966 with the present state of affairs to understand how absurd this cry of breakdown of law and order is. That was a period when the administration had collapsed and the Government had let things drift to such a pass that normal life had become impossible. Had it not been for the belated realisation on the part of the Government that only the release of opposition leaders and their cooperation could bring about the restoration of normality, there is no doubt that the whole State would have been engulfed by the flames that were burning in parts of it.

Those who are carrying on this campaign should therefore pause and think for a moment of the possible consequences of their cry of breakdown of "law and order." If it leads, as it is intended to, to imposition of President's rule in the State, will the law and order situation improve ? Apart from the long-term implications of a step that, by removing a democratically elected Government from power destroys the faith of the people in the democratic processes provided by the present Constitution, is it not clear that the immediate consequence of such a move would be the repetition on a much bigger scale of the disturbances that shook the State in the early part of 1966 ?

Central leaders in New Delhi, furious at the loss of important parts of their Congress empire, will go on scheming for an ouster of the present Government regardless of the consequences. But those sections of the population which, at one time perhaps agreeable to take a stance of benevolent neutrality towards the Government, are now tending to turn hostile should consider seriously whether their interests lie in that direction. Even industrialists annoyed by the forms that labour unrest has taken in recent weeks would be well advised to think in terms of working out a *modus vivendi* with the present Government rather than adopt an attitude of uncompromising hostility.

While analysing the situation in West Bengal today the writer naturally underlines the increasing criticality of the food situation in the State. The crux of the problem is not so much in Central assistance and purchases elsewhere but in dehoarding the accumulated stocks of food grains with jotedars, mills and their benamidars (and there is no doubt that most jotedars are financed by mills and others) black marketeers

etc. Administrative incompetence and worse (there is reason to suspect large areas of administrative collusion with the operators for it should not be normally difficult to unearth and seize stocks, for food grains are not a commodity which can be stored in large values in small bulk easy to conceal like gold), and the dominance of the jotedars over the local village societies in the absence of effective peoples' organisations. Shri Mohan continues :

Procurement undoubtedly is not making satisfactory headway in the State. The target of 200,000 tons of rice is still a long way off with only about 77,000 tons having been procured so far. While the delay in starting the dehoarding drive might have something to do with the poor achievement so far, there are deeper causes operating which should not be lost sight of.

Whatever may have been the reasons for the initial hesitation, a whole month has elapsed since the Government launched its dehoarding drive. There was nothing to prevent the left parties from taking the initiative with the help of the rural poor to find out the hoards in the possession of the large producers, the rice-mill owners and the traders in the countryside. Some hidden stocks have been unearthed but the quantum of all these hoards taken together is nothing to write home about. Does that mean that the scarcity is so acute that even the large producers have been denuded of their stock? This is not borne out by facts. The existence of an extensive blackmarket is clear proof that there is quite a lot of surplus rice in the hands of a section of traders and producers. In Calcutta's markets one can still find rice being sold quite freely along with vegetables and other produce; only the price which even a month and half ago was in the region of Rs 1.50 per kg has jumped to about Rs 2.50 or so. Since rice is not grown in Cal-

cutta this is obviously coming from some source in the villages. What has prevented cadres of the United Front with or without the help of the administrative machinery in spotting these hoards?

From whatever information I have been able to gather, some of the following factors are making the task difficult :

First, the Government machinery at the district, sub-divisional, block or lower levels is none too enthusiastic about the dehoarding drive. In some cases it is because the officials are under the influence of the jotedars, in other cases because they are afraid of them.

Second, in many areas the left parties have no organisation worth the name, with the result that the large producers and others involved in the rice trade are able to dominate the village and prevent the hoards from being seized.

Third, as a result of the weakness of the left parties in the rural areas and because there is hardly any effective organisation of agricultural labourers and poor peasants, the jotedars and other stockists have been able to use these sections of the village poor both as convenient shelters for their hidden hoards and as instruments of their trading operations. It is they, the poor—who conceal the stocks in small lots in their houses and then gradually trek across to the urban centres to dispose of them. Thus the rice trade provides a source of employment and living for them and gives them a vested interest in the blackmarket.

The only way to break this racket is to rouse the level of consciousness of the village poor, build up effective organisations of the peasantry and agricultural workers, form units of political cadres to carry on the task of political education on a continuing basis, provide alternative sources of employment to the rural poor and to break the economic basis of the power of the jotedar, ricemiller, moneylender-trader combined. This may seem to be rather a tall order but it does not seem that there are any shortcuts available.

Foreign Periodicals

THE ECONOMY

The *TIME* commenting upon the present state of the U. S. economy, with reference to the U. S. President's recommendations to Congress for current budget, apprehend that the rapidly escalating burdens of prosperity may eventually, usher in that notoriously paradoxical consequence, a recession :

The U. S. economy like any other mammoth organism, can continue to flourish only as long as its intelligence can direct its vast bulk and react to an ever-changing environment. The guidance system faltered in election year 1966, causing that rare paradox, inflation at a time of some business slowdown. Some of the problems have changed, but they remain greivous enough in 1967 to pose the question : Can the nation sustain a seventh consecutive year of expanding prosperity ?

In his Economic Report and Budget Message to Congress last week President Johnson answered with a qualified yes. He said the U. S. could curb inflation, avoid recession, ease the painful money pinch and still expand economically. This could be done, moreover while the U. S. continued to prosecute the war in Viet Nam and expand social security and welfare programs at home. But, said he, "neither the threat of inflation nor of recession is ever distant in a high-level economy"

The Economic Report bulwarked by the findings of the President's Council of Economic Advisers assumes that while inflation remains a hazard its main cause has shifted from excessive consumer demand to cost pressure on producers. Consumer prices now are expected to rise at a still troublesome but some-

what slower rate than they did last year (2.5 p.c. v. 3.3 p.c.)

The CEA report forecasts a slowdown in the growth of the gross national product to about \$47 billion. or 4 p.c. in stable dollars compared with the too-swift expansion of \$58 billion (5 p.c.) last year. Anything more than 4p.c., the Council says, would surpass the nation's capacity in both plant and manpower.

The trick, of curse, is to keep the slowdown from going too far and prices from rising too fast. Last week banks began lowering the prime rate of interest, giving important evidence that the Administration's prediction of easier credit had foundation. Housing, the industry most seriously depressed by tight money, will thus be assisted in making the 1967 revival that the White House expects. Activity in other sectors can be expected to accelerate as high inventories diminish.

There is less reason for optimism about prices. High wage demands are certain ; a tax increase a possibility. Corporate Profits are expected to grow, but at the slowest rate since 1961. Johnson appealed to both labor and management to avoid a "disastrous" chain reaction of wage-price rises, while the CEA put most of the onus on business. "The public interest requires that producers absorb cost increases to the maximum extent feasible." At least 700 union contracts are up for negotiation this year: the outcome can only be guessed at.

In the absence of legal controls, the main federal influence on the economy is the budget. But which one ? The traditional administrative budget measures the amount the Administration will ask of Congress in the form of appropri-

tions. For fiscal 1968, beginning next July 1, it amounts to \$135 billion and contains an \$8.1 billion deficit. This seems a further invitation to inflation. But last week, for the first time, the President emphasized the more comprehensive national income accounts (NIA) budget, which includes trust funds, such as social security money. Although larger than the administrative budget \$169.2 billion for '68—the NIA deficit is smaller by \$6 billion because the trust funds have a surplus,

The NIA budget is a more accurate measure of total federal impact on the economy and Johnson claims the Administration can manipulate NIA delicately to produce a stabilizing force. For the rest of fiscal '67 the NIA deficit is computed at \$5 billion. This is to decrease starting July 1, so that by the second half of fiscal 68, when no federal stimulus is wanted, the NIA should be finely tuned to a balance.

Of course, Congress will help decide whether that pleasant dream comes true. The administrative budget, despite its size, actually gives economists a small target because so much of it involves defense needs and other unavoidable expenses. Although the long knives flashed in anticipation last week, large scale cuts seemed unlikely. The President himself had pulled back on many Great Society programs, asked \$3 billion less overall than previous congressional authorization schedules had envisioned. But his proposal for a 6 p.c. surcharge on personal and corporate income taxes, amounting to \$4 billion plus, faces serious challenge. If it fails, the real deficit will grow. Also in doubt is his plan to sell another \$5 billion in "participation certificates"—shares in Government-held mortgages and other obligations. To many members of Congress, this is a gimmick to hold down the budget size. And there is no assurance that the private market can absorb this amount without contributing to a new credit shortage.

Congress must pass as well on the President's grandiose program to expand social security. With rapid expansion of the new Great Society programs stymied, this increase of benefits—the largest since social security began—could emerge as the most significant domestic proposal of this year. Benefits would be raised an average of 20 p.c., but at the low end of the scale, payments would go up 50 p.c. Already somewhat weighted in favour of low-wage earners, the social-security system would shift farther from the actuarial principle toward a welfare-oriented concept. The system would in effect, become a Poverty War weapon. The President also proposed that welfare payments be increased in some states, and that regulations on earnings by recipients be liberalized. In addition, he proposed that Medicare be extended to disabled persons receiving social security, regardless of age.

The social-security increase, to begin July 1 and pump out 14.4 billion in the first year, would be financed for the first six months by the existing trust-fund surplus. Before higher payroll taxes go into next January, the expansionary effect on the economy would be offset by the income tax surcharges if that is enacted. Both Republican and Democratic leaders in Congress favor some increase in social security, but the size of the President's proposal translated into higher costs for both employees and employers—will probably force a compromise.

Johnson meanwhile must worry about his delicate balancing act being jostled to calamity by a variety of other forces. The Federal Reserve Board may not ease credit to the extent the Administration wishes. The war in Viet Nam seems unlikely to expand again by major proportions, but no one can be sure. The international balance of payments remains a constant problem. In the economic bestiary, Johnson is trying to be owlsh rather than bullish or bearish, "There will," he predicts, "be surprises along the way."

ISLANDS OF HOPE

The sovereign nation-state remains the world's strongest force, its basic political, economic and military unit. Yet the institution can be fatally inadequate today, even among large and wealthy nations, let alone small and underdeveloped countries. On the other hand, the dream of global union among all nations is as remote and utopian as ever. But between the two concepts the individual nation and the "federation of the world"—an important middle ground is emerging. It is the regional grouping.

The idea is scarcely spectacular or novel; it is as old as the combinations of Greek city-states, or the Hanseatic and other trading leagues of the late Middle Ages. However, after centuries of rampant nationalism, it has acquired new force. In some parts of the world, its potential is downright revolutionary.

What University of California Political Scientist Ernst Haas calls "ever-expanding islands of cooperation" have grown markedly in the past two decades. The military associations—NATO, CENTO and SEATO—stemmed from the threat of Communist aggression. Partly because of their success, they are now somewhat in disarray, looking for new, mainly diplomatic functions. The political groupings, from the Council of Europe to the creaky Arab League, are mere debating societies. By far the most important and promising groupings are economic, and the model that inspires all of them is the Common Market. By bringing down tariff barriers within a vast community of 20 million people, the Market rejuvenated Europe, demonstrated the power of modified free enterprise in the face of socialist theory, and changed the balance of forces in the world.

One measure of this success is the fact that Prime Minister Harold Wilson, long opposed

to joining the European Six, seems converted to the cause. Last week he stumped the Continent to gain support for British membership. If Charles de Gaulle ever withdraws his veto and lets Britain in there will be other prompt applications for Common Market membership, most of the seven members of European Free Trade Association, which has achieved a success of its own, want to join.

MAINSTAY OF POLICY

What Europe has accomplished cannot be simply duplicated. A developed industrial base, good lines of communication, a common purpose—these were some of Europe's indispensable assets in developing regional organization. They are lacking elsewhere. The very countries that need economic integration most are least ready for it, which helps explain regionalism's often disappointing record.

The idea is anathema to some scholars, who charge that it turns nations "inward." Yet, as President Johnson made clear in his State of the Union speech, the encouragement of regional groupings has become a mainstay of U.S. foreign policy. Apart from the obvious economic advantages—larger markets, more trade, greater efficiency—it is psychologically easier for small countries to deal with big ones as a sizable group rather than as individuals. Old emotional, "anti-imperialist" slogans tend to fade as little nations develop pride in their own mutual programs. Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk angrily threw American AID officials out of his country, but he gladly accepts U.S. help as part of the international development program for the Mekong River. Says White House Adviser Walt Rostow: "We have realized that the poor are also proud, that they wish to have more dignified, less dependent relations with the big powers, and they are beginning to come together."

The most hopeful event in Asia today,

Washington believes. is the sudden blooming of regional cooperation among countries that for centuries were divided by animosity. Japan long passive, last year sponsored a regional Southeast Asia economic conference before which Prime Minister Eisaku Sato declared: "Blood is thicker than water. We are all brothers, born and raised in Asia."

Dozens of new organizations have sprung to life, ranging from APO (Asian Productivity Organization) to SEAMES (Southeast Asian Minister of Education Secretariat). Many of the ideas have been spawned by the U.N.'s energetic regional branch, called ECAFE (Economic Commission for the Far East), which has sponsored conferences on every subject from city planning to child welfare. The Colombo Plan mixes assistance from six donor nations (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the U.S.) with mutual help from 18 largely recipient countries in a loose system of cooperation. It thus encourages; recipients themselves to give to their own needier neighbors,

Still in the fragile and formative stages, the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) has brought Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines together for a series of meetings on economic and social cooperation. The experts are talking about selective tariff reduction and a possible joint shipping line,

Nine Far Eastern nations have begun work in the larger Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), established in Seoul last June. Aspac's goals are also modest: economic, social and cultural coordination, a technicians' pool and a commodity and fertilizer bank. Its membership—the three Asia countries, plus Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, South Vietnam, Australia and New Zealand—is particularly interesting. For one thing, it underlines the new willingness of both Japan and Australia to play important roles in Asian affairs. Both nations are also

leading figures in the new 32-member Asian development Bank, which opened its doors last month with an initial planned capitalization of \$ billion.

A NEW MODEL

The nature of things in the next decade is certain to push Japan southward into the rich markets and swirling politics of its Asian neighbors. Australia, just as certainly, is being driven northward to meet responsibilities it has shrugged off for generations. The two old foes of two decades ago already share some surprising ties. In twelve years, Australia's exports to Japan quadrupled, and the Japanese are the second largest customers for Australian wool. Australia's Prime Minister Harold Holt admits that his concept of relations with Asia has undergone great change, and frankly credits it to "the marriage of our own raw material and primary production to Japan's enormous industrial potential."

There would be economic sense in further Asian groupings. A revival of Sukarno's Maphilindo (Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia) which fell apart because of his own anti-Malaysia campaign, would furnish markets for Indonesia's untapped riches. If some military and political stability can ever be achieved, a logical common market would be the Southeast Asia peninsula, including Burma, with its interlaced river network providing needed transportation. And except for Japanese-Korean animosity, Japan could reduce its production costs by farming out some industries to South Korea where people need the jobs, and aim for Taiwan as a market,

Says Kukrit Pramoji, a leading Thai journalist: "The prime desire for most Asians in this region is to write 'Yankee Go Home' on every wall. It's in their subconscious, even though they realize the Americans mean well and we need their protection. Now we are trying to

build a substitute for the United States—a United States of Asia, 'That's the dream now.' It is only a paper dream, when measured against the near chaos that prevails in much of Asia. Still, it is significant that Asian countries no longer look to Communist China as the model for economic development, are willing to submerge at least some old feuds in a common desire for self-help,

Though the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) has atrophied, it has left behind a taste for joint effort among its regional members Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. The three have formed a loose union called Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). A joint shipping line is already in operation, and there is talk of merging the three national airlines. Elsewhere in the Near and Middle East, endemic Arab disunity has stalled virtually all joint efforts, which, theoretically, could have great potential. Arab-owned oil pipelines and tanker fleets would make economic sense, as would joint development of petrochemicals and regional coordination of agricultural production and marketing. And, of course, given the millennium and peace between Israel and the Arabs, all sorts of opportunities would open up for the lands of the Fertile Crescent, including a kind of TVA for the Jordan River.

Africa in general is bursting with newly independent countries that are nations in name only, neither economically nor politically viable; often their borders arbitrarily cut across trade or tribal lines. Regional groups would be an eminently sensible solution, but most black African countries are too new, too sensitive about their precious sovereignty to cooperate. Besides, their economies are often too backward, the raw materials they produce too similar, for successful integration.

JEALOUSY & PRIDE

Still, there do exist many organizations from the Desert Locust Control Organization to the Addis Ababa-based 38 country Organization of African Unity. The OAU has managed to cool off a couple of nasty local frontier conflicts, but on matters of major, continent-wide significance, it has failed to find a consensus. The organization has long been split into two feuding camps, with the dozen-odd former French colonies (once called the "Brazzaville group") aligned against the radical plans of the so-called "Cassablanca crowd." At present the radicals are not doing very well while the Brazzaville group formed the Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache (OCAM), which has economic and social ties as well as a strong anti-Communist purpose. In East Africa, the British bequeathed to Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda the smooth-running machinery for the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO) under which the three countries shared a common currency, post and telegraph, customs and immigration systems. But jealousy and pride have eroded the association.

Logic suggests additional regional groups in Africa. Now that copper-rich Zambia threatens its southward rail routes to the sea, Zambia is switching its exports and eastward to Tanzania's Indian Ocean port. Zambia will also be buying more East African goods, one reason why it joined six other nations in a provisional East African economic pact. But progress is bound to be excruciatingly slow. The pace may be faster on the continent's southern tip where late Hendrik Verwoerd hoped for a common market between his highly industrialized South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies in the area.

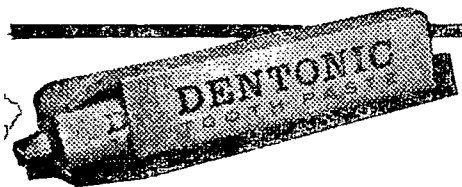
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